

Socialist Challenge

US Air strike - break the chains

WHEN Ronald Reagan became President he claimed that the United States was the 'last and greatest bastion of freedom'. In his inaugural address he said, 'Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and more assured here than in any other place on earth'.

STOP NEUTRON HORROR

IN Nagasaki, the 36th anniversary of the dropping of the second atomic bomb was interrupted by an announcement from US Defence Secretary Weinberger. On 8 August he disclosed that the USA is to go into full production of the neutron bomb.

Douglas Hurd, Tory defence spokesperson, embarrassed by the lack of consultation said, 'we keep in close touch about all US decision. We were not given a chance to talk them out of it.'

But if such an opportunity had existed, it would not have been used.

This was not an alliance decision, said Hurd 'but we understand the reasons for it'.

The neutron bomb is designed for European use. It joins the growing arsenal of first strike nuclear weapons to be employed in the European theatre.

But this time the charade of equal status for the European members of the NATO alliance has been dispensed with. The alliance is a US led war machine, and the Europeans had better toe the Reagan line.

Neutron bombs could have been dreamt up in the board room of a multi-national company. They murder people without damaging property.

Little blast and lethal radiation spread over miles is the latest concoction of the war planners of the Pentagon. As such they are part of the move to give nuclear war a 'more acceptable face.'

It goes hand in hand with stepped up efforts to support the torturers' regime of Duarte in El Salvador; with attempts to re-introduce military conscription in the US; and with plans for a Rapid Deployment Force of 250,000 to be used 'anywhere in the globe at a moment's notice.'

It is the sign of a western war machine beset by growing social revolt in the colonial world, and facing mounting hostility at home from a workers' movement that refuses to foot the bill for a massive economic crisis.

This time the Pentagon and their Tory backers have bitten off more than they can chew. Response to Weinberger's announcement has come from the governments of Norway and Denmark, both NATO members, who express opposition to the US decision.

A similar view is likely from the ruling West German Social Democratic Party.

Even US Secretary of State, Haig, was moved to say that the decision had been announced at the wrong time.

In Britain, the fight to win the Labour Party to a clear position against all nuclear weapons is well underway. This needs to be re-inforced with a stand against NATO.

Most importantly, the CND demonstration called for 24 October must be the biggest show of strength against the US inspired missile-madness and British complicity that Britain has ever seen.

Well, there was little freedom and less dignity for US air traffic controllers this week as they were sacked, fined and thrown into prison by Ronald Reagan for daring to go on strike.

Shock

The pictures of those strikers being led away in chains has, with the flash of a camera, exposed what life can really be like for trade unionists in 'the land of the free'.

But those pictures have done something else. They have shocked the labour movement throughout the world. And now, trade unionists in many different countries are starting to act.



In Canada, air traffic controllers have taken action in sympathy. In Portugal, air controllers have decided to ban flights to the USA. The same decision has been made by Australian controllers.

But what would hit Reagan hardest would be solidarity action in this country. For more air traffic goes to the United States from London than from any other city in the world. That's why the British labour movement should act immediately to support their sisters and brothers in the US.

Solidarity

Such solidarity needs to be organised. That job should fall on the TUC. Trade union and Labour Party branches should be flooding Congress House demanding concrete support for the US controllers - the boycott of all air traffic to and from the USA.

If for no other reason than, if Reagan gets away with jailing strikers in the US, his great buddy Margaret Thatcher may just be tempted to try the same here.

Photomontage: PETER KENNARD



The state of the parties

THE 'shock' findings of the latest opinion poll published in last week's *Daily Star* revealed that if an election were held tomorrow, the Tories would win 25 per cent of the vote; Labour 29 per cent and the SDP/Libs 43 per cent.

Compared with the general election, it is the Tory vote which has collapsed spectacularly. As the *Star* said, 'Labour's vote is about the same as it was at the last general election and that's bound to be a disappointment for the Social Democrats. They are anxious to make inroads into the traditional Labour vote.'

One reason is revealed in another statistic of the *Star* poll. In February '79 only 10 per cent questioned thought that unemployment was the most important issue facing Britain today, while 51 per cent thought that trade unions and strikes were the main problem. Today, 2 per cent think that strikes are the problem and 70 per cent give first place to unemployment.

The SDP/Lib alliance will need more than opinion polls to get into office. They need hard cash and solid ruling class support. Slicing up Labour's base in the electorate is the key to that. The ruling class gives open support to Labour's right wing. But it believes that the advance of the Labour left is too powerful to be turned round in the short term. The media boosted SDP, positioned outside Labour's ranks is aimed at providing the pressure that Labour's right wing lacks inside the party and the unions.

In other words, the SDP/Lib alliance is designed to put the skids under the Labour left, and, failing that, to wipe out Labour's chances of forming the next government. But it is a delicate operation that can badly misfire. In the first place, growth of the SDP/Lib alliance means massive pressure for proportional representation. This builds an unknown factor of political instability into the Parliamentary system that has 150 years proven service to the ruling class behind it. Secondly, a 'middle of the road' party needs a 'middle of the road' social class. This is a real problem when both major classes in society are looking for more and more radical solutions to the crisis, and looking in opposite directions.

Both the ruling class and the working class are dissatisfied with the parties who have traditionally claimed to represent their interests. But a party that claims to bridge the gap between them is going to need a degree in elastics. That is why the alliance has so little to say on policy.

Ultimately however, the alliance to survive will feed off the traditional base of one or other of the major parties not both. What is worrying in ruling class circles is that despite the disarray of the Labour Party, the alliance is advancing its vote at a rate of 2 to 1 against the Tories.

The message of the Warrington by-election screamed the *Sunday Mirror*, is that the Labour left 'can't get into their thick heads that they are wrecking the party.' The truth is precisely the reverse. The advance of the left is the best chance that Labour has of coming back into government. It is the taint of Healey and Callaghan that subverts enthusiasm for Labour.

Contesting the 'middle ground' with the alliance will simply hand it Labour's base. Why vote for the worn out voice of moderation when you can have the brand spanking new one? The way to make the Tories pay the price for the SPD/Lib alliance is to step up the fight for socialist policies in the Labour Party and the unions.

Crookability - that's the beauty of (Tory) gas

By Bob Struther, Chairperson, Edinburgh NALGO Gas Branch

ALL unions in the gas industry went on strike on 13 July for one day to demonstrate to the government that they are determined not to accept the order to sell off all gas showrooms.

The Tories in the person of Sally Oppenheim say their decision is based on the report of the Monopolies Commission into the sale of gas appliances. But in reality it is a political decision.

They recommend that all showrooms should be sold off. And in any case the situation has changed considerably since the Commission started its investigation when there were only 500 private outlets for the sale of gas appliances throughout Britain. Now there are 2000 private outlets compared to British Gas's 938 showrooms.

The practices of which

the Commission complained have been stopped by the gas corporation.

This is the first time the Monopolies Commission has recommended a solution to a monopoly holding that the organisation with a monopoly should be forcibly removed from the market.

Wishes

Of course it has nothing to do with monopolies or the market, and certainly nothing to do with the wishes of the gas consumer. It has everything to do with this

Government's determination to give back to private profit any part of the public sector which is making money or which can be made to make money.

At the present time the Gas Corporation is handing over to the Government hundreds of millions of pounds every year. The Government has said that this must increase to £1300 million in the next three years. And it is this that has drawn the attention of the greedy profiteers. This money could all be going into private pockets and, if you're a Tory, of course you will believe it should.

Wedge

This is why workers who have helped to make the gas industry such a successful enterprise see the selling of showrooms as only the thin end of the wedge. This is the first part of a plan to break up the industry and sell it off to the private sector.

Every worker in the industry knows this and is determined it will not happen. We intend to use all our industrial muscle to

keep our industry intact and in the public sector. The Government doesn't believe we can do it and this was the purpose of our one day strike — to convince them we mean business.

Talks

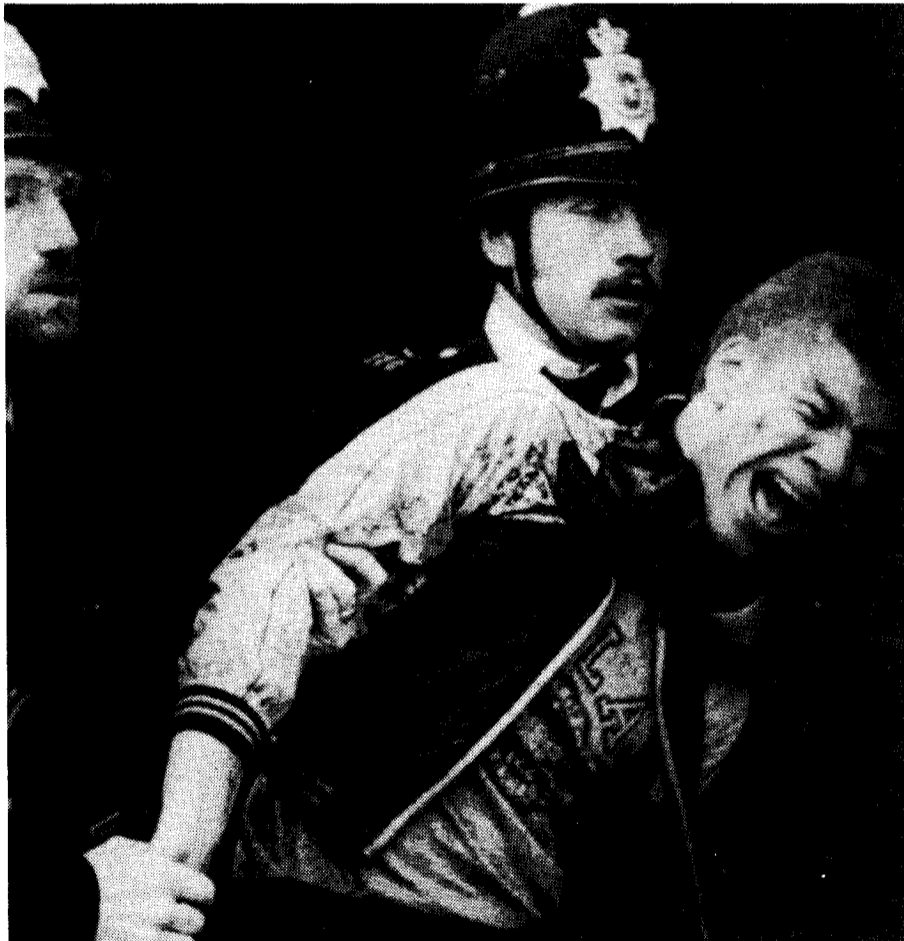
Between now and the autumn, the unions will be having talks with the Government in a further attempt to change their minds. If these talks do not succeed, a conference of all the unions has been called for the week starting 2 November and a decision will be taken about when to pull the plug on the gas supply.

