

# Socialist Challenge

# ↑ JOBS NOT BOMBS ↓

## 3 million people want to know

# HAVE YOU SEEN THIS MAN?



**MISSING.** Lionel Murray, General Secretary of the TUC. While more than 3 million people are on the dole, Murray is striving for the record of the most invisible trade union leader of all time.

The TUC's inaction is now reaching criminal proportions. Plaintive pleas to the government to change course are useless.

Worse, when workers do struggle to defend their jobs, as in the magnificent factory occupations by the Lee Jeans and Laurence Scott workers, the trade union leaders at-

tempt to sabotage their struggles. This year's TUC will discuss an elaborate plan to 'reconstruct' Britain. But that plan is useless and utopian, unless the TUC leaders are prepared to fight, here and now, against the misery of unemployment.

That means leading a massive campaign of action to bring down the Tories and for socialist solutions like the 35 hour week with no loss of pay.

TUC's plan for the 'Reconstruction of Britain' — see centre pages.

# MARCH FOR JOBS, B'HAM 19 SEP

# Editorial

PO Box 50, London N1 2XP  
Phone 01-359-8189/8180 (editorial and distribution)

## Stop them blocking our right to speak

ONCE again Whitelaw and the police have used the excuse of a National Front march to ban demonstrations.

In the past six months blanket bans on marches have been used six times more than all through the '70s — a total of 403 days.

It is deeply disturbing that there is virtually no response from the labour movement, from civil rights bodies or left organisations.

Nothing shows the bankruptcy of the leadership of the working class more than its failure to defend the democratic right to march in support of its political views.

Caught up in the London ban is yet another national demonstration in solidarity with the people of Chile; a national demonstration in support of Asian youth in Southall; and a march of hospital workers in protest against new rates of pay.

At a time of mounting opposition to the Tory government as they dismantle the economy, militarise the police, commit us to adventures in the Caribbean and endorse the American neutron bomb how can we possibly let them muzzle us?

The right wing organisations like the National Front are delighted. On one hand they can claim that it is they who are the target of the attack on free speech and on the other hand, without lifting a finger, can stop their opponents from exercising their right to free speech.

Peter Hain of the Anti-Nazi League warns that the bans are 'extremely dangerous because of their anaesthetising effect on all progressive activity' — this is true.

More and more organisations are tailoring their plans in anticipation of bans. So they call rallies or indoor meetings rather than marches which have the potential of reaching more people.

Stop the Tories and ultra-right from pushing free speech off the streets and into the back rooms. Raise the issue in your trade unions, labour parties and other organisations — before it's too late!

### 18 Bans ordered since March

5 March, ban for 21 days in London Metropolitan Police area.

20 March, ban for one month in Leicester.

21 March, ban for 21 days in Wolverhampton.

21 March, ban for 29 days in Leeds.

22 March, ban for seven days in South Yorkshire.

25 April for one month in London Metropolitan Police area.

19 June, ban for 23 days in Coventry.

11 July, ban for 35 days in London Metropolitan Police area.

17 July, ban for 10 days in Walsall.

18 July, ban for seven days in Oxford.

18 July, ban for 30 days in Plymouth.

24 July, ban for 17 days on marches in Grimsby

and Cleethorpes and Southorpe

1 August, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

14 August, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

21 August, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

28 August, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

4 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

11 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

18 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

25 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

2 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

9 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

16 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

23 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

30 September, ban for 14 days in Bedfordshire

# International

## Reagan and Thatcher 'practise' Grenada invasion

By Toni Gorton

BRITISH destroyers have been involved in a NATO exercise in the Caribbean that is a 'dummy run' of a future invasion of Grenada, according to Fennis Augustin, Grenadan High Commissioner in London.

He plans to send a special letter to Margaret Thatcher protesting British involvement in a military exercise which is threatening a fellow commonwealth country.

The exercise entitled Ocean Venture 81 is under the joint command of the US army, navy and air forces, and, with more than 120,000 military personnel from 4 countries, it is touted as the largest maritime exercise since the Second World War.

Rear Admiral Robert P McKenzie, who was in charge of the Caribbean phase described the exercise as a show of military might.

'We're here to reinforce in the eyes and minds of those watching, our military commitment around the world — to give an example of the ability of one facet of the US capabilities to respond in the Caribbean basin,' he said.

The Admiral revealed the thinking behind the military manoeuvres in the area — 'The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 was the last time we looked seriously at this part of the world.'

'During the period in between Castro seized on the unemployment and unrest in the region to spread terrorism, revolution and communism. Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada are practically one country,' he said.

Earlier this year an article entitled 'Grenada — threat to America's Caribbean Oil Routes' appeared in the May-June issue of *National Defence*, the

right wing journal of the American Defense Preparedness Association.

It claimed that Grenada has a strategic importance in the Caribbean. 'It is viewed as an important addition to the Soviet hegemony by Warsaw Pact strategists.'

The author, Timothy Ashby, explained within a five hundred mile radius of the island are oilfields and refineries which currently supply 56 per cent of the oil consumed on the eastern seaboard of the United States.

Ashby reckons that Russian-built MiG-27s operating from Grenada could destroy facilities in Trinidad and St Lucia in ten minutes, in Venezuela in 17-25 minutes and in the Antilles in 35 minutes.

Now all of this could be the simple rantings of the ultra-right, except that it is echoed by the military spokespeople for the Ocean Venture 81 project when Rear Admiral McKenzie pointed to 'the importance of the Atlantic sea lanes, along which travel 65 per cent of the US's imported oil, 65 per cent of the bauxite and other strategic and non-strategic imports.'

Ashby hopes that the 'new (US) Administration will take a more active interest in protecting America's vital Caribbean interests than its



Maurice Bishop, Grenada PM

predecessor did.'

He goes on to say, 'A re-institution of the island's Westminster-style government ... would be a necessary first step towards United Nations supervised elections a la Zimbabwe.'

'Given control over their own political destiny again, there is every reason to believe that the people of Grenada will follow the example of Jamaica in electing a democratic pro-Western government.'

It was the destabilisation programme launched by the CIA that gave the recent victory to Seaga's right wing Jamaica Labour Party in Jamaica. It is clear that the schemes of invading Grenada have a similar aim of creating the conditions for a return to a pro-US government.

From the moment that ex-dictator Gairy was overthrown in March 1979, the USA has been considering ways of isolating and smashing Maurice Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government.

Mercenaries training in Miami and Atlanta have publicly admitted that they are preparing for possible invasions of Grenada and Nicaragua.

In June 1980 a bomb exploded close to where the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Government was sitting, killing three youths and injuring almost 100 people.

The main imperialist weapon against Grenada is the blocking of much needed economic aid to build their international airport, and to repair hurricane damage.

Along with direct intervention, the US have been responsible for an in-

ternational press campaign of vilification of Grenada.

Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop is appealing for international support and says that his government is convinced of the threat from 'documentary and circumstantial evidence and recent intelligence reports'.

In Britain on 27 August around 100 people mainly black, picketed the US embassy in Grosvenor Square demanding hands off Grenada.

The Grenadan High Commissioner, who had

just returned from Grenada, claims that 'his people are in a mood of total readiness to defend Grenada and that the US government should know that they run the danger of having to destroy the entire population.'

While the US government has since denied that its military exercise had any sinister intent, socialists in this country should remain alert to the possibility of an invasion and of British involvement.

The gains of the Grenadan, Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions must be defended.



Pinochet of Chile with ex-dictator Gairy

### Support grows for Salvadoran liberation movement

THE governments of France and Mexico issued a joint statement last weekend in support of the liberation movements in El Salvador.

They recognised the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) as 'a representative political force' with whom the government should negotiate to find a political solution to the crisis.

The statement was received coldly by the American State Department that has recently stepped up its military aid to the brutal regime of Napoleon Duarte.

This significant step should be used by the liberation movement in this country and abroad to further the campaign for recognition of the FDR and FMLN as the legitimate representatives of the El Salvadorian people and for an end to military support for the Duarte regime.



**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 Kilian T&GWU  
Speakers: Michael Ford MP, Arthur Scargill President Yorkshire Area NUM, Mariela Alonzo Representative of FDR El Salvador, Hock and Latin American groups

**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**



# South Africa: front runner for Reagan

A LARGE swathe of southern Angola lies devastated in the wake of the invasion last week by two South African armoured columns.

Villages have been razed, bridges destroyed and cattle slaughtered. Terrified peasants have disappeared into the scrub bushland or sought out the new towns under government control.

JIM ATKINSON reports on the apartheid regime's history of aggression against Angola.

The first South African motorised infantry column met stiff resistance from Angolan troops around the village of Catequero, 120 miles inside Angola on the main road north from the Namibian border. The second, which included more than 80 vehicles and 32 tanks, was engaged in heavy fighting a little to the south on the same road, at Xangongo, site of a strategic bridge over the Cunene River.

The South Africans were supported by their air-force, which has unchallenged control of southern Angola's airspace. Last week, while the fighting was raging around Catequero and Xangongo, South African planes were bombing the town of Cahama (160 miles north of the border) and Tchibemba (250 miles north).

## Battle

According to *Le Monde* (28 August), South African jets also bombed Angolan defence positions at Porto Alexandre, a coastal city 250 miles north of the border.

By last Sunday, South African troops had fought their way into Ondjiva, the capital of the southern province of Cunene, after a three-day battle.

The South Africans were reported to be occupying nine other towns in Cunene and fighting was raging at Cahama, despite South African claims that their forces were being withdrawn back across the Namibian border. Several civil airports in northern Namibia were closed during the operation.

Meanwhile, the Angolan Defence Ministry cancelled all military leave and Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos appealed to the United Nations to get the South African attacks ended. He hinted, in his message to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, that Angola might ask Cuban forces to join the front-line against the South Africans.

## Strikes

Last week's invasion, entitled 'Operation Protea,' was without doubt



The targets are often civilian

the biggest South African attack on Angola since the invasion in 1975 on the eve of the country's independence from Portugal. Then, a 'flying column' penetrated more than 400 miles into Angola, seizing major cities like Lobito and Benguela, in a bid to prevent the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) from coming to power.

However, early in 1976, after the arrival of some 20,000 Cuban troops, the South Africans were forced to admit failure and withdraw into Namibia. South Africa then resorted to a series of cross-border strikes, which gradually grew in intensity until southern Angola was engulfed in an almost permanent state of war.