Organise

We will have to watch that these talks do not develop into a dialogue about how to implement the government's decision 'with the least effect on jobs etc'. We do not want any talk of that kind and there is plenty of time for the shop floor to organise behind an all-out strike decision at the conference in November.

Private

The Monopolies Commission did not recom-



TUC support Brixton defendants

THE South-east region of the TUC is organising a national defence fund

to help meet the costs in legal fees and fines of the five hundred youth

arrested during and after the Brixton rebellion of 11-13 April.

With permission from the national TUC, Southern region has opened the door to labour movement support to the beleaguered youth of Brixton.

This move allows much needed debate and discussion on the youth rebellion in labour movement bodies up and down the country.

Force

It is the first time that the TUC has supported blacks in struggle against a racist police force.

Labour Party and union branches should make donations to Paul Boateng, c/o County Hall, London SE1.

National demonstration called in Southall

By Oliver New

SOUTHALL in West London was the scene of some of the most bitter street fighting in the recent wave of youth rebellions.

When local youth struck back at the invasion on 3 July by hundreds of fascist skinheads Her Majesty's police rushed to the skinheads' defence.

In response the Southall Anti-fascist Committee is organising a national demonstration on 20 September calling for the dropping of all charges against the youth arrested and for unity against unemployment and racism.

It is also urging the right of communities like Southall to self defence against the fascists.

Turnout

The demonstration is supported by the Brixton Defence Committee, both wings of the Indian Workers Association (GB), the National Association for Asian Youth, the Indian Youth Association, Southall's main Sikh temples, The Southall Communist Party and the International Marxist Group.

The committee puts the blame for conditions in Southall on the government and the system it defends. The Tories create unemployment and then cheer on the police who harass black people and youth.

There is no doubt in the community that unemployment and racism go side by side. The 20 September demonstration is a vital opportunity to show unity with youth under siege from racism, unemployment and police violence.

For further information contact the SAFC c/o 9 Pluckington Place, Southall, Middlesex.

National demonstration, 20 September, assemble 1pm at the Dominion Cinema Car Park near Southall British Rail station.

Black Workers Conference

Saturday 12 September
Digbeth Civic Hall
Birmingham

ON 7 February a meeting was held in the offices of the Birmingham Commission for Racial Equality. It was attended by 80 black trade unionists. After discussion they decided unanimously to set up a steering committee to organise a conference of black workers as well as to establish black caucuses in the unions.

For further information please write to the Steering Committee for the Black Workers' Conference, 177 Antrobus Road, Handsworth, Birmingham 21.

JOIN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

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

Name.....

Address.....

Age.....

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

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

Laurence Scott - now for 'a stab in the front'?

By Patrick Sikorski

'THEY'LL have to stab us in the front now'. This was the comment of a Laurence Scott shop steward on the national leadership of the AUEW as he came out of the mass meeting held in the factory on 14 July. The meeting had thrown out a deal worked out between officials of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions and Laurence Scott owner Arthur Snipe, by 579 votes to 21.

Workers at LSE have been occupying their factory for 17 weeks. They have faced closure threats from Snipe, bailiffs with court orders demanding their eviction, a hostile press and, to cap it all, a union leadership which is tearing up its own rules to crush the fight.

Despite the decision of the mass meeting on 14 July Terry Duffy, John Boyd and the seven other members of the AUEW Executive remained committed to Snipe's original offer. The union leaders called another mass meeting, over the heads of the stewards, on 23 July to get the workers to agree to their sell out terms. AUEW official Ken Cure was instructed by the executive to present its case.

Reject

But a stormy meeting in Manchester's Lesser Free Trades Hall threw out the executive's line, this time with only 15 votes in favour.

Democratic mass meetings had rejected the AUEW leader's proposals twice. Nevertheless, with all the arrogance of feudal barons a letter was sent to all districts where Snipe's employees are organised in the AUEW. It said that the executive was still recommending its deal with Snipe, and instructed that all Laurence Scott workers be so informed. The Manchester workforce were to be quarantined.

End

In a manner recalling the days of 'Carron's Law' in the union in the 1950's the national executive meeting of 4 August reaffirmed that the dispute was terminated. On 6 August the other general secretaries of the Confed were dragooned into line. All official support had now been withdrawn.

These decisions were all the more astonishing, in the light of the successes of the fightback in the AUEW. The Manchester North district committee had unanimously backed the decision to continue the occupation fight.

The executive has torn up the rules in their haste to betray the Laurence Scott workers. Any attempt to terminate a

continue the occupation was overwhelming.

The LSE workers have circulated an appeal for support for their struggle, and calling for official backing. Already, it has been signed by over 20 leading engineering convenors in the Manchester area.

Request

The Manchester North district committee has circulated every engineering convenor, shop steward and branch secretary in the area with requests to forward protest resolutions to

the executive and maintain financial support.

£1,000

Everywhere the LSE workers have sought support from the ranks they have found it. One example is the £1000 sent this week by British Aerospace shop stewards at Chadderton. Now the LSE workers are turning such support into an all out fight against their wretched union leadership.

As convenor Dennis Barry said to the 10 August mass meeting, the union officials are frightened of a victory at

LSE because of the example it would give to other workers faced with redundancies and closures.

'They have been prepared to turn a situation of assured victory into a near disaster and sacrifice the very best platform they have had so far to fight for jobs.' said Barry.

Fight

But as early results show, the campaign building up in support of Laurence Scott is unlikely to let them get away with it.



Laurence Scott receives unexpected support.

Stand up and be counted

AS the bailiffs threatened to evict the Laurence Scott workforce, rank and file union leaders from across Manchester spoke to Socialist Challenge about why they're backing the strike.

MICK McAULEY, Convenor Ferranti Measurements, Oldham

'What happens at Scotts will affect everywhere else. The employers are all watching this one. So we've all got to win this one by giving our support. I think it's totally correct what the Scotts workforce are doing.'

ELSIE BROAD, FTAT unemployed, ex-shop steward Royal Pride

'It's about time we made a stand. We didn't win at Royal Pride but now everyone facing closures and redundancies have got to back Laurence Scott. I think what they're doing at Scotts is great. We should all stand with them and be counted.'

RITA MITCHELL, Joint Union Committee Secretary, ICL

'Duffy and the other union leaders say they're for a fight against unemployment and Laurence Scott are showing us how to do that. Yet the union leadership are sabotaging this battle. The best way to get rid of Duffy is to stand

up and be counted with Laurence Scott.'

TOM MACAFEE, Convenor, L. Gardner and Son

'I'm appalled at the attitude of the Executive Committee, they are completely out of rule. Workers struggling for the right to work for 16 weeks have in effect been sold out.'

This dispute is now of paramount importance, it must become a launching pad for a fight by every progressive section of the trades union movement.

The Manchester North District of the AUEW and every convenor in this area will most certainly be continuing their support.'

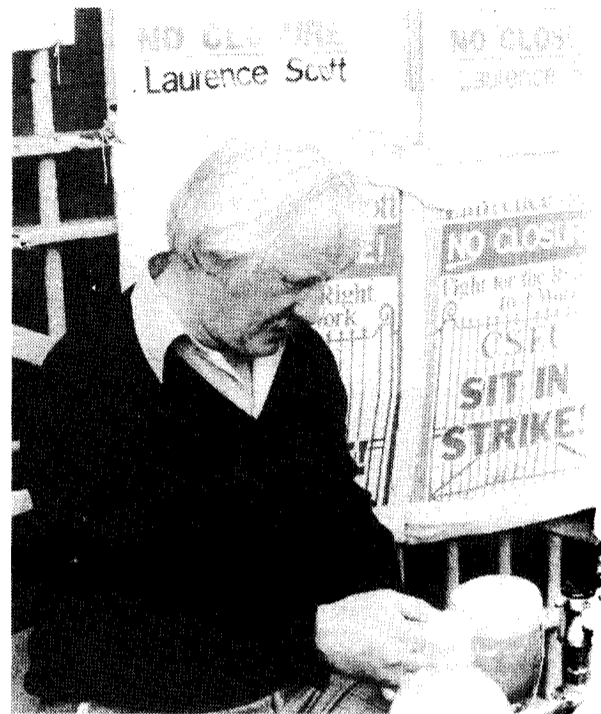
DAVE LEONARD, AUEW Convenor, ICL Ashton

'I'm backing Scotts because they are showing the way we can fight back against the terrible state of affairs in this area.'

We've got thousands of redundancies in ICL, there's another closure down the road at B and S Massey's, and so it goes on.

That's why we're disgusted with the way the EC handled this dispute. It's time the officials came here instead of hiding away in London.

I wholeheartedly back John Tocher's (AUEW Divisional Organiser) request for a recalled AUEW National Committee.'



Convenor Dennis Barry on duty

Labour movement appeal

THE Laurence Scott stewards have launched a general appeal to the labour movement for solidarity.

Early signatories include Ken Livingstone, Leader of the GLC; Councillor Graham Stringer, Chairperson of Manchester City Labour Party; six Manchester Labour Councillors; and twelve convenors from major engineering plants from across Manchester.

'WE the undersigned, individuals and organisations appeal for continued labour movement support for the strikers at LSE against redundancies. We call on the executives of the CSEU unions to continue official support.'

Harry Whitehouse, AUEW Convenor Mono Pumps, Audenshaw; Paul Smith, AUEW Chairman Mono Pumps JSSC; T Yates, AUEW Convenor Seddon Atkinsons, Oldham; M McAuley, Convenor Ferranti Measurements, Oldham; J Cooke, Chairman BAC Chadderton JSSC; T Macafee, Convenor Gardner, Salford; T Purtil, Convenor Ferranti Cairo Mill, Oldham.

P Sagar, Chairman EPTU Ferranti Cairo Mill, Oldham; C Williams, Chairman AUEW/TASS Ferranti Cairo Mill, Oldham; F Salt, Convenor AUEW Ferranti Moston; S Duggan, Chairman NSMM Ferranti Moston; A Spinks, Convenor AUEW Francis Shaws; J Quick, Chairman JSSC Francis Shaws; B Halpin, APEX Senior Staff Rep Francis Shaws.

M O'Neill, Convenor Tilgman's Wheelabrator, Broadheath; Michael Cox, Chairman JSSC Scraggs, Oldham; R Jones, Chairman JSSC Stone Platt, Oldham; D Dolan, Steward URTU Wilsons Brewery.