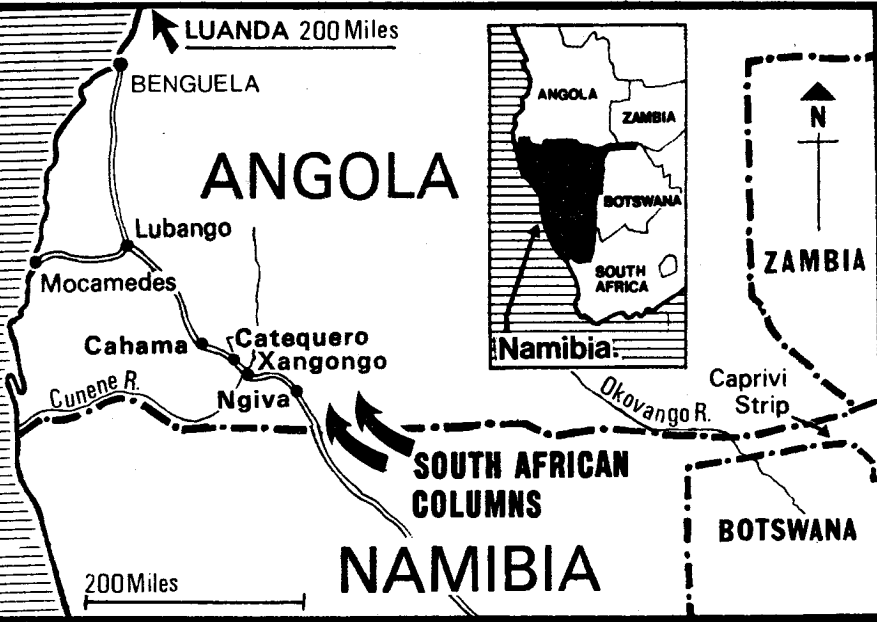
Ostensibly the targets

were guerrilla camps of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting to evict the Pretoria regime from Namibia. But often the targets were civilian — Namibian refugee camps, roads, railway lines, villages, wells and bridges.

## Raids

The South African aim was not only to hit SWAPO directly but to force the Angolan government to curtail its support for the Namibian freedom fighters. So far, however, the MPLA has refused to be intimidated.

Earlier this year, President dos Santos said that South Africa had been responsible for the death of 2,000 people and damage worth several billion dollars during its



raids over the previous three years. He said that South African forces had flown 290 bombing missions, staged 70 overland incursions and made 50 landings of helicopter borne troops.

One of the most cruel attacks came in 1978, when a South African force attacked a Namibian refugee camp at Kassinga, slaughtering 600 refugees.

Operation Protea had been preceded by weeks of South African military incursions and assaults. In June, as many as 3,000 South African troops crossed the border. In July, South Africa was reported to be trying to clear a 'buffer zone' along the border, to hinder SWAPO or strengthen its bargaining position in future talks on Namibia.

On 30 July, the

Angolan defence ministry announced that South African troops had advanced up to 90 miles into southern Angola and had occupied seven towns. Then on 24 August, just before Operation Protea, the defence ministry said that 45 people had been killed in a series of South African air strikes.

## Ally

Meanwhile, South Africa has also been training and supplying an anti-government terrorist group, the misnamed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), whose leader, Jonas Savimbi, is a staunch ally of South Africa. UNITA groups infiltrate from South African bases in Namibia and operate mainly in the sparsely-populated savan-

nah of the eastern province of Kwando-Kubango.

Often they are supported directly by South African troops, according to revelations made to the *Guardian* earlier this year by Trevor Edwards, a British mercenary who fought in Kwando-Kubango with a special South African force, 32 Battalion.

The unit, he said, is composed mainly of foreigners some of them British mercenaries who had fought previously with the Smith regime's army against black nationalists in Zimbabwe.

The local population in southern Angola lives in constant terror. Up to 450,000 people have been displaced by the South African and UNITA attacks, while more than 50,000 Namibians have

sought refuge in Angola from the South Africans.

South Africa shows no sign of retreating from its belligerent stance. Last January it deliberately torpedoed the talks held in Geneva under UN auspices on the future of Namibia; and still Pretoria seems determined to hang on to its colony there.

Noting the audacity of Operation Protea, the *Guardian* commented in an editorial on August 26: 'The attack is one more indication of Mr P W Botha's forward policy to contain the forces of African nationalism. The defence budget is raised by 30 per cent. African National Congress offices abroad are mysteriously bombed. The fight against SWAPO is taken on to foreign soil. Independence talks for Namibia are stalled.'

## Covert

The apartheid regime has been encouraged in all this by Washington. Ronald Reagan, like Carter before him, has failed to recognise the MPLA government because of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola — though they clearly constitute an essential reserve force in the face of the constant South African attacks.

Reagan, moreover, has urged Congress to repeal the Clark Amendment, the legislation adopted in 1976 to halt the CIA's covert involvement in the war then against the MPLA. And, in April, a senior State Department official, Lannon Walker, met UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi, for talks in Morocco.

During the same month, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, went to Luanda, the Angolan capital, to warn the MPLA that the US would continue to withhold recognition until it brought the UNITA counter-revolutionaries into the government and evicted the Cuban troops.

## Stance

Washington went out of its way to let Pretoria off the hook after Operation Protea. Chester Crocker said that the US would not weaken its support for Pretoria 'to curry favour elsewhere'; and a State Department spokesman argued that the South African incursion into Angola had to be seen 'in its full context', namely the use of Angolan territory by SWAPO.

This admission of hostility to the Namibian people's struggle for independence received high marks from the rulers of apartheid South Africa.

'We are obviously pleased that the United States adopts a more realistic stance than the others,' said an official in Cape Town. Britain, France and West Germany verbally condemned the South African attack on Angola, but they continued resolutely to oppose imposing sanctions against South Africa to force a halt to the attacks.

After all, like the United States, they have a huge economic stake in South Africa and see its racist rulers as a strategic bulwark of their interests in southern Africa.

## Laurence Scott A national issue—a national fight

By Patrick Sikorski

ANY idea that the fight for jobs at Laurence Scott is about to fade into obscurity has been firmly knocked on the head over the last week.

For over four months, Scott's workers had occupied their Manchester factory against closure, until being brutally evicted a few weeks ago.

Dennis Barry, Scott's convenor, will be speaking alongside Tony Benn and Dennis Skinner at the major Rank and File Mobilising Committee rally at the Labour Party Conference.

Scott's workers will be at the TUC in Blackpool on 10 September, the day of the Healey/Benn/Silken debate. They hope to be on the platform of Benn's election campaign rally in Manchester on 16 September, and will be collecting money and support at the Labour Party anti-unemployment demonstration in Birmingham.

### Desperate

But AUEW General Secretary, John Boyd, and his presidential 'poodle', Terry Duffy, are desperate to isolate the Scott's workers. To cover up their sell out of this 19 week old fight, they are stooping to more and more open sabotage of the national solidarity campaign.

According to local Manchester MP, Ken Marks, they have approached Labour's Chief Whip to protest about the 60 or more Labour MPs

who have supported the struggle since it was made unofficial. Their aim is to prevent any more support from the Labour Party building up.

### Pressure

The national leadership of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) is coming under intense pressure from AUEW headquarters to stop strike and hardship pay and to scotch any moves to give official backing to picketing.

The TGWU in Manchester have issued letters for use by Scott's pickets signed by district secretary Harry Warner, which advise TGWU members not to cross the official picket line.

However, the TGWU is part of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU which terminated official backing on 6 August.

Efforts by the TGWU steward at Scotts — John Maloney — to obtain national ratification of this local backing have come up against a stone wall. Key national officials are 'on holiday' or 'out at the



On the march...

moment'. As John says, 'the TGWU nationally is scared stiff of having an open split with the AUEW, over Laurence Scotts, which would lead

to a major row with the other CSEU unions.

Meanwhile support from AUEW branches continues to roll in at the rate of over twenty a day. This is the ending to

just one of the messages of support accompanying those vital cheques:

*'The rank and file of the union are with you even if those we employ are not.'*

## Black workers conference

*'There is a certain amount of management and trade union collusion against black workers'*

ON 12 September a conference of black workers will be held in Birmingham to discuss the problems and organisation of black people in the unions.

*Socialist Challenge* spoke to two of the organisers, both TGWU shop stewards about how they see the conference.

Rudi Gayle

Experience to date has shown that black workers are less seriously considered than white workers in the trade union movement as a whole.

The special problems of black workers are not recognised.

I think there is a certain amount of management and trade union collusion against black workers in interviews and promotion and so on.

It's difficult to explain how active it is. Society is racist and therefore the products of that society are racist.

I think the collusion takes a subtle form. Management and trade union officials form the view that certain things should not happen.

I can think of one very clear case. There was a black worker at British Leyland's Castle Bromwich body plant who applied for a change to a job in the tool room.

That was refused although he was well qualified.

The Commission for Racial Equality took up the case and management admitted that he had been refused because shop stewards and members in the tool



Black workers have led important struggles like Grunwicks

room did not like blacks to work there.

It can be very difficult to expose this kind of thing, it is hard to say how widespread is this kind of practice. We think it's very widespread.

I think that the unions should operate at every level to meet the problems of black workers.

But for this to happen black workers must organise themselves to confront racism and acceptance of racism within the unions.

We need to join up with white workers who are opposed to racism to fight in the unions as well as against management.

SC Batchelor

As a black worker and trade unionist I would like to declare that I am giving my full support to the black workers conference.

I would also call on all black workers and trade unionists to rally to the call and support this conference by attending and let us discuss together.

Some of the questions I would like to see raised with the various trade unions and the TUC are as follows:

1) Why is there still so much discrimination within the trade unions?  
2) Why do the trade unions talk so much of equal opportunity and yet not take any active

steps to put it into practice even within their own ranks?

3) Does the TUC keep a record of how many union officials are black and if not why not? Bearing in mind that just over 50 per cent of black workers belong to unions compared to under 50 per cent of white workers?

4) Have the unions taken a strong stance with grievance procedure concerning racial discrimination against black workers at their place of employment?

5) Does the union insist that a clause be included in our contract of employment that the employer is an equal op-

### What you can do

Make sure your MP and constituency Labour Party support the Scott's fight.

TGWU members are urged to ask their branches to support resolutions, noting the official support from the Manchester District, and calling on the union nationally to endorse this position and put out an appeal to all branches for a voluntary levy to support Scott's financial.

Messages of support and donations

The Laurence Scott Strike Committee 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire.

Copies of resolutions through the TGWU

Alex Kitson, Assistant General Sec TGWU, Transport House, Smith Sq, London SW1

Bill Hayward TGWU Regional Secretary, TGWU House, The Crescent, Salford, Greater Manchester.

John Maloney, 9 Colliery St, Clayton Manchester 11.

AUEW branches supporting Scotts

The following is the list of AUEW branches and workplace groups whose financial and moral support has been received since the AUEW and the CSEU declared the strike unofficial in the first week of August.

Erdington, Openshaw 2, Dartford, Kent, Weeling, Kent, 'Pickups' (Stockport), St. Mary Gay, Orpington, Shepherds Bush 35SE, Ashton 3, Bristol 28-298BE, Perivale 3-86PE, Bamber Bridge, Mosborough, Sheffield, Huyton, Chessington, Leyton 418BE, Reading 73RE, Sheldon 225 SE, Hull 13, Bletchley 331, Brooklands, Kingston-on-Thames, Stourport-on-Severn, Barnoldswick, Llandudno, Bedford 3-25FE, Eastbourne, Accrington, Bedford 13, Burnley 10, Ellesmere Port, Crofton 62 CE, Fleet St., Letchworth 29 LE, Lewisham 30 LE, Hackbridge 3, Wednesfield, Colne 2, Corby 2, Merthyr 2, Bristol 5-106 BE, Bilbrook, Shoreditch, London, Preston, Glasgow South 2, Basingstoke District Committee, Darlington 12, Flint, Sale, Ashton-on-Ribble, Nuneaton, Friern Barnet 35FE, Broun-

mouth 82 BE, Blaby 292 BE, Heaton Chapel 117, Pembroke, Birmingham Kings Heath, Winton 187 WE, Reddish 9RE, Northfleet 2, Norwich 5-122 NE, Stockton 5, Wolverhampton, Shipley 2-38 SE, Basildon 2-343 BE, Preston 9, Staines 5, Peterborough and Wisbeth, Wokingham 2-243 WE, Bristol 2-103 BE, Leyton 100 LE, Newham 121 BE, Redditch 10RE, Hatton Cross 184 HE, Cardiff 9-75 CW, Cricklewood 417 OCE, Littlehampton 2, East Twickenham, Watford 4-175 WE, Dowlais 3-3DW, Crayford 7th, Nuneaton 51 NE, Newton Aycliffe 118, Nottingham 6th, Lucas Aerospace, Burnley.

The following MPs have supported the continuing fight at Laurence Scott

Manchester MPs

Charles Morris — Manchester, Openshaw; Ken Eastham — Manchester, Blackley; Bob Litherland — Manchester, Central; Ken Marks — Manchester, Gorton; George Morton — Manchester, Moss Side; Alf Morris — Manchester, Wythenshaw.

North West MPs

A. Fitch — Wigan; Michael Meacher Oldham West; James Callaghan — Middleton and Prestwich; Robert Sheldon — Ashton-under-Lyme; Dan Jones — Burnley; Lewis Carter-Jones — Eccles; Michael McGuire — Ince; Stan Orme — Salford; Frank Ailau — Salford East; Andrew Bennett — Stockport North; Harold Wilson — Huyton; Tom Pendry — Stalybridge and Hyde; David Young — Bolton East; James Lamond — Oldham East; Stan Thorne — Preston South; Lawrence Cunliffe — Leigh; L. Spriggs — St. Helen's; F. White — Bury and Radcliffe.

including also the Liverpool Group of MPs

Eric Heffer — Liverpool Walton; Eric Ogden — Liverpool, West Derby; James Dunn — Liverpool, Kirkdale; Robert Parry — Liverpool, Scotland Exchange; Alan Roberts — Bootle; Frank Field — Birkenhead.

Nationally

Tony Benn — Bristol South East; Stuart Holland — Lambeth Vauxhall; Norman Atkinson — Tottenham; Jo Richardson — Barking; Joan Maynard — Sheffield Brightside; Dennis Skinner — Bolsover; Bob Cryer — Keighley; Martin Flannery — Sheffield, Hillsborough; Reg Race — Wood Green; John Silkin — Deptford; Ron Leighton — Newham North East; Austin Mitchell — Grimsby; Gordon Bagier — Sunderland South; Joel Barnett — Heywood and Royton; Ian Mikardo — Bethnal Green and Bow; Laurie Pavitt — Brent South; Ray Powell — Ogmere; Jack Dunnett — Nottingham East; M. Walsh — Don Valley; Alex Lyon — York; D. Anderson — Swansea East; Dr. J. Barry — Motherwell and Wishaw; Dennis Canavan — Stirlingshire West; R. Cant — Stoke-on-Trent; J. Craigen — Glasgow, Maryhill; Tom Dalzell — West Lothian; Alf Dubbs — Battersea — West London; R. Edwards — Wolverhampton South East; Joan Lester — Eton and Slough; Jeff Rooker — Birmingham, Perry Barr.

portunity employer, if not why not?

6) What steps are the unions taking that so much widespread racial discrimination does not continue in the recruitment for employment among our black youth?

7) What are the unions doing regarding the promotion of black workers? Are they seeking to eradicate the present system where promotion does not go by one's ability but by the colour of one's skin?

Brothers and sisters

I believe that this conference should and will seek to organise us within our own unions into pressure groups in order to promote opportunities which we have been denied for so long.

In addition we hope to protect the interests of all black workers within their working environment.

Brothers and sisters I believe that these issues effect our very existence both at home and at the place we work.

### Black Workers Conference

Saturday 12 September  
Digbeth Civic Hall  
Birmingham

I shall be attending the conference of black workers, on September 12th at Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.

Name.....

Address.....

Union (if any).....

Occupation (if any).....  
Send to: Steering Committee for Black Workers Conference, 177, Antrobus Rd, Handsworth, Birmingham 21.



# Lowdown

## A balanced view!

THE BBC have decided to call off the 1981 Dimpleby lecture and quite right too. An impartial and balanced broadcasting system cannot have people like EP Thompson explaining to the British public that they are in great danger of being incinerated in a nuclear holocaust.

Nor can viewers be subjected to Edward Heath's criticisms of Thatcherism.

Surely balance means maintaining the status quo, and that is why the BBC did try to get neutral figures like Robert

McNamara, president of the World Bank, and the establishment philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin, to take on the job. Unfortunately none of them was available.

## Squeak

So now we will have to wait for 'impartiality' until spring 1982.

Mind you it was a near squeak; or as Sir Alasdair Milne, managing director of BBC television says, it was 'a cock-up on a

grand scale'.

Obviously some fool nearly let subversion loose on the listeners. However, our tender susceptibilities were saved by the big man himself, Sir Ian Trethowan, BBC director general, who thinks that anything that might upset Thatcher should be dropped.

Fortunately Trethowan has lots of backing, his chairperson of the Board of Governors, Sir George Howard, is also a strong Thatcherite, but then so would you be, if you were one of Britain's richest landowners.

## Sown

And the deputy chairperson is Sir William Rees-Mogg another right-wing Tory. Just in case Trethowan's job has to be

filled before next spring the leading candidate for the position is Lord Windlesham who you may remember as Tory Minister of State for Northern Ireland so the whole thing is sown up.

The attempts of Trethowan and company to save the air waves from subversion have unfortunately not met with universal approval. Mr Alan Sapper, general secretary of the Association of Cinematograph Television and Allied Technicians wants broadcasting workers, to 'pull the plugs out' on what he calls biased programmes.

Now you see what Sir Ian, Sir Alasdair and Williams are up against. Just imagine what would happen. Instead of getting a nice impartial explanation of why we should all be burnt to a cinder in a nuclear war those

damned workers actually might insist on stopping the programme unless CND had the right of reply.

It would not just stop there either. Black people would start insisting they wanted to speak out against our unbiased immigration laws — they are unbiased if you are white like Trethowan and Rees-Mogg.

## Think

Women would be wanting to reply to sexist programmes. Trade unionists would be insisting that they put their case for more jobs and better wages.

The prospects are horrendous because they could actually start making people think that there is an alternative viewpoint to that of the BBC establishment and its boss, Maggie Thatcher.

# Fury and panic on the right

By Bob Pennington

IN an unprecedented burst of fury which disguises a growing panic, the Healey camp are lashing out in all directions. Healey who has never been known for his attachment to inner-party democracy or for his tact and sensitivity, screams about 'Stalinist tactics of Labour extremists'.

This is ironical coming from a man who is against MPs being accountable to the labour movement, and rejects the idea that anybody but MPs should have a vote when the Labour leader is being elected.

## Home

Actually Healey would feel far more at home in the corridors of the Kremlin where leaders like him are not put to any trouble by an enquiring and demanding rank and file.

Healey's supporters are so frightened at the idea of being accountable to the Labour Party and the trade unions that they are threatening to split if Benn wins.

Showing how much they respect and revere democracy they are letting it be known that a handful of MPs are not going to be told what to do by a majority inside the LP and the unions.

## Levy

One of Healey's aides has tipped off the *Guardian* that they are checking up on the possibility of some unions paying their political levy direct to the PLP. Their big hope here is, of course, Frank Chapple who runs that model of democracy, the electricians' union.

What has stepped up the war, is that the leadership race is now taking on all the appearances of heading towards a photo finish.

The latest prediction is

that it could go 53-47 per cent either way, and even some of Healey's supporters at Westminster are only claiming that he will win by two percent.

Healey is expecting at the best 55 per cent of the unions' 6.3m votes, Benn about 20 per cent and Silkin will get around 25 to 30 per cent providing he collects the vote of the Transport and General Workers Union.

## Ploy

It is not yet certain that Silkin, the right-wing's last and most desperate ploy, will however get the TGWU vote, hence the fright in the Healey camp.

Inside the CLPs, Benn is streaking home miles in front of his two rivals. Two hundred and twelve constituency parties have nominated Benn against 35 for Healey and eight for Silkin. This will probably give Benn close to 75 per cent of the CLP vote, with Healey and Silkin sharing out the remainder.

At Westminster things are not so good for Benn and he will be lucky to get more than 20 per cent of the vote, particularly as a section of the Tribunes like Judith Hart and Warrington's near-failure Doug Hoyle — who ignored the vote for Benn at his own union's conference — did their duty to the right by splitting the vote and supporting Silkin.

The virulent campaign of the Healyites makes clear what is at stake in the battle for the leadership.

The right of the Labour leaders to act as the representatives of the



Denis Healey — a model of moderation

capitalist state in the labour movement is being challenged — and that challenges the whole basis of their existence.

When people are fighting for their political lives like the Healyites are right now then they will use every dirty tactic in the book.