Ken Livingstone, Labour Leader Greater London Council; Ted Knight, Labour Leader Lambeth Council; Graham Stringer, Chairman Manchester City Labour Party and Councillor; Nick Harris, Chairman Blackley Labour Party and Councillor.

John Nicholson, Chairman Ardwick Labour Party and Councillor; Peter Hildrew, Manchester Councillor; Graham Martin, Manchester Councillor; Kath Robinson, Manchester Councillor; Jeffrey Wilmer, Manchester Councillor.

K Barnes, COHSE 332 Branch Sec; J Thompson, UCATT Regional Council; J L Shebindine, UCATT President Baguley Branch; Phil Wooley, Gen Sec Manchester Univ Students Union; Jean Allcock, NUPE Nurseries Branch Sec.

Pete Keenleyside, Vice President Trafford Trades Council; N Roberts, Branch Sec Manchester Central USDAW; G Wyatt, AUEW Oldham 23 Branch Sec; D Smith, AUEW Oldham 8 Branch Sec.

J Davidson, FTAT Manchester District Organiser; J Walker, FTAT Manchester Branch Sec; J Harrison, FTAT Upholsterers Manchester Branch Sec.

Ken Oxford - Urban terrorist

I ALWAYS mistrust the capitalist press, especially when they write about the 'riots'. However, I have to admit they have been proved right, that it is outside agitators who are responsible for all the trouble. But what papers like the Sun do not divulge, is that these urban terrorists are being paid out of public funds - and I don't mean the DHSS!

The paymaster is the Tory Government who is going to pay the men who drove the vehicles that killed disabled David Moore, and inflicted dreadful back injuries on Paul Conroy, about £200 a week for committing murder and mayhem.

These two frightful incidents, and the arrogant

behaviour of Liverpool's Chief Constable, Kenneth Gordon Oxford CBE, has turned national attention to Liverpool. But neither Liverpool and the rotting area of Toxteth are exceptions to the rule.

In all Britain's major cities, the economic recession and Tory cut backs are creating ghettos of

poverty and neglect.

All the country is policed by men and women who are just as racist, and just as brutal - ask any youth in Brixton about police brutality and frame-up - as they are in Liverpool 8.

speaking for every single Police Committee in Britain.

It is not the elected councillors who control and decide the really important things. The real decisions are taken by the non-accountable, non-

Lowdown

When the elected councillors of Liverpool complain that the Merseyside Police Committee can't control Mr Oxford they

elected state, of which the police force is a vital part.

The Liverpool police of course have a record second to none when it

comes to brutality. In the past they killed Jimmy Kelly. Recently they have tried to castrate Michael Blaney with a machete - probably one of the new riot control weapons authorised by the Home Secretary.

Lethal

They have deliberately fired Ferret CS gas canisters into crowds of people knowing that such use of them was potentially lethal.

Story after story can be told, and confirmed, of savage police beatings, of people being 'fitted up', of screaming mobs of police calling for the blood of 'black scum' and shouting out 'where are the black

bastards'.

Even after they ran down Paul Conroy and he lay there with his terrible and painful injuries, they dragged him by his wrists for nearly one hundred yards to the police van. Paul says that when he regained consciousness in the police station he lay on the floor being kicked by coppers.

Boss

Mr Oxford is the boss of the Liverpool police. He was the one who introduced the tactics of 'hot pursuit' which gave the green light to police drivers to run down and maim and kill.

After Conroy was run down by a hit-and-run

police vehicle, Oxford commented: 'They can see the vehicles coming and they know what will happen if they get in the way'.

Jail

Some of the touchy public representatives now find Oxford rather an embarrassment and they would like Whitelaw to promote him and thereby get him out of Liverpool.

Such a solution is untenable.

The only solution for people who conspire to organise violence against a population is to lock them up in jail. Oxford like the rest of Britain's chief constables is a menace who should not be allowed to continue his reign of terror.

Crunch time in Lothian



Lee Jeans women on Lothian demo

By Alex Baillie

IT'S crunch week for the Labour controlled council in the Lothian Region in south-east Scotland.

As Socialist Challenge went to press the council was due to decide its reaction to the latest blackmail threat from the Tory Government - cut council spending by £30 million or face withdrawal of the rate support grant.

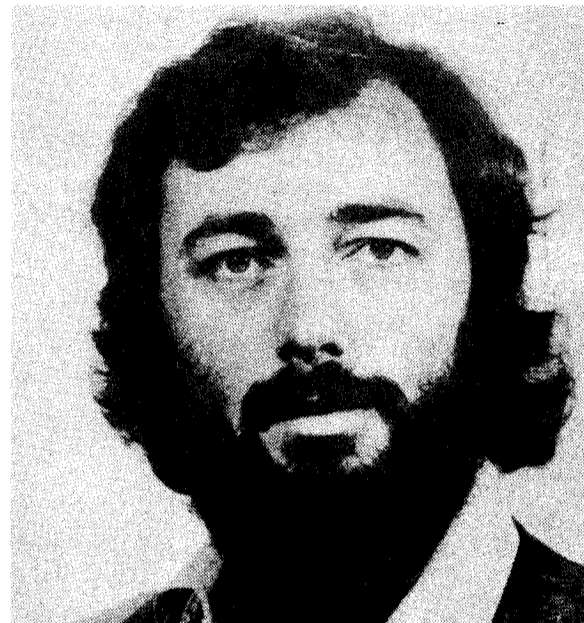
Because of Lothian's spending policy the Tories have a special hatred for the council, so much so that the Lothian battle has now become one of the chief points of resistance to the Tories' cuts policy. In June an estimated 15,000 people took to the streets of Edinburgh to show their support for the council.

Now, Scottish Secretary George Younger is out to stop the rebellion. Socialist Challenge talked to Lothian councillor Jim-

my Burnett who explained the significance of the struggle.

Jimmy pointed out: 'As many as 59 out of 65 Scottish local authorities have exceeded the Secretary of State's cash guidelines, and George Younger has plans to deal with them all eventually. To take on Lothian first is, however, a political decision, taken at the highest level, to attack an authority that has been openly political in its opposition to the Government's attempts to decimate the British working class and make it pay for the crisis.'

Certainly, over the past couple of years Lothian council has resisted Tory cuts as few other councils have done. The type of improvements that have been



Jimmy Burnett - Lothian councillor

made include:

- Four nursery schools opened and 16 nursery classes established in the last two years;
- Eleven new primary schools and four new secondary schools have been built. Teacher staffing has been raised to 20 per cent above that recommended by the Government;
- Five new facilities for special education have been developed;
- In social services, 931 new full-time posts have been created. The number of people visited by a home help has increased from 8,000 to 10,000 and there has been an increase of 23 per cent in the numbers of people given short-term care in elderly people's homes;
- Over 120,000 now benefit from free travel passes.

elderly who would be hardest hit. The elderly would suffer through increased travel costs and increased charges for home-helps and meals on wheels.

Nursery classes would disappear, and hundreds of children who now qualify for free school meals would have to go without.

Campaign

Members of the Labour Group on Lothian council have tried to explain all this to both the public at large and council workers. 'We have addressed hundreds of meetings in secondary schools, colleges and other workplaces', explained Jimmy. 'We feel the success of the campaign can be gauged by the massive strike and rally that took place in Edinburgh on 30 June. The vast majority of the Lothian workforce went on strike, and 15,000 marched along Princes Street in one of the biggest demonstrations the capital has ever seen.'

Fight

The next stage in Lothian's battle against the Tories will be decided this week. But Jimmy Burnett is under no illusions as to what will be necessary. 'Labour councillors can only effect the situation marginally. It is the trade union and labour movement which must take action to defend the public sector. Councillors can delay the axe falling, and help to raise people's political consciousness. But it is the workers of Lothian themselves who will have to fight in the end.'

Record

Jimmy Burnett is proud of this record. 'Since 1977', he said, 'we have pursued a policy of expansion in the face of cutbacks by both Labour and Tory Governments in fulfillment of our election pledges. As a result, George Younger has now forced an Act through parliament which threatens the right of councils in Scotland to raise rates or borrow money to finance any deficit in the budget'.

If the Tories' attack is successful many in Lothian will suffer. At least 2,500 council workers would have to be made redundant immediately. Other jobs would disappear through non-filling of vacant posts. That could involve the loss of another 1,500 jobs.

But it is the poor, the sick, the young and the

Rail unions reach the end of the line

By Pete Grant

THE Tories are facing a major challenge. The railworkers are gearing up to fight for their jobs and, given half a chance, will shunt Thatcher and her mad economic policies into a siding.

This year the British Rail pay negotiations have taken place with the government determined to keep public sector pay to 7 per cent and impose rigid cash limits.

But the unions have gone to the negotiating table in a much stronger position than previously, due to the formation of a new federation bringing all the rail unions together in a joint approach.

This resulted in the claim going, on management's insistence, to an independent arbitrator, Lord McArthy. McArthy's Tribunal decided that, while it recognised the union's case which argued for a 29 per cent increase to bring wage levels back to 1975 values, this was not possible in the present economic climate.

The award they proposed therefore was an 8 per cent increase, back dated to April, with an extra 3 per cent to be paid from August.

The Tribunal made it clear that it opposed any increase be-

ing tied to productivity strings and stated that British Rail workers were the most efficient, worked the longest hours and had the lowest pay, of all their European counterparts.

The British Rail Board, under orders from Whitehall, refused to accept the 3 per cent payment unless a whole package of productivity measures was agreed. The most serious being for one person operation of trains, the abolition of the 8 hour day and the introduction of continental shifts.

Management want railworkers to work anything from 3 hours per day to 10 hours per day to make up a forty hour week. Split shifts would also be introduced, especially for train crews and Sunday work would become part of the normal forty hour week.

One person operation would result in the loss of the guard and the driver's assistant and would place still more responsibility on the driver.

34,000 jobs have gone since 1970 and the British Rail Board are looking for another 38,000 by 1985 by already agreed productivity deals. The new proposals would take railworkers back to the 1880's and the misery of the 'profits before lives' policy of the private companies.

no cuts, no rates or rent rises!

Phyllis Dunnipace
Rob Jones

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Socialist Challenge

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A new Socialist Challenge pamphlet about fighting the cuts. Available from Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1. Price 25p plus p&p.

Nicaragua: two years on

By Phil Hearse

TWO YEARS after the overthrow of the hated Nicaraguan dictator Somoza, the revolution is still under threat.