Meanwhile those Tribunes who have gathered around Silkin represent the political cowardice of left reformism. Unilateralism is fine, getting out of the EEC is a good idea, having

a 35-hour week sounds quite nice.

## Fight

But it's when it comes to doing these things that the going gets tough. The employers and their state are not likely to sit idly while these policies are carried out, and this old Tribunate wing has not got any stomach for a real fight against Healey, never mind the employers.

Every socialist should be supporting Benn. Not

because he is going to lead us to some promised land. We support Benn because we are for the rout of the right wing and we are for the defeat and removal of the fainthearted left who prefer a compromise to a battle.

A Benn victory will heighten the confidence of the militants and lead to ever bigger demands for more democracy. At this stage it creates the best conditions for a fight back inside both the unions and the LP.



Trade union votes key to Benn victory



## Save the life of Dogan Tarkan

DOGAN Tarkan's crime is that he is a socialist militant. He was the editor of the weekly newspaper *Kurtulus (Liberation)* and a former official of *Maden-Is*, the metalworkers union, before the military coup in Turkey.

He was lucky: he escaped to England three months ago and applied for political asylum. But this is 1981 Tory Britain.

Two weeks ago the Home Office refused his application. Dogan's deportation would mean that he will almost certainly be sentenced to death by the Turkish authorities.

Time is running out for Dogan. It is still possible to reverse the Home Office decision but it depends on quick action by the labour movement.

Rush resolutions, messages of support for Dogan, protest letters, addressed to the Home Office to TSC, BM Box 5965, London WC1N 3XX.

# Socialist Challenge

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

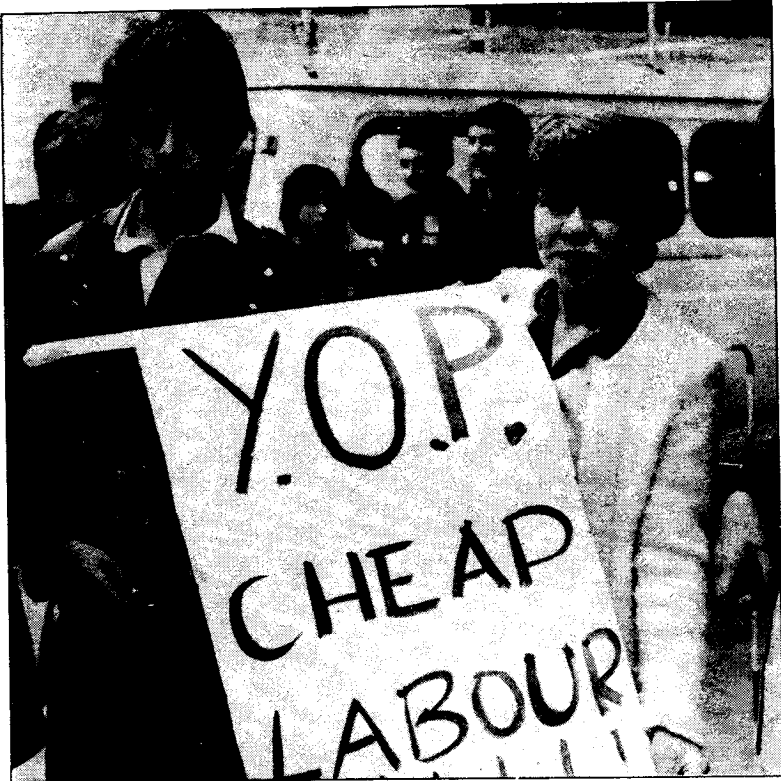
Name.....

Address.....

Age.....

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

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



# The YOPs rip off

By Yvonne Taylor

HUNDREDS of youth rallied in the centre of Newcastle last week to oppose slave labour.

They were not protesting about the exploitation of working people in the third world, where privately owned companies have made fortunes paying starvation wages.

They were opposing a government sanctioned rip-off which provides businesses with a cheap supply of youth labour here in Britain: a country where labour has been organising itself for two centuries!

The scandal of the Youth Opportunities Programme should

make every trade unionist wince in embarrassment.

One in four school leavers enters a YOP scheme receiving a wage of £25.50 for six months temporary employment. The wage is paid out of government money, supposedly to encourage employers to create new jobs.

## Grim

But the Manpower Services Commission estimate that at least a third of all YOP schemes don't involve new jobs at all. In many cases, YOP trainees replace workers who have been sacked.

After the six months is up, three out of four YOP workers are back on the dole, sometimes to be replaced by a new YOP employee.

Most YOP jobs are menial and involve no training at all. The MSC even had to stop some YOP

schemes run by Tesco and Co-Op.

Firms are using YOP workers as cheap substitute labour. In much the same way women and children replaced adult male labour at half their cost, in the times of high unemployment in the last century.

The labour movement's answer a hundred years ago was to drive women and children out of the labour market and to refuse to allow them into their unions.

At least some unions today are showing more sense. The National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) organised the Newcastle rally which was demanding better wages for YOPs.

At their national conference in May, NUPE agreed to organise a unionisation drive amongst YOPs, to help them organise for better pay and conditions.

No group in society has less right to a job than any other. But the danger of different groups being pitted against each other in competition for jobs will exist as long as unemployment continues to increase.

The only effective way to prevent substitution is to fight for full employment.

# 'THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BRITAIN'

By Brian Grogan

The TUC programme calls for £24bn of investment in the public sector over the next five years. In order to 'reconstruct' British industry, this is insufficient. The plan calls for only £3bn in the next year. And overall this programme would only represent the reconstitution of the cuts in public investment made by this Tory government and the previous Labour administration.

Nonetheless, these proposals would be a good start. They go in a very different direction to that which the Tories and the bosses want. Indeed, they break sharply with the practice of the last Labour government.

To get such a plan implemented will therefore need a real fight. This means winning the mass of working people to support it. Without that support being mobilised the plan is no more than a scrap of paper.

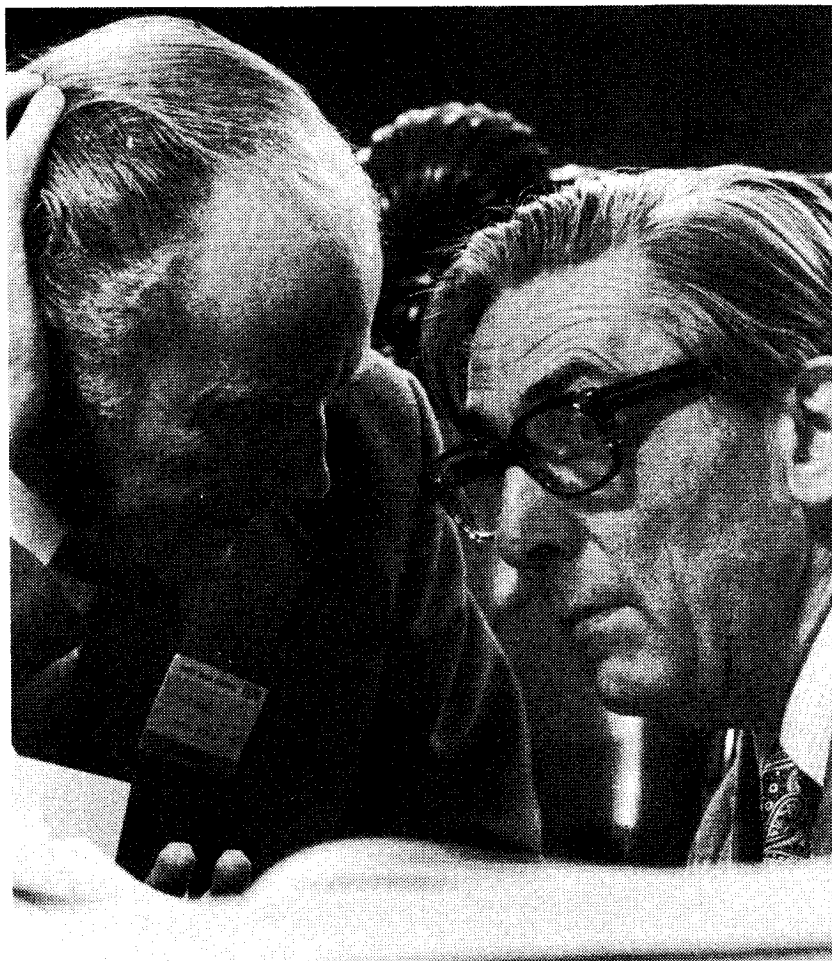
The first problem is the title of the plan: 'The Reconstruction of Britain'. Everybody uses this expression. This is the name that Thatcher has given her mass unemployment policies. The impression given by the whole approach of the plan is that the TUC is aiming at restoring the present capitalist economy.

## Profit

But all experience has shown — especially that of the last Labour government — that any approach that accepts the profit basis of the system is to attack the working class, create mass unemployment and smash up social services and public investment.

That was what the 'social contract' amounted to during five years of 'hard Labour'. All the decisions of the Labour Party, the affiliated unions and the TUC itself since then have clearly been a rejection of that approach.

To the present profit oriented



Only scratching the surface

system of capitalism, we must counterpose workers' control and socialism. There is, then, nothing wrong with presenting the present proposals as *emergency measures*, so long as the overall direction and goal is understood by the Labour movement. Then, before taking their place on the TUC train, each worker will know where it is heading.

The TUC explains that it will get the money from this investment from extra government borrowing. To be sure, credit is the guiding lever of the economy. But what the effects of such large scale borrowing will be — and who will profit out of it — depends on who controls that credit.

It is just nonsense for the plan to merrily assert that high government borrowing will not force up the in-

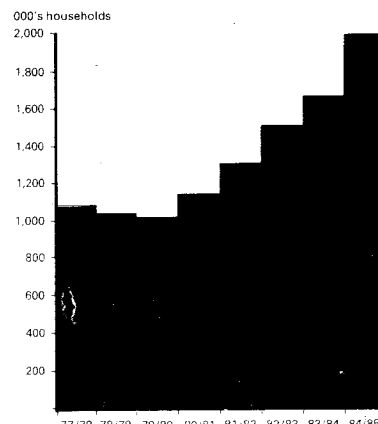
terest rates or that increasing the money supply will not accelerate inflation.

If there is competition for credit then interest rates will go up. In a capitalist society this will discourage private investment. The level of private investment has dropped by over 20 per cent during the last year. Of course this is not only due to the high level of interest rates, but this has been one important factor.

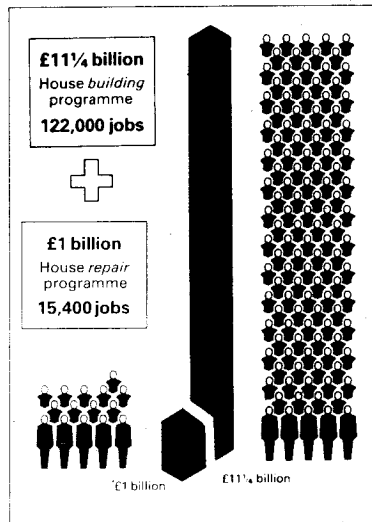
Denying that expanding the money supply increases inflation is even more ridiculous. All the evidence of the history of our profit oriented system is that the bulk of this government money, raised on credit, will not go into productive investment. Rather the suppliers to the government will simply take the opportunity to massively enhance their profits. Infla-

Figure 2:

## Projected Housing Waiting List



Note: Figure for 1984/85\* to end of 1984 only. Source: Shelter 1980 Waiting List Survey, England.



## The TUC Plan

\* An eight year construction and repair and renovation programme should be started to provide 1.2 million new council homes. The first five years of this programme would cost £12,250m.

\* The main programme of urban reconstruction will need at least £2,000m extra over the next five years.

\* Health and education building work will require £1,000m.

\* The sewerage system will need an extra £1,000m to start a badly needed replacement programme.

\* Road maintenance and construction will need another £570m a year for five years: this means another £2,850m over five years.

\* Railway investment needs to be increased by £1,000m over five years.

\* Ports and airport improvements will cost an extra £1,000m over five years.

\* Telecommunication investment needs an extra £1,000m over five years.

\* Energy conservation will need an extra £450m

\* Extra power station capacity will need £1,250m.

tion, which mainly hits working people, will then ensue, if no counter-measures are taken.

These counter-measures must involve taking over the banks. Investment can then be controlled. It's only the very largest of companies that can generate their own investments. But, of course, the people that own the banks are the same people that own the key industrial companies. These, too — the commanding heights — will have to be taken over.

In any event, the last few years have proved once again that the capitalists are incapable of providing for the basic needs of society. They have been responsible for the 3m on the dole. They are responsible for destroying large sectors of industry in Britain as well as untold other crimes.

How can the TUC suggest that we allow these people to continue in the same old way. How can they be allowed to continue to suck our blood through high interest rates and have government finance, mainly from taxes on workers, regenerate their industry for them? Capitalism has shown itself bankrupt and demands to be replaced!

## Sneeze

The TUC plan projects the creation of 500,000 more jobs. Clearly, the creation of so many jobs is not to be sneezed at. But unemployment is at such a calamitous level that this size of job creation only scratches the surface.

This job creation plan is



# No jobs, no future

'WHAT have we left to live for now there is no work for anyone?'

These were the last words of teenager Graeme Rathbone and Sean Grant, who committed suicide last May. As the Coroner at the inquest said, 'they felt the world didn't hold a future for them. This is a clear result of the economic situation in this country. It looks to me as if there are going to be more cases like this where youngsters who have not got jobs feel the only way out is to take their own lives.'

Those remarks are tragically all too true. At the beginning of August a young couple attempted suicide because they were unable to get work

By Mary Jacobs

and only last Friday an 18 year old unemployed youth jumped 200 feet to his death.

These terrible stories are just the tip of the iceberg that is the misery of unemployment. Unable to pay the rent, people find themselves on the street. Families are broken up as the breadwinner scours the country in vain for work. A recent report from North Tyneside Community Health Council links an increase in ill health with unemployment. And the report published by the Office of Health Economics suggests that high unemployment has made people so afraid of losing their jobs that they turn up for work even when ill.

Many people did not have a holiday this year, children constantly have

to go without and people's general health and well-being is in decline.

Of course, it is not just the unemployed who are affected. Three million on the dole is a huge incentive to employers to keep workers in line.

Our living standards are in danger of being eroded as working people feel they have no choice but to accept a low wage increase — or even a wage cut — rather than lose their jobs.

Unfortunately they are convinced there is no choice because our trade union leaders are not willing to take on the government. For example, leaders of the engineering union have continually capitulated in the face of attacks by British Leyland, Michael Edwardes and government. Holding down wages and refusing to defend basic trade union rights when Longbridge convenor, Derek Robinson was sacked, hasn't saved the jobs of thousands of Leyland workers.

And even more criminally these leaders of our trade unions have withdrawn support at the eleventh hour from Laurence Scott and Lee Jeans.

These struggles have exemplified the willingness of working people in this country to fight. They know they're not only fighting for their own jobs but for everyone's and in so doing are directly taking on the Tories.

The tremendous victory of the Lee Jeans women does more to 'change' Tory policy than the mealy-mouthed utterances of Murray and Co. And that's no doubt just what our leaders are afraid of. Workers struggling and organising themselves — and winning — does as much to threaten the position of the Duffys, Murrays and Basnetts as Thatcher and her cohorts.

## Collaborate

The lessons of Solidarity in Poland have certainly not been lost on the like of Frank Chapple. Trade union leaders are all for the quiet life.

That's why they try to collaborate with the Tories and the bosses. That's why they want in-

dustrial peace, almost at any price. Sidney Weighell has shown he's prepared to sell railworkers' jobs and working conditions for a tiny wage increase, despite the willingness of his members to take industrial action.

But workers like those at Laurence Scott and Lee Jeans are learning fast that it's not just rotten leaders who are holding back the fight.

It's the very structures of the unions themselves, the lack of democracy, accountability and control that rank and file workers have over their own organisation and leaders that is at the root of the problem.

That is why both the developments in the Labour Party and the fight for socialist policies in the whole labour movement are so crucial.

We need a national campaign organised by the TUC and the national unions against unemployment.

Unemployment cannot be the concern of the unemployed alone. Only the strength of the organised labour movement can turn the tide against this government. Only its strength can save the lives of those driven to despair.



The TUC approach undermines the confidence of the working class

calculated on the basis of the 40 hour week. Why not insist on TUC policy and impose a 35-hour week? Imposing this across the whole economy would add ten per cent to the workforce — almost wiping out unemployment.

Of course the aim of the Tories and the bosses is to impose the exact opposite — they want to reduce wages without reducing the hours.

Last year the bosses imposed settlements in the private sector of less than 10 per cent while inflation was running at 15 per cent. This year, they want less. For example, the employers have rejected the 14 per cent claim of the unions, suggesting a figure less than 5 per cent. The BL management has warned that it doesn't intend to pay any increase at all!

We are even beginning to see demands, like with some of the airlines, that workers accept a 10 per

cent or more actual cut! And this in face of a rate of inflation which, all experts agree, will not fall below 10 per cent and will now rise again.

The TUC plan and the necessary additional measures which we have explained — nationalisation of the banks and the commanding heights, imposition of the 35 hour week and so on (all, by the way TUC policy), goes right against the interests of the bosses and their government and will need a mighty fight to be implemented.

## Misguided

This brings us to the most unreal aspect of the plan. It is posed as an appeal to the Tories to change course. As if Margaret Thatcher is somehow simply misguided!

Such an idea is preposterous. We need only recall the famous 'bare-knuckle' speech that CBI head Sir Terence Beckett issued against the last

Tory budget. This too was opposition to Thatcher — but not being bold enough in cutting welfare services. Insofar as it was a call for more government money for capital expenditure projects it was a call to cut services to compensate.

Moreover, the bosses need the mass unemployment, need the destruction of the welfare services. While the TUC proposals in the eyes of all those guided by rationality are obvious and needed immediately, this is not what determines the actions of the bosses and the Tories.

They need to increase dramatically their rate of profits and this can only be done at the expense of the working class — by destroying its living standards and increasing the rate at which we are exploited.

Mass unemployment is needed to weaken the level of organisation which can promote resistance to this inhuman programme. The Tories

have no interest at all in the creation of 500,000 more jobs. Their only interest is to get themselves into a state to meet their foreign competitors in the USA, Germany and Japan.

## Silly

It is plain silly to appeal to any section of the Tories to implement a plan which so goes against the interests of the people that they represent.

It has to be said that only a Labour government committed to real socialist policies, prepared for implacable struggle can apply the plan, complete it, develop it and go beyond it along the socialist road.

While we will never win the hearts of the class enemy, by approaching the likes of Thatcher in such a grovelling way, the TUC approach undermines the confidence of the working class.

The more cringing the approach,

the less bold will workers be in sticking out for their just demands, let alone struggling for an alternative course.

The TUC plan must therefore be clearly directed towards mobilising the wage earners. It must be clearly stated that the first step is the kicking out of this Tory government. Not in 1984 — by which time too much damage will have been done, but today. The miners have shown we have the strength; the workers at Lee Jeans and Laurence Scott have shown that we have the will to struggle. Instead of trying to stab such workers in the back, absurdly and criminally thereby hoping to curry favour with the likes of Thatcher, the TUC should mobilise all worker militants for a vigorous campaign to implement the plan, take power into its own hands and transform the country, to make it habitable for working people. This is the only serious approach.



# TUC and Ireland:

By Geoff Bell

HERE is Len Murray, speaking in June at the TUC annual conference of trades councils:

'Throughout the period of renewed sectarian violence since the late 1960s the general council of the TUC has followed the advice and example of the Northern Ireland Committee (NIC) of the Irish Congress of Trades Unions...

'Make no mistake about it. The NIC deserves and gets the unstinting support of the British trade union movement. Throughout all the years of death and destruction these courageous men and women have held the line against sectarianism...

'It is the only representative organisation in Northern Ireland which draws mass support from Catholic and Protestant working people...

'To ask for a commitment on withdrawal of troops, to ask for the ending of emergency powers, to ask for the restoration of special category status would put the trades councils' conference firmly down on one side of the sectarian divide.

'The NIC would be split from top to bottom if they were to identify themselves with (these) political objectives.'

Len Murray was arguing against a motion at the trades councils' conference which made the demands he mentions. Despite the advice of the TUC general secretary, the conference passed the resolution Murray attacked. Nevertheless, the views Murray expressed are shared by many in the trade unions.

Indeed, a resolution submitted to this year's TUC, by the construction section of the AUEW, is on the same lines.

This 'views with the utmost concern the continuing discrimination and sectarian violence in Northern Ireland. Congress reaffirms its policy, adopted at the 1978 Congress, in the belief that it provides the basis for finding a peaceful political settlement in Northern Ireland.'

## Bill

The 1978 policies referred to called for a Bill of Rights, 'freedom from violence, sectarianism and discrimination' and support for the Better Life for All Campaign.