Units comprised of former members of Somoza's National Guard regularly harass the northern borders of Nicaragua from neighbouring Honduras.

There are 600 counter-revolutionary troops under training in southern Florida, ready to spearhead a counter-revolutionary attack, perhaps in co-operation with the Honduran army.

Nicaragua is also under economic attack. The United States has cut off £9m of aid, which was to be used to purchase American grain.

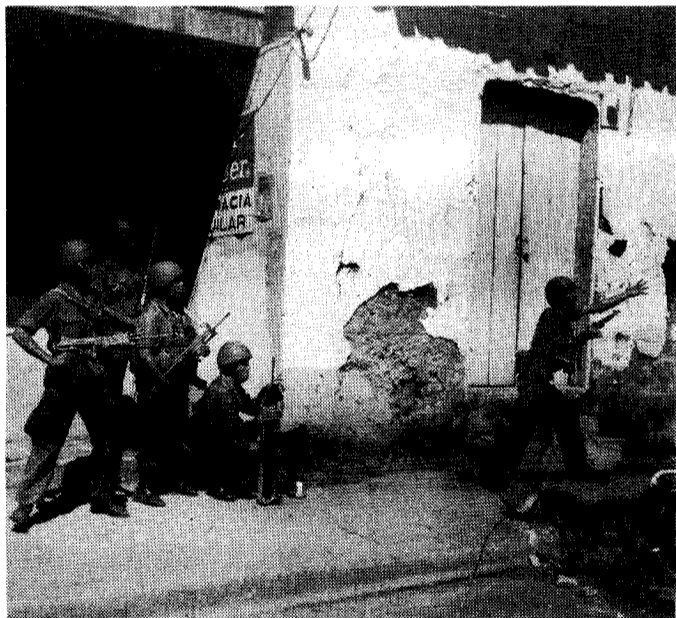
Imperialism has made it clear that it regards the Nicaraguan revolution as its bitter enemy. The reason is simple: to reconstruct the country after the devastation wrought by Somoza and the long struggle against him, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) led government has organised the masses to impose their own interests against those of the capitalist class.

resistance of the bourgeoisie to the advance of the revolution. The major attempt by the Nicaraguan capitalists to organise resistance to the FSLN at the time of the capitalist walk-out from the Council of State was met with a mass mobilisation of the people.

The coming to power of the Reagan regime in the United States poses a new threat to the revolution in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. There is no doubt that Reagan and defence secretary Haig look more favourably on the



Right: In the central plaza, renamed Plaza de la Revolucion. Below left: National Guardsmen trapped on main street of Masaya. Below right: Muchachos take over neighbourhood and put on captured National Guard uniforms, Managua, June 1979. Bottom: Woman instructor teaching marksmanship to woman volunteer.



The highly successful literacy crusade has brought the message of revolution and the tasks of reconstruction to the masses of the population. The Plan for Economic Reactivation has found support amongst the workers and peasants. They occupied land and factories, demanding their nationalisation, when private capitalists refused to implement the new goals and targets for increased agricultural and industrial production.

The Sandinista Defence Committees which emerged during the insurrection have become the basic form of workers' self-organisation and have begun to take on the tasks of local transport, shortages, child-care and other problems of the localities.

activities of the counter-revolutionary forces operating out of Miami and Honduras than did their predecessors. As far as they are concerned Nicaragua is already in the 'communist' camp and is fair game for de-stabilisation.

And the internal threat is not yet removed. While the workers and peasants have control of the government, 75 per cent of enterprises remain in private hands. The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie still has its vitriolic daily paper, *La Prensa*.

In recording the achievements of the last two years, socialists should note that more than ever the Nicaraguan revolution needs international solidarity.

Arm

But nothing demonstrates the popular base of the revolution more than the increased arming of the masses through the creation of the peoples' militias.

Short of an all-out American invasion, it will be no push-over for counter-revolutionary forces to defeat the Nicaraguan revolution. In November 1980, a decisive turning point was reached in breaking the

All photos have been taken from the dramatic and moving photographic account of the Nicaraguan revolution presented in Susan Meiselas' book, *Nicaragua*, published by Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative Ltd, price £6.95.

Solidarity with the people of CHILE and LATIN AMERICA

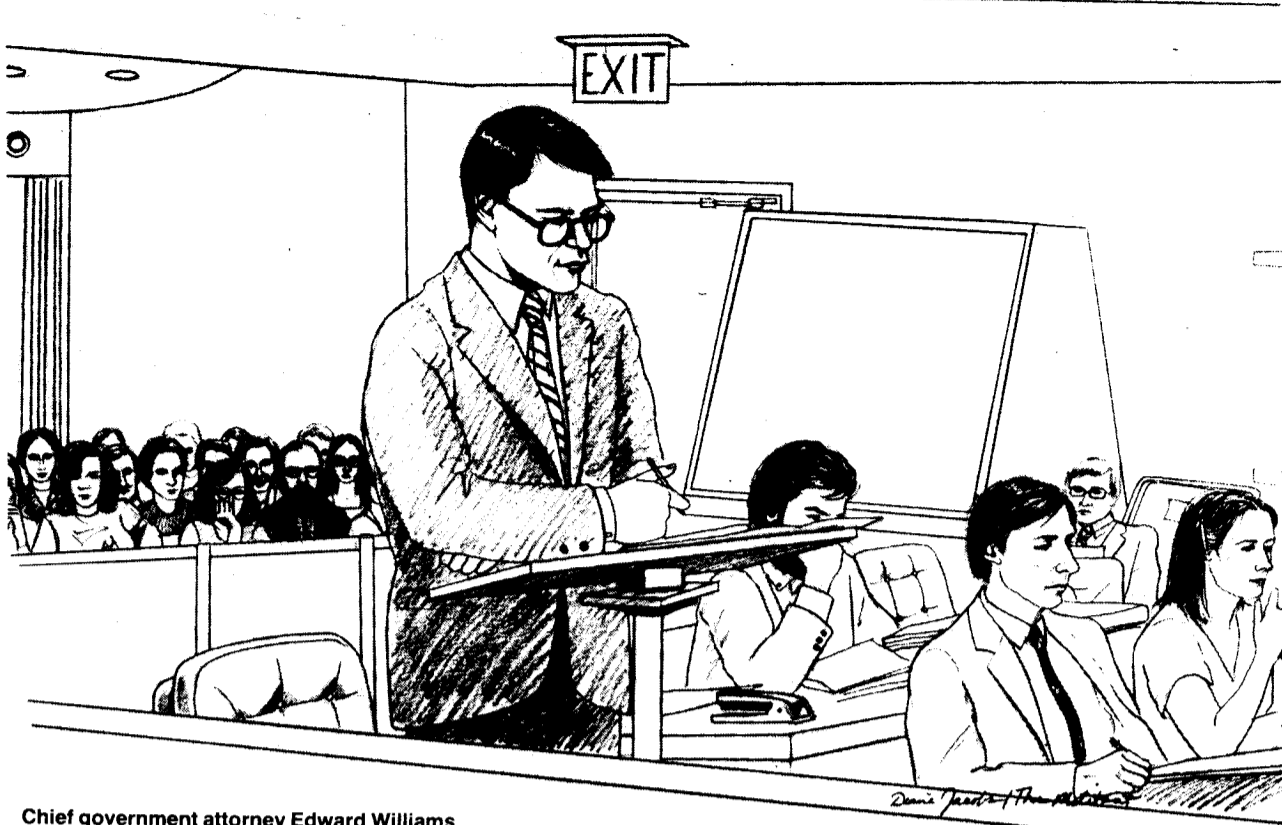
No Tory Arms for Chile
No U.S. Intervention in Central America

National Demonstration
Sunday 20 September '81

Assemble 1:00pm
Clerkenwell Green EC1
March to Trafalgar Square

Rally
Chair: Alex Wilson (LNU) (LNU)
Speakers: Richard Fyne (MP, Am),
Scottish President Yorkshire Area,
Marlene Allende (Representative of
Chile), Salvador Britez and Luis An
musicians

NO AID, NO TRADE, NO GUNS FOR FASCISM
STOP TORTURE IN CHILE
FOR THE RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN CHILE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN LATIN AMERICA



Chief government attorney Edward Williams



Democratic rights? — not while imperialist war is waged abroad

By Tom Martin

'WE didn't go to court to get justice. Our aim was to get out the truth. And we succeeded beyond our wildest hopes.'

That is how Jack Barnes, national secretary of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), sums up the trial of the lawsuit brought by the party and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) against the US government and its secret police agencies, which ended in New York City on 25 June.

The socialists are demanding \$40 million in damages for illegal activities against them by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and others. They also want a declaration that there is no constitutional basis for investigating them.

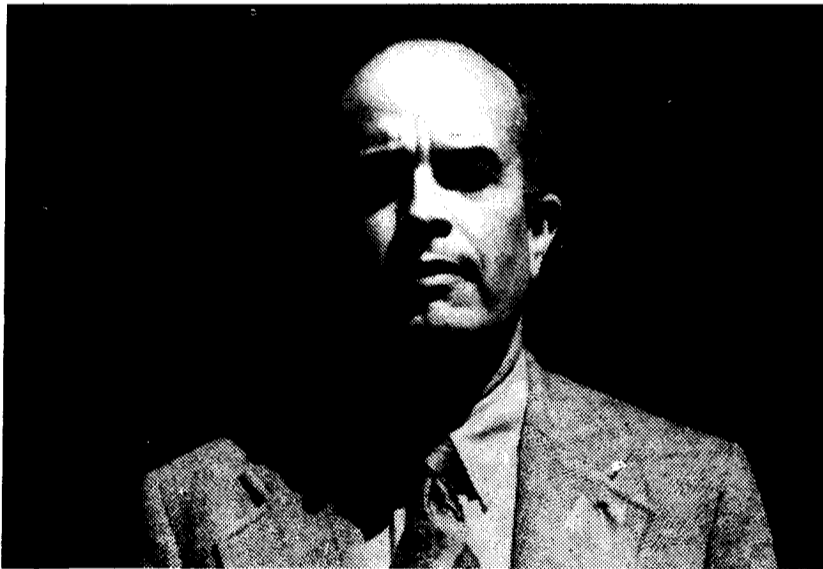
Socialist Challenge talked to Barnes and Larry Seigle, coordinator of the Political Rights Defence Fund (which handles all aspects of the lawsuit), shortly after the end of the trial.

'I think really that we forced out into the open the ultimate power of the executive branch to go after so-called "subversives" without any control.'

'We also exposed the thought-control legislation like the Smith Act, the Voorhis Act. People thought they had died along with McCarthyism in the 1950s, but our case has shown how they're still used to harass opponents of government policy.'

'In the course of twelve weeks we dragged out the whole reality of unfettered governmental power: executive orders, loyalty programmes, the lot. And in doing that we also paid to the myth of the bad FBI, Hoover the maniac, and so on. What was done to us was government policy, approved at the highest levels, and it carried on regardless of whether those in office were Democrats or Republicans.'

The words are those of Larry Seigle, and as they suggest, right from



Jack Barnes, national secretary of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

the start the socialists' suit was seen as a public campaign on behalf of all the victims of US government harassment.

Actor Ed Asner (Low Grant in the TV show of that name) spoke for many when he said: 'I look forward to the trial in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit as the culmination of a long struggle for justice against governmental abuses.'

Public support broadened as the case uncovered a fantastic array of dirty tricks by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other agencies. Practically everything the socialists had charged the government with turned out to be true: burglaries, wiretaps, bugs, mail openings, use of informers, collaboration with right-wing terrorists in physical attacks ... the lot.

But gradually it became clear that the stakes were a lot higher. For the government's defence to all this was simply that the 'inherent power and responsibilities of the President' in matters of national security allowed the FBI to do what it liked to the SWP and YSA — or anyone else, for that matter.

In effect, it argued that the government is above the laws it makes for other people. And this is necessary to defend democracy!

So it's not altogether surprising that the trial itself was almost com-

pletely blotted out in the media. The boycott was truly extraordinary. Twelve weeks of a trial which raised big constitutional issues, showing over and over again how the government tramples all over the democratic rights of American citizens — and all the national papers can manage is a token article when it opens and another when it ends.

Yet as Barnes points out: 'It was a good story. That's why our rallies in different parts of the country got such good local coverage — big stories in the local press, radio interviews, and so on. But nationally: nothing.'

The response at those rallies also helps to explain why the media tried to shut out news of the trial. Barnes continued:

'We totally underestimated the example we were setting for the rest of the left. I've been amazed at the praise the party has come in for at these rallies. In cities from California to New York, people have said the same thing: we didn't understand what you were doing, but now it's all become clear.'

'Our trial has coincided with the greatest onslaught on democratic rights in a quarter of a century. This is at the centre of the whole war drive.'

'But American workers have been through too much in the last few years. They can't face another Viet-

nam, another Watergate, another depression. Yet this is the ruling class package.'

'Our case makes all the links. And that's what you feel in the rallies. In San Francisco, for instance, we had representatives of 27 currents and organisations outside the SWP and YSA in attendance. And it wasn't just a question of solidarity. People came because they wanted to discuss how to fight against the threat of war, how to resist the cutbacks, etc.'

What is at stake in the socialists' case are the methods the capitalist class needs to maintain its rule over working people — the vast majority of the country — at a time of growing class conflict.

The *Economist* magazine (13-19 June) warned the US imperialists against mistaking the result of the presidential election 'for a general "mandate" for the Reagan administration to impose its will. In reality it is nothing of the kind. People voted for Mr Reagan in November not because they agree with everything he said, but because they were fed up with the Carter administration.'

As examples the magazine mentioned popular support for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights, and opposition to Reagan's tax-cut proposals. It might just as well have added that on foreign policy too the polls show overwhelming rejection of US support for the junta in El Salvador.

Yet the recession means that the ruling class has little alternative but to pursue its current attacks on working people. That will mean clamping down on any independent political leadership that begins to emerge in the labour movement. A whole battery of secret police powers will be required — all those used against the SWP and YSA and more.

Larry Seigle explains that the turn made by the party a few years ago to get a majority of its members into industrial jobs has a lot to do with the support it has been able to win around the lawsuit.

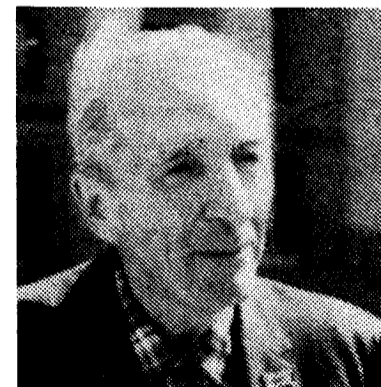
'Without our turn to industry we'd be off in a corner. We'd be unable to take up the concrete implications for the labour movement — things like the sacking of our comrades at Lockheed simply because they happen to be socialists. Having local union officials speak at our

rallies and be identified with the party on this question, having groups of co-workers attend — all this is new.'

Adds Barnes: 'We've found that co-workers will come to the suit rallies more than they would to an anti-war action; it's a bigger response then you find around economic issues.'

'And what they can see very clearly from the suit is the class question involved. The fact that the Democrats and Republicans represent the same class interest. They're more receptive to arguments that working people need their own party — a labour party.'

The international context was an important aspect of this trial. A longtime SWP leader Farrell Dobbs explained in court, you can't have democratic rights at home while imperialist war is being waged abroad.



Farrell Dobbs

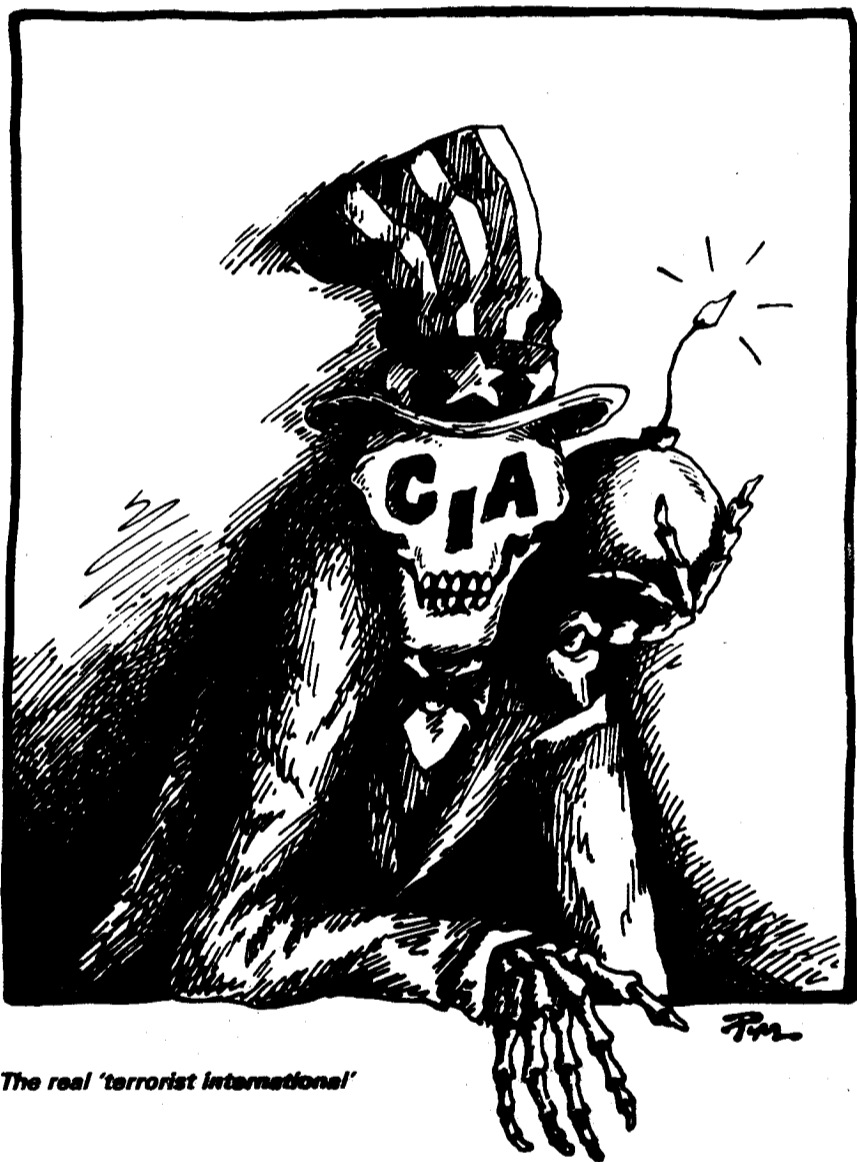
The whole suit was evidence that. Government efforts to burglarize, tap their phones, bug their meeting rooms, and plant agents in their ranks were massively stepped up with the Trotskyists' support for the Cuban revolution against the imperialist blockade, followed by the leading role in the movement against the Vietnam war.

But today the situation is different. Jack Barnes explains:

'Anti-war sentiment today runs deeper and broader than it did when the Vietnam war began. Working people feel that it was they as a class who had to fight and suffer in Vietnam — and for what?'

'That is why Reagan is so powerful to intervene decisively in El Salvador. What would happen when the first American body was brought back from El Salvador? The whole country would see Vietnam all over

AND OF FREE?



The real 'terrorist internationals'

again. This whole international situation really starts people thinking. The opposition in Europe to nuclear weapons is an example. People in Utah, where the MX system is due to be built, understand why people in The Hague don't want missiles stationed there.

Thatcher and Reagan are seen as part of the same package — a sort of marriage of inconvenience. So people begin to feel an identification with the opposition to Thatcher, what's going on in the Labour Party. Then they see the victory of Mitterrand, what they see as a socialist government. It makes American workers think.

Now that the trial is over, both sides are working on written briefs summarising their arguments in the trial; with the judge's ruling expected late this year or early in 1982. But as always, what goes on in court is only a small part of the process.

'This case didn't finish with the trial at all', says Barnes. 'The information we forced out is of immense value to the entire labour movement, to the Black movement, to the women's movement. We have to get as much as possible of that stuff out during the briefing period.'

'Then there are a whole series of related cases coming up, cases which focus on particular aspects of this struggle for democratic rights. Like the Lockheed case Larry mentioned; and there's now another case in Cincinnati where the firing of two SWP members has been upheld because it's alleged that their presence in the plant would cause unrest!

'Then there are also the current appeals against deportation by Hector Marroquin (a Mexican) and Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh (an Iranian student). We contend that the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (INS) is trying to deport them because of their membership of the SWP and YSA. After all, the Shah didn't face any such problems!

'Then in the fall we'll be trying to build big rallies to draw the lessons of the case and link up with other cases, such as the jailed trade unionists who were the victims of and FBI frameup at the NASSCO shipyard in San Diego.'

'This trial has put us in a great position to drive for a united front in defence of democratic rights, on the war question, against attacks on living conditions. And that's what we intend to do.'