It also called 'on the people, all the people of Northern Ireland to isolate the men of violence.'

These may seem nice, worthy sentiments. Unfortunately for Len Murray and the TUC the uppity Irish natives seem disinclined to take their advice.

For instance, in the recent Fermanagh and South Tyrone by-election there was a candidate standing on exactly the sort of policies the British TUC support. He was Tom Moore, the candidate of the Workers Party Republican Clubs, formally known as Official Sinn Fein.

Moore's election propaganda boasted that his 'efforts contributed to the founding of the Better Life for All Campaign.' In the election, Moore received approximately two and a half per cent of the Owen Carron vote. Carron, whom the TUC would dub as one of the 'men of violence' won the election, receiving twenty times as many votes as Moore.

## Pious

That says something about the 'mass support from Catholic and Protestant working people' which Murray alleges exists for the trade union movement in the North of Ireland.

It also says something about just how meaningless is the TUC's Better Life for All Campaign.

The demands of this campaign are a collection of pious statements calling for the 'right

to live' free from 'violence' 'unemployment' and other distasteful aspects of society in Northern Ireland. 'Better Life' is so inoffensive that anyone can endorse it.

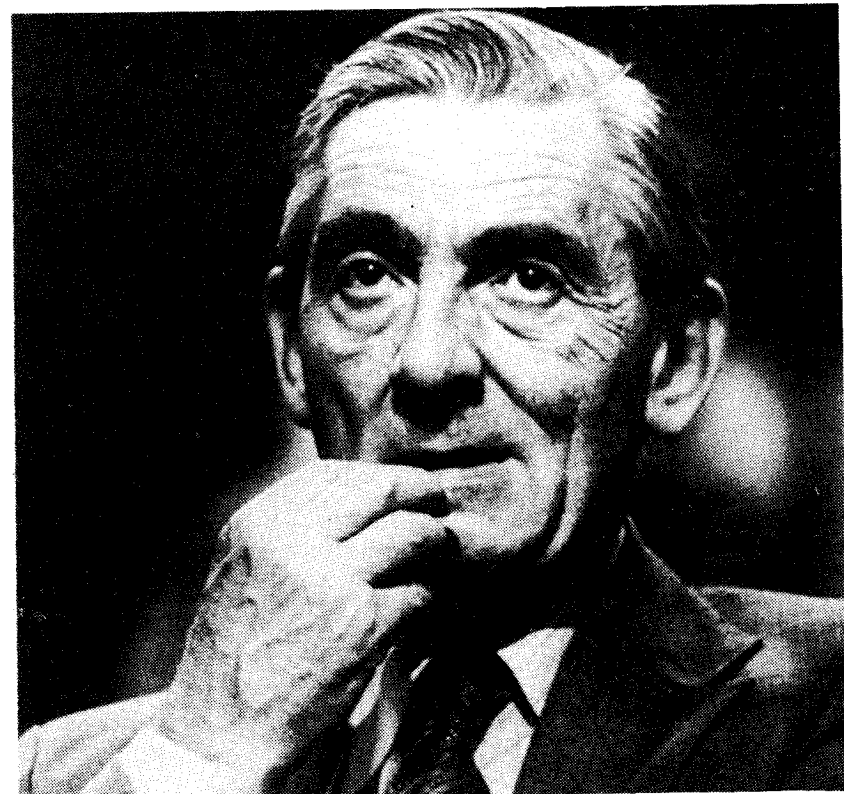
An example is this report which appeared in *TU News*, published by the NIC of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in February 1976:

'The Conservative Party representatives declare their support for the Campaign and have forwarded a statement to the Campaign organisers. The statement reiterates the Conservative Party's support for the Better Life for All Campaign...

'Mr Airy Neave, Conservative Front Bench Spokesman on Northern Ireland, told the delegation that the work of the trade union movement in Northern Ireland was greatly admired and deserved unqualified support. It is known that 120 signatures (in support of 'Better Life') include members of the Conservative Party.'

So whether it be Tories, Official Republicans or Len Murray, each agrees that 'Bet-

# a better deal for all?



Len Murray — refused to oppose repressive laws in the North of Ireland



A Better Life For All Demonstration in London in 1978. Unlike other Irish demonstrations it was allowed to rally in Trafalgar Square because it was classed as 'non-political'. Less than 200 people took part.

ter Life' is a good idea, and that the trade unions in Ireland are courageous, pure and free from any taint of 'sectarian' feeling.

This is a load of baloney.

First of all, a number of trade unions in Northern Ireland are organised around the political views their members hold on the Irish national question.

For example, the Irish Bank Officials Union, the Irish National Teachers Organisation, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and the National Association of Transport Employees, are all unions which organise in the North of Ireland but have their headquarters in the South.

Accordingly, because they are seen as 'Irish' unions their membership is overwhelmingly Catholic. Loyalist workers join British-based equivalents.

A substantial majority of workers in the North of Ireland belong to these British based unions. In part, this is because a substantial majority of employed workers in the North are Protestant.

But this means that the Northern Ireland Committee, the object of lofty praise by Len Murray, is very careful not to do or say anything that offends this majority. This is carefully wrapped up with a 'nonsectarian' label, but, in fact, it is a deceptive tag.

This is evident in Murray's trades councils speech. He said it was 'sectarian' to demand the withdrawal of the British Army or the repeal of repressive legislation. This is the wrong use of the word 'sectarian'.

There is nothing 'sectarian' in opposing laws which deny such basic human rights as the right to trial by jury, the right to be judged innocent until proved guilty, the freedom from arbitrary arrest or imprisonment.

Indeed socialists and trade unions, both in Britain and elsewhere, have fought long and hard for such rights.

To call for the ending of such laws is not, as Murray would have it, coming down on one side of a 'sectarian divide', it is coming down on one side of a political divide.

Loyalists and Unionists share with Len Murray a view that these laws should not be opposed. Republicans, socialists and nationalists in Ireland take the contrary view.

Len Murray is correct when he says that the views of the TUC are the same as those of the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. For the NIC shares with the TUC a dismal record on the defence of human rights in the North of Ireland.

There is the case of a memorandum produced by the NIC in 1978 on the 'Protection of Human Rights in Northern Ireland'.

In this report the only argument advanced against imprisonment without trial is that: 'A number of cases have been brought to the Committee's attention where the threat of dismissal has arisen because of the arrest and detention.'

This is the approach of a concerned personnel manager. It is also evident in the memorandum's treatment of the Prevention of Terrorism

Act: 'In one case a person who was arrested, detained and subsequently served with an exclusion notice has had to turn down offers of employment for jobs in Europe or the Middle East since the agents for the companies operate from London and require applicants to attend there for interview from which they are debarred by the notice.'

So the NIC or the TUC may object to the odd effect of the repressive legislation, but they refuse to oppose it in principle. They refuse to lead a campaign calling for the abolition of these laws.

That places them on the side of the repressive laws and on the side of the Loyalists: it is a reflection of the Loyalist majority in trade unions in the North of Ireland.

Today, the Better Life for All Campaign is dead. That will not stop the TUC supporting it in Blackpool this week, for as is the case with hunger strikers and victims of the British Army and RUC, the TUC doesn't always acknowledge death in Ireland.



# US women workers say: HANDS OFF!

By Ann Fiander

FORD Motor Company in the USA has been ordered to pay Fayette Nale \$187,032 compensation because she was fired after rejecting her foreman's sexual advances. Her committeeman (steward) testified that her foreman used suggestive gestures to her.

The UAW (United Auto Workers), Fayette's union, has national policy which states that sexual harassment is a serious obstacle to the achievement of full employment opportunities for workers of both sexes.

The union uses its national and local press to educate members about the role sexual harassment can play in dividing a workforce. The most recent letter to all union branches points to the fact that at least three types of victim result from sexual harassment. The national president stated:

Local 201 branch represents 10,000 employees. 20 per cent are women. Both clerical and factory jobs are in the same union.

## Fired

The initial walk out in support of the secretary resulted in one worker being fired and 32 others receiving written warnings. The union has secured the reinstatement of the fired worker but not the firing of the managers.

This has led to a major debate on the best way the union can defend women workers in the long term. In this particular dispute a one day strike is proposed if the issue is not resolved in the present negotiations.

And these are not the only unions to take up the issue of sexual harassment.

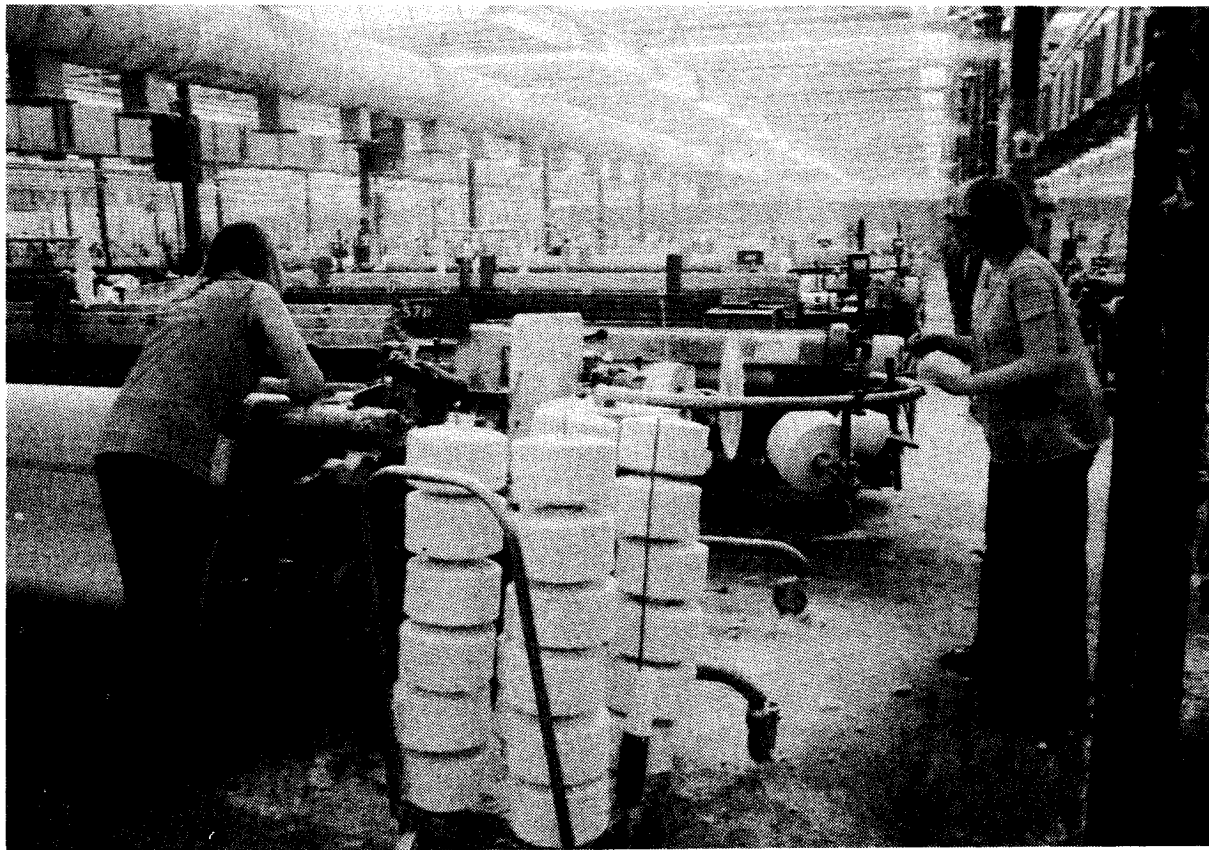
## Suffer

The second National Conference of women coalminers in 1980 requested a comprehensive study of harassment in the coal mines and it has now been completed.

It showed that 53 per cent of respondents had been propositioned by their bosses and one third of these women felt they would suffer if they turned their boss down and 70 per cent felt uncomfortable because of the proposition.

76 per cent of women reported they had been propositioned by a workmate, 35 per cent of these felt uncomfortable, the rest felt neutral to pleased.

The report pointed out that the greater incidence of propositions from co-



— a restriction on a woman's right to work. Management use fear of coercion, intimidation, or assault, to try and drive women from the workforce.

— a way management divides the workforce to pit worker against worker.

Local 201 has reached the decision that the union and not management should deal with sexual harassment from workmates.

## Divides

This view is echoed by Sarah Slaughter, writing in the United Mine Worker Local 1010 newspaper.

'Once you report to management, the situation is entirely out of your hands. Management may do nothing, or they may punish the employee more harshly than you had intended, firing him for instance.'

'The union must try to protect the employee's job and you will then be in a position of siding against your own union. This will be very unpleasant and it won't win you any friends. It also divides the union, man against woman, and weakens union protection for everyone.'

The US experience gives an insight into the class nature of sexual harassment. It explains that the working class as a whole suffers from the effects of harassment of the individual.

## Members

In our unions (as NALGO is beginning to do) we should discuss how we are going to deal with sexual harassment in all its forms. This will mean educating all our members to ensure they understand and cease to harass their workmates and recognise sexual harassment from management and know how to deal with it.

## Victims

'Most often we think of victims as being those who are penalised for refusing the supervisor's advances. But those whose fear of reprisal or desire for privilege traps them in unwanted sexual relationships are victims as well. In addition, the workers who suffer as a result of the supervisors' favouritism toward one of them who does submit to sexual advances are victims too.'

How a union should deal with sexual harassment from management is becoming an issue in some unions in the US.

## Forced

Another example is a recent incident in the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE).

One hundred and fifty IUE members walked out when two managers were merely reprimanded and not sacked for sexual harassment. They had forced a secretary to have lunch with them and then grabbed her, squeezed her and smirked at her.



United Auto Workers Local 469 printed this sticker in the local union newspaper next to an article about sexual harassment. The next day, many women wore the stickers to work.

workers is to be expected since each miner has many workmates and very few bosses. But the coercion has much more serious implications when it comes from management.

This evidence is reflected

in the priorities the unions are adopting in relation to sexual harassment. That is, they concentrate on dealing with sexual abuse from management. Nevertheless the UAW firmly

states:

'Sexual harassment by managers, supervisors or co-workers should not be tolerated at any work place organised by the UAW.'

Local 201 of the IUE

has had to confront this head on. While their management would not sack the managers for physically attacking a secretary, it did sack four employees for sexually abusive language.

## Fear

The women's committee and activists in this union local are adamant that all forms of sexual harassment have to stop. Their action and discussions have led them to the view that the whole membership has to be educated around this issue. They understand sexual harassment to be:

— a democratic issue, the right of workers to respect.  
— an economic issue, the right of workers to sell only their labour and nothing else.  
— a health and safety issue, because sexual harassment causes stress.

# The upper crust

By Joanna Cooke

It is comforting to know that, in these troubled times, there are still some people managing to keep their heads above water. These fortunates, the aristocracy, were the subject of Barry Norman's 'London Season' on BBC1 on Tuesday of last week.

While the rest of us have been ravaged by the effects of unemployment, soaring prices and slashbacks in welfare services, the upper classes have come out of it all, not only unscathed, but in finer fettle than ever.

## Bubbly

London society, we are told, has seen better business and has spent more money in the last few months than for many a good year.

As Barry Norman was told: 'The Socialist Government had made them feel guilty about spending their money but now, more and more are

crawling out of the woodwork with their wallets.'

They are splashing out as much as £500 on an evening dress they may well wear only once and over £1,000 on the 'best' champagne. Only the best bubbly is 'completely palatable'.

The programme showed the up-to-date version of the ritual of launching upper crust young women — the debbs — onto the marriage market.

## Season

To make sure that the blue blood remains pure for future generations, they can only go to the mating-hops if the editor

of *Tatler* thinks their pedigree is OK.

Inclusion on the approved list is the passport to the whole gamut of balls, lunches, and charity functions that make up the London season. Some gate crashers do get in though.

## Clarity

One especially arrogant young male who had done just that was interviewed on the programme. But it turned out he had the right connections on the inside.

Charity functions are a quite recent innovation on the London scene. These are used to make us believe that the rich are not the parasites we've always thought them to be.

But Lord Romsey, a big mate of Prince Charles, blew the gaff on that when he said: 'The guests come for the free food, free champagne,



and to see and to be seen. Obviously charity begins at home for Romsey and his ilk.

We must remember that life is very difficult being a peer. As one poor chap complained 'You're not taken seriously if you have a title'. Except in your own set, that is.

There, social requirements are of a lower standard than elsewhere. Gormlessness takes precedence over brains. 'Good looks', money and

'class' are vital. And even the nouveau riche, with pots of money but no pedigree, are merely tolerated.

The Barry Norman programme was a revealing insight into the obscene antics of a senile aristocracy which exists solely for its own self-indulgence.

Roll on the day that 'their' land and 'their' wealth is taken from them and used to serve the needs of all the people.



Roddy Campbell languishes at the Piers Gaveston Bail, a mercenary release from PPE.

# 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, Crosswell Lane; Hope Street Book Centre.  
**HAMILTON:** SC sale every Sat 1-5pm outside Safeway, shopping centre. For more info contact John Ford, 53 Eliot Crescent, Hamilton or Paul Youngson, 18 Forrest Crescent, Hamilton.

## Wales

**BANGOR:** Sat 10-12 town centre.  
**CARDIFF:** every Sat in Bute Town 10.30-12. Also available 1-0-8 Books, Salisbury Road.  
**NEWPORT:** every Sat in town centre 11-12.30.  
**PONTYPRIDD:** SC sales every Sat outside Open Market 11-1pm.  
**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.  
**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 Armale 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.  
**OLDHAM:** SC sold every Saturday outside Yorkshire Bank, High Street. For more information about local activities. Tel. 061-682 5151.  
**OXFORD:** SC sold Fri 12-2pm outside Kings Arms and every Sat 10.30-12.30pm in Cornmarket.

## 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. Phone 01-369 8180.  
**SPARE BOOKS?** Any books you don't want taking up valuable space on your bookshelves? Send them to the Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1 2XP.  
**TURKEY** Solidarity Campaign Week of Action to mark first anniversary of military coup. Saturday 12 September 11am. Picket of Downing St 'Save the life of Dogan Tarkan'; 2pm Rally Against Dictatorship. NUFTO Hall, Jockey Fields, London WC1. Speakers from labour and solidarity movements.

## SC Events

**BRENT:** Socialist Challenge presents 'Downing Daiquiris with Fidel', an evening of fun and celebration of the Cuban Revolution. Film showing of 'The Battle of the Ten Million', starring Fidel and a cast of millions; full-course meal, Cuban cuisine; music; daiquiris, rum punch and other goodies for £2.50, £1.50 unwaged. Sat 5 Sept. 7.30pm. 5 St Mary's Rd, London NW10. For tickets ring Pam at 359-8288.

**SC ORGANISERS** fraction Sat 1 Sept 11am-4.30pm at national centre.

## 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.

**SHEFFIELD:** SC on sale Thursday, Pond St, 4.30-6pm; Saturday, Fargate 10.30-12.30pm.  
**STAFFORD:** SC on Sale Market Sq Sat lunch-time.  
**STOCKPORT:** SC sold every Saturday, 1pm, Mersey Way. Can be delivered weekly; phone 483 8909 (evening), 236 4905 (day).  
**SWINDON:** SC on sale 11-1 every Sat, Regent St (Brunel Centre).  
**TESSIDE:** SC on sale Sat lunchtime in the Cleveland Centre, and in Newfare, 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; and Saturday near Beatties, town centre from 11am-2pm.  
**YORK:** on sale every Thursday, dole office, Clifford Street, 9.30-11; University Vanburgh College 12-2; Saturday at Coney Street 11-1.

## London

**BRENT:** SC sold Willesden Junction Thur 4.30pm.  
**EALING:** SC sold Thur, Ealing Broadway tube, 4.30-5.30pm.  
**ENFIELD:** SC at Nelsons newsagents, London Rd, Enfield Town.  
**HACKNEY:** SC on sale on estates throughout Hackney, at public meetings, and local factories. Contact us c/o PO Box 36, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8 2NF or phone Megan or John at 359 8288.  
**HILLINGDON:** SC sold Fri, 4.30-5.30 at Uxbridge tube station; Sat 10.30-12.00 outside Woolworths, Uxbridge shopping centre.  
**KILBURN:** SC sales every Sat, 10am in Kilburn Square, and Thursday 8.30am at Queens Park tube.  
**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.  
**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.  
**OXFORD:** EOA Books, 34 Cowley Rd.  
**LEICESTER:** Blackthorn Books, 70 High St, Leicester, and V Karia, 53A London Rd, Leicester.  
**LIVERPOOL:** News from Nowhere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1.  
**LONDON:** Central Books, 37 Grays Inn Rd; 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; The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, N1; Bookmarks, Seven Sisters Rd, N4; Centreprise, 126 Kingsland High St, E8; Dillons, QMC; Page One, E15; The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, N1; Reading Matters, Wood Green next to Sainsbury's.  
**YORK:** Community Books, Walmgate.