Striking air traffic controller Steve Wallaert is led away in chains by United States Marshals after being jailed for refusing to return to work

Reagan aims to shackle the unions

By Bob Pennington

AMERICAN air traffic controllers and their families must now know, and doubtless appreciate, what it is really like to live in the 'land of the free'.

Of course it is rather a different freedom than they had originally believed in. In a few short, sharp brutal days they have learned that President Reagan and the employers believe that the making of profit is what freedom is about, and that uppity workers who interfere in that sacred pursuit are challenging 'democracy' and the American way of life.

It is defence of the capitalist version of freedom that has made the White House and the judiciary launch a series of unprecedented measures against the strikers. Measures by the way, which must be turning Mrs Thatcher green with envy, and no doubt there is many a stalinist bureaucrat in Warsaw wishing to christ he could do the same to Solidarity.

Sacked

Thirteen thousand workers have been sacked. They and their families have lost all their medical and life insurance. None of them will be allowed to work in the Federal sector again. Five union officials have been jailed. The President of the Norfolk, Virginia local, Steve Wallaert was sentenced to 60 days jail for refusing to order his members back to work. The judge, in a display of ruling class savagery then had him taken from the court in handcuffs and leg irons.

Right across the country the judges are slapping fines on the union

which total around \$100,000 an hour. The judges are showing that when it comes to the class war they are not neutral and if the bosses want the air traffic controllers' union smashed then they are ready and willing to do their bit.

Reagan's excuse for this onslaught against the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organisation and its members, is that they broke their vow as Federal employees not to strike. As the air traffic controllers' strike has just started the law suit brought by the American Socialist Workers Party has just finished. The SWP suit was brought against the US Government and its agencies like the FBI and the CIA.

Nixon

By proof in court, and on the admissions of the FBI themselves, it was shown that with the approval of the US Government these police agencies had engaged in illegal wiretapping, burglary, mail opening and had worked with right wing extremists to organise physical attacks on SWP members. Every one of these actions was a violation of the vows taken by the Government officials who sanctioned them and the FBI and CIA agents who carried them out.

Reagan's old buddy — both before and after his resignation as President — Richard Nixon, was found to be a liar and a cheat who fiddled the Treasury out of millions of dollars in income tax, who also conspired in burglary and bribery — all in defiance of the constitution he had sworn to uphold. Nixon even illegally ordered the bombing of Cambodia which was a breaking of his vow that caused the deaths of thousands of people.

Nixon did not go to jail in leg irons. He got a pardon and is now do-

ing very nicely on the money he got out of the American people. None of the capitalists who have looted the nation's funds, conspired against peoples' civil rights, and waged illegal wars were imprisoned. They do not lose their jobs and their money which buys them health care and insurance. They have an advantage over the air traffic controllers — they own a piece of the action. The President is their man. The judges belong to them and their class. All the cards are stacked on their side. This is why they can unleash such a fury against 13,000 air traffic controllers.

This is just the beginning they hope. If they grind PACTO into the dust they are confident that other unions going on strike will think twice, nay three or four times before they take on the employers and the Government.

Solidarity

An AFL-CIO official is reported to have said 'The President is trying to take on the union movement in the same way Mrs Thatcher has in Britain ... We will not be thrown behind bars.'

He is right. Reagan is taking on the unions but he has thrown them behind bars. And the only way to open that jailhouse door and get the air traffic controllers their jobs back is for the US labour movement to do what the British working class did in 1972 when Heath sent five dockers to jail for 'striking illegally'. A general strike began and within hours the dockers were out of jail.

In every country workers must put an embargo on all US planes to help our brothers and sisters in the American unions fight for the right to organise, because our own ruling class is dying to take a leaf out of Reagan's book.

For an independent, federal and socialist Afghanistan

THE following is an abridged version of a resolution on Afghanistan adopted by majority at a recent meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International.

IN April 1978, the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) overthrew the Daud regime and took power in Kabul. Initially the new PDPA regime received a favourable judgement from sectors of the masses.

In 12 months this support had been frittered away.

The programme of the regime comprised a series of half-measures applied in a way that was quite incapable of breaking the hold of ruling layers on the rural masses.

The PDPA made no effort to raise the level of consciousness of the peasants, and kept well away from organising or mobilising the workers and poor peasants in an independent way. It institutionalised the trade union movement and outlawed strikes.

From April 1978 the big landowners, the tribal chiefs who were only recently made legal owners of the land, the mullahs and the fundamentalist Islamic Pushtuns began armed struggle against the regime. In spite of their social base of support, these reactionary leaders were engaged in a struggle against any reforms in order to safeguard their position as exploiters and oppressors. From this point of view, even though the PDPA base was limited it was opposed to the reactionary camp in a civil war.

In 1979 movements inside the national and ethnic-cultural minorities in Hazardjah, Tadjikistan and Nuristan appeared. Above all they expressed opposition to the central state and to a PDPA which was identified with traditional Pushtun domination.

Thus the PDPA was incapable of implementing its programme. The growing resistance of the rural population and part of the urban masses, as well as the appearance of splits inside the Afghan army, all heightened the isolation of the regime.

Soviet intervention became heavier after the uprisings in Herat (March 1979) and Jalalabad and especially the mutiny at the Bala-hissar fort (near

Kabul) in August 1979. This resulted in repeated conflicts between the Kremlin advisors and some PDPA elements.

One fact stands out very clearly from all the evidence: the intervention, occupation, and the policy followed since September 1979, were all decided by Moscow, not by the Afghan government.

The Soviet bureaucracy has shown that, in order to follow its own objectives it does not hesitate to refuse any grain of rights to self-determination of the peoples of this semi-colonial country. There is no doubt that there was a violation of self-determination. Furthermore, from the point of view of the general or particular interests of the proletarian revolution such an orientation cannot be justified.

Nor can the military occupation be justified in the name of the defence of the USSR. At no time during the class conflicts in Afghanistan — which certainly could have resulted in the fall of the PDPA regime — was there any possibility of forces coming to power in Afghanistan capable of attacking the USSR, or of a generalised conflict developing which could threaten the social foundations of the USSR.

The actions of the Kremlin bureaucracy become a weapon in the reactionaries' hands to be used to counterpose 'socialism' to the struggle for national liberation and democratic rights. The bourgeois nationalist and Islamic leaders latch on to this situation in order to build their image among the masses.

The Soviet invasion also facilitates the anti-Marxist and anti-communist campaign of imperialism which uses it to justify rearmament policies and its attempts to demobilise mass opposition to military expenditure.

It allows imperialism to claim a legitimacy for its interventionist policies in the Middle East, Iran and Central America.

Thus from the point of view of the defence of the workers state in Russia, as well as the repercussions on the level of consciousness and organisation of the world proletariat, the



Soviet intervention can only be condemned.

Who forms the majority of the ranks of this 'internal resistance' and who suffers from the Soviet repression? In the main it is the poor peasants whose leaders are most often the traditional chiefs. They have been joined by sectors of the traditional petit-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, civil servants and the urban sala-

ried and plebian layers. Among the students and secondary school pupils where the Khalq and Parcham traditionally drew their forces, a strong opposition movement has emerged.

The experience of the masses under the Taraki and Amin government, the methods used by the PDPA and the Soviet advisors, and the Soviet occupation all mean that the

'Red Army' forces could not, and cannot, become the instrument for an effective battle against the reactionaries. This is even more the case given the battle cannot be won only militarily.

Far from welding together the ranks of the PDPA — all estimations give it a maximum membership of 5000 — the intervention and the occupation have accentuated the conflicts between the Khalq and Parcham factions.

Increasingly the Soviet forces substitute for the 'phantom' Afghan state apparatus. In July 1980 Afghanistan was divided up into 7 military regions — each headed by a Soviet General. The Soviets exercise direct control on the administrative, institutional, military and even the nationalised state sector.

The Soviet intervention and the occupation have therefore proved to be obstacles to the reinforcement of the workers and peasants movement, to the emergence of a leadership capable of carrying out a social, political and military battle against the reactionaries. Nothing in this instance therefore justifies the abandonment of the defence of the right to self-determination when the Soviets have substituted for the PDPA and decide everything themselves. Self deter-



mination is one of the absolutely necessary elements of any strategy for struggle against reaction and imperialism, in Afghanistan and the region as a whole.

To organise the battle against the reactionaries, it is necessary to have a social base among the urban layers who are most

open to support for a policy of democratic reforms and social changes. But without an alliance with the poor peasantry and oppressed nationalities a dead end will be reached.

In Afghanistan today two aspects of national self-determination are combined: on the one hand the defence of political sovereignty and independence faced with the Soviet occupation, and on the other hand the rights and aspirations of oppressed national minorities in the framework of the Afghan state and of the region as a whole.

It would be false to reject this approach by counterposing, for example, the right to 'self-determination' of the workers in the towns and countryside, on the pretext of the backward character of sectors of the resistance. Putting forward such a slogan simply ends up denying the effect provoked by the Soviet intervention on class consciousness in Afghanistan.

To win an influence among the urban working masses and to prevent their control by the reactionary forces it is vital to put forward democratic and social demands, to defend their gains and to take a position against the hold of the USSR. Such an approach can also provide an answer to those who supported the regime and its various progressive measures (despite the way in which they were carried out) but who are splitting from it and refuse to back the policy of the USSR.

A clear position of the international workers' movement against imperialist and reactionary plots and for the right of self-determination in Afghanistan permits the weakening of the Islamic fundamentalist forces, who are beginning to be discredited for their methods, and favours the organisations struggling for the masses' social and national rights.

A withdrawal of Soviet troops would doubtlessly put into danger the partisans of the existing regime. The Kremlin's policy will have contributed to worsen their position against the reactionaries.

But this can only be seen in relation to the overall negative effects of the maintenance of Soviet troops for the development of the class struggle on the national and international level. To favour Soviet troop withdrawal does not imply dropping defence of PDPA militants and sympathisers against the reactionaries.

Socialists should not confuse the principle of proletarian internationalism and effective aid to freedom-fighters in a developing revolution, with the military intervention of a workers' state, falsely presented as an 'extension of socialism', which in fact prevents any independent activity of the masses.

Internment: ten years on

TEN YEARS ago this week, internment without trial was re-introduced in the North of Ireland. As an anniversary, today it has more than a passing relevance. The successors of the internees of ten years ago are the political prisoners in the H Blocks and the women's prison in Armagh.

GEOFF BELL recalls the fateful day in August 1971 and explains why little has changed.

The North of Ireland is the largest prison camp in the world. Since it came into being 60 years ago it has been such because that was the only way it could exist. When Ireland was divided in 1921, against the wishes of the majority of the population, the Northern state could only survive by repression.

That was why, as soon as the statelet came into existence in 1921, internment without trial was immediately invoked. Over 500 Republican sympathisers were arrested within a couple of weeks. It was not until 1924 that this first period of internment ended.

the ineffective IRA 'border campaign'. Internment lasted from 1956-61. Over 400 were detained and 256 jailed without trial for lengthy periods.

In many ways the internment which began in 1971 was different from most of its predecessors. For this time the policy of jailing without trial or release date was invoked not so much against a supposed 'military' threat, but against a political threat.

True, some of those interned were members of the IRA, but others were activists in the civil rights movement which had



British soldiers in 1972 looking for escaped internees.

on the rights of those who had been making the demands!

For this reason, internment signalled the end of the civil rights campaign. This was not because the repression had successfully eliminated that campaign, but because it had shown the pointlessness of making the demand for the reform of the North of Ireland state. If, in the final analysis the response of that state was to lock up its opponents and throw away the key, then that showed that the state itself was incapable of being reformed.

Internment thus became the recruiting sergeant for the Provisional IRA, who now em-

barked on a campaign to overthrow the state and to end the partition of Ireland on which it was based.

Internment was eventually phased out in 1975. By then the Unionist Government had been abolished, and direct rule from Westminster had taken its place.

But the resistance continued because the Labour Government in Britain showed little inclination to tackle the root cause of the Irish 'trouble' — the undemocratic Northern state and all the anti-Catholic discrimination and repression which went with it.

Internment as a policy had proved ineffective, and the torture of those

who had been its victims had been denounced by the European Court of Human Rights. So the British Government needed more subtle means of locking up its opponents. Those arrested from 1976 onwards were still denied trial by juries but did have their case tried by a single judge. The normal rules of evidence were changed so that in many instances those accused had to prove

Special Powers

IT WAS the Special Powers Act which allowed for internment without trial.

This Act permitted arrest without charge or warrant, the right to intern without trial, prohibit the holding of coroners' inquests, flog, execute, destroy buildings, requisition land or property, ban any organisation be it political, social or trade, prohibit meetings, publications or gramophone records.

their innocence, rather than the prosecution prove guilty. Many were convicted on the basis of 'confessions' extracted by what was later described as 'inhuman treatment' by Amnesty International.

The victims of this repression are today the prisoners in Long Kesh and Armagh. Because they have been tried in special courts and convicted under special legislation, their claim is that they should receive different treatment once they are incarcerated. That is the basis of the present heroic struggle of the hunger strikers in Long Kesh. And that is why the best way to commemorate the tenth anniversary of internment is to secure the victory of those hunger strikers.

The victims

'A HOOD was pulled over my head and I was handcuffed and subjected to verbal and personal abuse ... I was dragged out to the helicopter, being kicked and struck about the body with batons on the way.

'After what seemed about one hour in the helicopter I was thrown from it and kicked and batoned into what I took to be a lorry. The lorry was driven to a building.

'On arriving there, all my clothes were taken from me and I was given a boiler suit to wear which had no buttons. During this time the hood was still over my head.

'I was then taken into what I can only guess was another room and was made to stand with my feet

wide apart and my hands pressed against a wall. During all this time I could hear a low droning noise, which sounded to me like an electric saw ... This continued for what I can only describe as an indefinite period of time.

'I stood there, arms against the wall, feet wide apart. My arms, legs, back and head began to ache.

'I perspired free, the noise and the heat were terrible. My circulation had stopped. I flexed my arms to start the blood flowing again.

They struck me several times on the hands, ribs, kidneys, and my kneecaps were kicked. My hood-covered head was banged against the wall.'

The next time the Unionists began locking up their political opponents internment lasted twice as long — from 1938 to 1945. In all, 827 people were held during this period. The initial reason given by the government was that there was an 'IRA plot' to launch 'attacks upon persons occupying prominent positions and upon Government and other property'.

Eleven years after the last internee had been released in 1945 the Unionists were at it again. The excuse this time was

sprung up in the North of Ireland in late 1968 to demand equal treatment for Catholics, and repeal of repressive legislation. Among those arrested on 9 August 1971 were Michael Farrell, John Murphy and John McGuffin, all members of Peoples Democracy which was then a loose organisation on the left wing of the civil rights campaign.

Such arrests made the political meaning of internment in 1971 clear. The demand for civil rights for Catholics had been answered by a gross attack



Long Kesh as it was in 1971.

Where you can buy Socialist Challenge

Scotland

ABERDEEN: SC available at Boomtown books, King St. For more info ring Bill 896 284.
DUNDEE: SC available from Dundee City Square outside Boots, Thur 4-5.30pm, Fri 4-5.30pm, Sat 11-4pm.
EDINBURGH: SC sold Thur 4.15-5.15pm Bus Station, St. Andrews Square and bottom of Waverly steps 4.30-5.30; Sat 11.30-2pm East End, Princes St. Also available from 1st May Books, or Better Books, Forrest Rd. More info on local activity from SC c/o Box 6, 1st May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row.
GLASGOW: SC sales every Thur/Fri 4.30-5.30pm at Central Station. Also available at Barretts, Byres Rd; Clyde Books, High St; Glasgow Bookshop Collective, Cresswell Lane; Hope Street Book Centre.
HAMILTON: SC sale every Sat 1-5pm outside Safeway, shopping centre. For more info contact John Ford, 53 Elliot Crescent, Hamilton or Paul Youngson, 18 Forrest Crescent, Hamilton.

Wales

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

England

BATH: SC on sale at 1985 Books, London Road, and Saturdays 2pm-3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details.
BIRKENHEAD: SC on sale at Labour Club, Cleveland St, Thur nights; in precinct outside Littlewoods, Sat 11-12.
BIRMINGHAM: SC on sale at The Ramp, Fri 4.30-5.40, Sat 10-4. For more info phone 643-0669.
BOLSOVER: Cross Keys, every Fri 8-10pm.
BRADFORD: SC at Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate.
BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. More info Box 2, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Montpellier, Bristol 6.
BURNLEY: SC on sale every Sat morning 11.30-1pm St James St.
CHESTERFIELD: SC sold outside Boots, Market Place, Sat 11.30am-12.30pm.
COVENTRY: SC available from Wedge Bookshop. For more info about local activities phone 461138.
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: SC sales in Time Square, Sat 10.30-1.30pm.
Huddersfield: SC sold Sat 11am-1pm, The Piazza. SC also available at Peaceworks.
LEEDS: Sat 11-1 at Lands Lane Pedestrian Precinct and 10.30-12.00 at Headingley Arndale Centre. Corner Bookshop, Woodhouse Lane.
LIVERPOOL: SC on sale from News from Nowhere, Whitechapel and Progressive Books, Berry St.
MANCHESTER: SC sold 11-1pm Sat at OLDHAM outside the Yorkshire Bank, High St; at BURY in the shopping precinct and at Metro Books; at BOLTON in the town centre; and in MANCHESTER outside the central reference library in St Peter's Square and at Grassroots and Percivals Bookshop. Tel: 061-236 4905 for further info.
NEWCASTLE: SC on sale every Sat 11-1pm outside Fenwicks. Also available at Days of Hope bookshop, Westgate Rd.
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NEWHAM: SC sold Sat 11am to noon, Queen's Rd Mkt, Upton Park.
PADDINGTON: SC sold at Portobello Rd market Sat at noon.
WEMBLEY: SC sales Fri 6.45am at North Wembley BR Station.

Bookshops

BANGOR: Rainbows, Hollyhead Road, Upper Bangor, Gwynedd.
BRADFORD: Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Sandgate.
BRIGHTON: The Public House, Little Preston St.
BIRMINGHAM: Other Bookshop, 137 Digbeth, Birmingham.
DURHAM: Durham City Co-op Bookshop, 85a New Elvet.
ILFORD: South Essex Bookshop, 335 Ley Street.
MILTON KEYNES: Oakleaf Books, 109 Church Street, Wolverton.
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LEICESTER: Blackthorn Books, 70 High St, Leicester, and V Karia, 53A London Rd, Leicester.
LIVERPOOL: News from Nowhere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1.
LONDON: Central Books, 37 Gray's Inn Rd; Collets, Charing Cross Rd, WC2; Paperback Books, Brixton and Charlotte St; Kilburn Bookshop, Kilburn High Road, NW6; The Bookplace, Peckham High St, SE15; Books Plus, Lewisham; Balham Food Co-op; Housmans, 5 Caledonian Rd, N1; Compendium, Camden Town NW1; Owl, Kentish Town; New Beacon, Seven Sisters Rd, N4; Bookmarks, Seven Sisters Rd, N4; Centreprise, 126 Kingsland High St, E8; Dillon, QMC; Page One, E15; The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, N1; Reading Matters, Wood Green next to Sainsbury's.
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SC Events

SC ORGANISERS fraction Sat 5 Sept 11am-4.30pm. Venue to be announced.

IMG notices

ABORTION fraction Sat 5 Sept at national centre 10.30am. At least one member of each branch to attend to discuss national perspective for next year.

Stop the missiles

Labour at the cross-roads

FOR the first time in many years all the main issues in the battle against the Tories will be highlighted by this autumn's Labour Party conference.

The decisions of the conference will have a major impact on the debate on those issues in the workers' movement over the coming months.

Socialist Challenge will feature a series of articles over the summer on this vital Labour Party conference. In the first BRIAN HERON looks at Labour and the Bomb.

Even the coolest members of the ruling class are alarmed at Labour's position on the bomb. The move by the Labour Party national executive (NEC) to have unilateral disarmament in Labour's next election manifesto is dead serious.

Thatcher and Reagan, are far less confident this time.

First, the would-be Gaitskells face a very unfavourable prospect as they search for union support. Even the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (not renowned for its left wing credentials) has gone unilateralist.

Inside the party, the view is even bleaker for the right wing. There were 144 resolutions on various aspects of the fight against the missiles at last year's conference.

Fat

When the 1960 party conference passed a motion supporting unilateralism Gaitskell made his famous 'fight, fight and fight again' speech. And in 1961 Labour's conference duly bowed to the pressure of the right wing union leaders and MPs and reversed its previous stand.

But the generals in NATO, the City of London, the arms manufacturers growing fat on government contracts, and their loyal representatives,

Attack

But many resolutions fudged the vital differences between multilateralism and unilateralism, which allowed everybody, from Healey through to Benn, to stand on Labour Party policy.

It allowed Foot to appoint anti-unilateralist



Which way does Foot march now?

Brynmor John as shadow defence spokesperson, and to launch a vicious attack on Benn for leading parliamentary opposition to the government's defence proposals — on the basis that Labour's Cabinet were defending conference

policy. There are over 100 resolutions on disarmament at this year's conference, making disarmament still the single most popular topic.

But this year, 91 of the 110 resolutions are unilat-

eralist. Six are from unions, including NUPE and NUM. And 14 of the resolutions express opposition to NATO.

The NEC is going to put a clearly unilateralist line to conference. The NEC statement is aimed at

winning the two thirds majority necessary to get manifesto status for banning the British Bomb.

Most people active in the party agree that there is a great prospect for victory in the fight for unilateral disarmament to become

Labour's policy. This battle has decided some very important arguments that have raged in the ranks of the Labour Party and inside the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Resign

It came as no surprise to anybody that Healey voted against the NEC's proposals, or that Brynmor John has hinted that if carried, he might be forced to resign. We all sincerely hope so.

What has also become clear is the position of Michael Foot. He abstained on the NEC proposals, explaining that conference should not take the NEC statement because there had been no time to have a full and thorough discussion with the leaders of the western European Socialist parties.

Worthy

Of the handful of multilateralist motions facing conference, one is worthy of particular attention. It hails from Ebbw Vale, Foot's own constituency.



When Labour's conference overwhelmingly passes a unilateralist position, it will be a matter of considerable interest to see whether Foot, a longtime CND campaigner, pledges himself to 'fight, fight and fight again' against conference policy.

Northern Carnival Against the Missiles

Future lies with the youth

By Helen Flynn, Hackney Revolution supporter

DESPITE the morning's rain and the unrelenting cloud, they turned out in their thousands for the Northern Carnival Against the Missiles.

The demonstration started with 5,000 at Strangeways, doubling in size on its way down to Alexandra Park in Moss Side, and in all, about 15,000 came to the Carnival itself.

It was dominated by young people, many local, and many who had travelled from all over the North of England. The atmosphere was truly dynamic — few people listened to the speakers who were described by one young woman as the 'old fogeys'.

Kerry, who is in Salford CND and a Revolution supporter, pointed out that most of the hard organisational work for the Carnival had been done by the local Youth CND groups.

Mood

But her speech also reflected best the mood of the whole day — a determination to fight both the missiles and the Tory Government which carries on its war-mongering on an international level, while it lashes out at the erupting communities like Moss Side itself.

Struggles

But those speakers who came to share the experience of their own living struggles — Gus John of the Moss Side Defence Committee, Tony from the Grenadian High Commission, Steve Longshore from the Laurence Scott occupation, and especially Kerry Wade of Youth CND National Council — were well received by the crowds.

Talking to local kids, black and white together, and to enthusiastic young anti-bomb campaigners from other areas, even listening to the bands, everyone echoed the need to kick out the Tories as the first step towards really changing our society.

Harlem Spirit, a Moss Side band, dedicated their set to 'all those who live in the ghetto of Moss Side'.

Photo: Morning Star



Youth takes the lead against the missiles

From them and from other groups like Beat Root, we heard very good and intensely political music, which created a feeling of unity and optimism.

Optimism was the keynote at the end of the day. Rumours of trouble to come, spread by the local cops, failed to

materialise. A good time was had by all.

And many young activists in the disarmament movement must have gone away enthused, as I was, for the potential of building a massive demonstration in October to show our determination to stop Thatcher bringing Cruise and Trident to Bri-

tain.

As the crowds melted away into the gloom, we saw weary but obviously elated young Mancunians staggering about, waving clasped hands in the air, shouting 'We did it! We did it!'

More than anything else, that moment revealed how many months of hard

work had gone to make the whole event such a success.

All over the country now, CND and Youth CND groups must set themselves an equivalent task, and get down to organising and building for 24 October for a massive turn-out to stop the missiles.

And CND nationally must pull its finger out and really begin to encourage the growth of Youth CND.

The clearest message this weekend was that the future of the campaign lies with the youth — and they have the drive to take the whole movement forward in a tremendous way.

Satirising the middle classes

By Colin Robinson

CURRENTLY showing at the Edinburgh Festival is a stunning exhibition of the work of the French republican artist Honoré Daumier (1808-1879).

Daumier's art is of particular interest to revolutionaries. From his early vicious satires of Louis Phillipe, the reactionary Bourbon king; the chilling brutality of *Rue Transnoain*; and the later merciless satires of the middle classes, Daumier combined a unique artistic vision with a committed political outlook.

Far from being intimidated by the laws of censorship under which he was imprisoned in 1834, Daumier constantly strove to find new artistic forms which, though acceptable to the censor, continued to express his disgust towards the reactionaries governing France.

In a life that spanned the revolution of 1830, 1848, and the Paris Commune of 1870, Daumier overcame abject poverty and complete lack of recognition to produce literally thousands of illustrations for the popular press, which maintain their power and relevance today.

Daumier exhibition of lithographs, oil paintings, watercolours and sculptures at Royal Scottish Academy, Princes Street, Edinburgh. 10am to 9pm daily including Sundays, from 13 August to 12 September.



'Rue Transnoain, 15 April 1834' — A police massacre of a poor family of Daumier's quarter in Paris



'Louis Phillipe contemplating the Past, Present and Future' a hypocrite of 1834



'Conciliatory Attitude of the Moderates' — Daumier exposes the Social Democrats of 1871

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Holiday reading

Summer holidays give most of us the chance to have a good read. Over the next week, we'll be carrying reviews of books our readers have enjoyed and would recommend to others.

This week, Charlie Van Gelderen's choice for a good holiday book is *Burger's Daughter* by Nadine Gordiner.

This is the ideal book for those who like to read good fiction on holiday but who, while lying on the sun-drenched beaches or sipping their aperitifs, do not altogether want to forget that the very real world of politics is still there.

Nadine Gordiner is one of the greatest writers of fiction living today and the winner of several literary prizes.

Rosa is the daughter of Lionel Burger, an Afrikaner who became one of the leaders of the South African Communist Party, a character obviously based on Braam Fischer. Rosa's earliest memory is, as a schoolchild, visiting her parents in prison. Her father eventually dies in

Pretoria jail.

Nadine Gordiner skilfully unfolds the story of Rosa's subsequent development as a woman and a personality against the background of the turbulent political environment of the apartheid republic.

Although she had not played an active political role since the tragic death of her father, she is picked up and detained without charges during the big demonstrations commemorating those who died in Soweto, to be subsequently framed in a treason trial. In prison she once again finds her political identity.

The book was briefly banned in South Africa. Surprisingly the ban was lifted despite its overt condemnation of the system. One chapter contains nothing but the manifesto of the Soweto Students Representative Council, which ends with the stirring words **FORWARD FOREVER — BACKWARD NEVER!**

Burger's Daughter by Nadine Gordiner is published by Penguin and is available from the Other Bookshop (price £1.95).

Socialist Challenge

Laurence Scott's attack sell out

By Brian Heron

ON this page we print extracts from two letters. They tell the story of a sordid attempt to betray the workforce at Lawrence Scotts, now in the seventeenth week of their strike to save jobs.

Sir John Boyd, CBE, General Secretary of their union, the AUEW, and tuba player in the Salvation Army is intent on using the full authority of the AUEW to smash the struggle of the 650 Manchester engineering workers.

To do so, Boyd and the National Executive are tearing up the following rules of their union as fast as they can.

● *Rule 28 Clause 3* Dispute benefit is payable to members who take action 'with the previous or subsequent sanction of the District Committee'.

On the 28 July the Manchester North District Committee of the AUEW voted unanimously to support the Lawrence Scott workers.

● *Rule 28, Clause 9* Where benefit has been approved 'nothing in these rules shall be construed as giving power to any Council, Committee or Branch to stop payment of this benefit...'

On 4 August the AUEWEC withdrew all strike pay.

● *Rule 14, Clause 16* Executive Council. The Executive Council or their representatives 'shall not be allowed to complete an agreement... unless the terms of the agreement are first submitted to the district or districts affected.'

No submission to the North Manchester District has been

received beyond a letter giving notice that the dispute has been terminated.

Official backing for the dispute is vital. On 29 June Lawrence Scott workers picketed their employer Snipe's parent company, Mining Supplies in Doncaster.

The TGWU drivers using the Doncaster plant supported the picket as it had official backing from the AUEW, and therefore from their own union.

By 5 July Snipe had been forced back to the negotiating table. He cobbled up a deal with the national union officials which has been rejected by the local District Committee and two mass meetings of the LSE workers.

The LSE workers fight on. A gathering storm faces the Boyd/Duffy leadership in the engineering union. Rush your support to the LSE workers. Make your voice heard against a sell out.

The following resolution has been sent by the LSE workers to every AUEW branch in the country.

In view of the unanimous support for the Laurence Scott dispute from the 28 July 1981 Manchester North District Committee of the AUEW and the rules of the union with regard to procedure for deciding on the official status of disputes (Rule 14, Paragraph 16), this branch deplores any attempt by the executive to terminate this dispute against the clear wishes of the workforce expressed at two mass meetings (14 July and 23 July) and calls on the National Executive to maintain official backing for this fight for jobs. (For forwarding with your branch stamp and signature to the AUEW National Executive).



As the bailiffs call, Lawrence Scott stands firm.

We have, therefore, instructed our members to return to work under the terms of the Memorandum of Agreement. All Unions involved feel that this is the best possible settlement in view of the circumstances.

It is because of the reasons outlined that you are instructed by Executive Council to inform all of our members working at Laurence Scott factories of the decision of the Executive Council and the reasons for that decision.

Yours fraternally,
p.p. JOHN BOYD,
General Secretary



Further, I would stress this dispute has the unanimous support of the National Committee. Therefore, I think your letter dated 28th July has not only confused the whole issue but is completely unconstitutional in terms of the Rules of the Union and in my humble opinion, you have only one alternative to continue the support of our members at Laurence Scott Electromotors where incidentally other unions are fully supporting their membership in their fight. The only alternative is for you to recall National Committee and permit the arguments from representatives of the Manchester North District Committee and Executive Council. Should you decide on this constitutional course, I would be most obliged if the undersigned could attend that forum.

Yours fraternally,
John Tocher

J.W. TOCHER

Divisional Treasurer

Socialist Challenge

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He died a black nationalist and a revolutionary internationalist fighting to build an independent, united black movement through the Organisation of Afro-American Unity.

There is much for socialists today to learn from the life and ideas of Malcolm X - a life cut tragically short by brutal murder but rich in political ideas and action.

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