## Revolution Youth notices

**NATIONAL** meeting of representatives of IMG/RY branches in local Youth Revolt defence committees. Birmingham centre on 13 September.



# Letters letters LETTERS

## Can you convince me?

ON 13th August, I read Socialist Challenge for the first time. I am a housewife with two small children and, having been brought up in a 'conservative circle', have always voted thus. Having a family made me realise the full implications of the nuclear weapons build up and from this point, I have opened my mind to politics.

I deplore the fact that 'defence' issues of such paramount importance are not decided by our elected MPs. That certain multinational companies should have such influence in these affairs, exaggerates tensions between the USSR and the West and is both dangerous and immoral.

I agree with much that Tony Benn stands for but after reading your paper am concerned about certain aspects of your movement.

Re the Air Traffic

## We reply:

Socialists believe in the methods of persuasion and argument. We don't think that the best way to win people to socialism is to go around rioting and beating up the police — that's not our method at all.

The work of socialists is a daily round of meetings, paper sales, arguments on the shop floor, housing estates and in the Labour Party branches.

The problem is that the rich and the powerful won't give up their ruling position in society peacefully and without using their police force, army and courts, which are only there to defend property and the status quo.

Look what happened in Chile; when they had a left wing government and the ruling class felt threatened by the workers, the army moved in to overthrow the democratically elected government.

The police in Britain don't represent a 'cross section of the British public'.

On the contrary, they are ideologically trained to defend the existing society

## Missed opportunity

AS a long time reader of Socialist Challenge I am very concerned at the lack of Ireland coverage in your paper in recent weeks.

Following the recent tragic deaths of Tom McElwee and Michael Devine, it is now as important as ever to publicise the prisoners' struggle and to

Controlers dispute, do you mean to say that when a person signs a contract, his promise stands for nothing?

I sympathise with their cause, wonder if it is right that such a contract should be signed but do not feel that striking is the right course.

Re the Closed Shop. This is undemocratic. What about the rights of the Individual?

I well believe that there are corrupt police and that victimisation takes place, but the police are very necessary and furthermore represent a cross section of the British public.

I am afraid there are bully boys in every institution including the Socialist Party and no doubt in the police, should you come to power.

Of course the rioters have a cause. The situation is intolerable but violence, destruction and looting are wrong.

I suggest you curb

yourselves a little. The Labour Party must win the next election. My Conservative friends will vote Social Democrats unless you can provide a united front for Labour.

Communicate with the British public. Attack at the top, in the open, so that reasonable people will join your ranks.

Intimidation and beating up policemen should be OUT. Channel your energies to win public support. Forcing your will upon others is immoral.

Don't just scorn this letter. As an average middle class housewife, I represent a large proportion of the British public.

We are what it is all about. The normally silent long suffering majority.

I believe your aims are good. Some of your methods cause me doubt. Can you convince me? For I am one of many.

M DAW  
Driffield,  
N Humberside

ing thousands of leaflets saying the Tories were bad and the miners should get a wage rise.

You can't get socialism without struggle, by just arguing about ideas. Take the example of the youth riots. The youth are rebelling against unemployment, dreadful housing conditions and police harassment — a whole generation condemned to misery by the Tories.

They are fighting back against their oppression. We don't agree with all their methods, but you have to take sides. Socialists always side with the exploited and oppressed, even if we don't agree with their methods of struggle.

Socialists in this country have often fallen into the trap of giving up more and more of their political principles in order to appear 'reasonable'. That is a slippery road.

Don't forget that Denis Healey started out as a member of the Communist Party.

But in the long run it's best to stick to your principles and not 'curb yourself'. And it's also necessary to tell the workers the truth. That to change society they will have to struggle, and the bosses will use every weapon at their disposal to stop them.

it was in *Socialist Worker*, to convey to your readers the tremendous solidarity and support for the prisoners in the nationalist ghettos in Belfast and Derry?

I hope the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland will be given more prominence in future issues.

VICTORY TO THE HUNGER STRIKERS!

IAN LUND  
London

## Britain's Vietnam

The time is ripe for launching a new movement for getting troops out of Ireland.

The popularity of the fight against British policy in Ireland — shown by enormous demonstrations north and south of the border and recent election results — is changing the face of politics in Britain. The shroud of silence surrounding events in Ireland is beginning to be lifted.

Of the fifty or so resolutions being put to the Labour Party Conference, none seem to put their finger on the really important issue. The British Labour movement has one overriding task — to build the kind of movement in Britain that was built in the United States to get their troops out of Vietnam. Ireland is Britain's Vietnam.

The withdrawal of British troops must be unconditional. It is not up to the British to say 'we'll get our troops out if' ... One of the reasons why the anti-war movement in America succeeded in becoming a MASS movement, was its 'no-ifs' approach.

It said simply this — what is the main job for American workers?

Answer: 'to weaken our government's war drive by removing the popular support for what the army is doing'.

Because it was the troops that were the mainstay of US policy of maintaining the pro-imperialist government in the South, the anti-war movement focussed overwhelmingly on the BIG issue.

Its campaign was successful. The movement against the war was crucial in getting America out. This has been acknowledged both by the Vietnamese and by top military thinkers in the Pentagon.

We have the same job

to do in Britain. There are many, many different views in Britain about what should be done in Ireland. When the opinion polls reveal that a majority of British people think the troops should be withdrawn, we know that there are only a minute number that share our view.

We think that the best conditions in which to change people's minds would exist inside a movement that was trying to bring people who support withdrawal into action.

Just like in Vietnam, in Ireland, the main support for British imperialism is the Army. A movement that can deepen the crisis that our rulers are already in, over Ireland, would not only be a fantastic thing for the workers' movement in Britain, it would be the strongest possible ally of those in Ireland fighting for an end to the present tyranny.

The Labour Committee on Ireland has done a good job in marshalling resolutions to the party conference.

The fight for a policy of withdrawal in the Labour Party and trade unions must be the ground work for building a massive movement for getting the troops out. The labour movement can turn the passive support of millions into actions. This is where our attention has to be turned.

MARTIN COLLINS  
Manchester



## SUBSCRIBE TO SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

For new readers we are offering TEN ISSUES of Socialist Challenge for the incredibly low price of £2 (real value £3.15!)

With 12 month subscriptions we are giving away a FREE COPY of *Malcolm X — An Autobiography* by Alex Haley and Malcolm X, published by Penguin Books (usual price £1.95)

Complete the form below and rush your order to: Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Cheques and POs payable to 'Socialist Challenge'.

### SPECIAL OFFER

12 months: £14 plus free copy of *Malcolm X — An Autobiography*  
 6 months - £7  
 10 issues for £2 only.  
 Overseas: 12 months — Surface mail & Europe air mail £17.  
 Other air mail £24.  
 Delete as appropriate.  
 Name.....

Address.....

For multi-reader institutions double the above rates.



BELOW we reproduce sections of a recent interview given by Thomas Borgé, one of the top leaders of the FSLN, about the future course of the Nicaraguan revolution.

We are reproducing those excerpts not because we agree with everything which Borgé says — far from it — but in order to enable our readers to better understand the thinking of the FSLN leadership.

Today in Nicaragua something like 70 per cent of the economy is in private hands. We think that Borgé's statements on the role of private industry reveal some illusions about the possible degree of co-operation between the state and private industry, between the revolution and the bourgeoisie.

So far, at each decisive stage, the FSLN has shown itself willing to mobilise the workers and peasants against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to sabotage the progress of the revolution.

Our own view is that in order to sustain the progress of the revolution, the Sandinistas will be forced to take much more radical measures against capital than they currently envisage.



## 'We will not take a single step backwards'

**The cutoff of US financial aid is a problem for the Revolution. Washington is justifying its move by alleging that Nicaragua is giving Salvadoran insurgents military backing. What comment does this merit?**

Actually what worries the United States is our revolutionary process. By its decision, imperialism tries to 'punish' our 'bad behaviour', in other words our Revolution.

Thus it is now saying that it will help us again if we behave correctly, that is, according to its criteria. To this we reply that we will not take a single step backward.

We Nicaraguans announce to all the people of the world that we shall continue to behave badly in the eyes of imperialism and that we are ready to die to defend our Revolution.

We are willing to fight to the last drop of blood to hold on to the conquests gained since July 19, 1979.

**You just mentioned 'conquests' of the Revolution. Would you say what they are?**

The principal one is that we are under way. We have also eliminated terror, won independence and national sovereignty and taken some positive cultural steps, as in the case of the literacy crusade.

We have achieved a substantial reduction in infant mortality and have put the country's principal means of production at the service of the people's needs.

**What are the basic**

**features or main aspects of the 'bold' Sandinist revolutionary experiment?**

Our model is framed in a mixed economy, and its synthesis is political pluralism.

We have said many times that we are very interested in continuing with the peculiarities of our process, but everything depends on the historic circumstances of each moment. We have always had our feet firmly on the ground, and we do not want to fall into the pattern or the errors of other revolutions.

Our model is intimately linked to the needs of production and national reconstruction, because the State does not have managerial talent.

We do not deprecate the bourgeoisie's administrative ability nor its ability to make the means of production function.

**If I have understood you, Comandante, you do not disdain the contribution of the businessmen. You do not attack the bourgeoisie who it is willing to cooperate with the revolutionary process.**

We reached the conclusion that they are necessary so that production will not have a sharp drop. Now it is up to the businessmen to see that the mixed economy — which is basic to political pluralism — does not disappear.

We realise that we have to work to maintain a mixed economy, and we have a sincere interest in maintaining it. But if the entrepreneurs decapitalise the companies, if they conspire against the Revolution, they will bring an end to mixed economy and pluralism.

Thus the economy

## backwards'



## INTERVIEW WITH TOMAS BORGE, LEADER OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

depends on the businessmen. Our interest and good will are evident. It now depends on the degree of development of bourgeois culture and whether the entrepreneurs can go beyond the line of political savagery.

**One of the criticisms from the opposition to the FSLN is its implementation of a totalitarian political mode. Do you have this danger in mind? Are the nine comandantes of the FSLN National Directorate thinking of this?**

Look, personally I can tell you that the responsibility that goes with power is very heavy for a human being. It is too much of a burden.

In the National Directorate we take special care not to fall into excesses. We watch each other.

When we begin our meetings, the order of the day starts with criticism and self-examination.

The Revolution exercises a continuous vigilance over each one of us. Our advantage is collective administration. Whatever one of us does affects all the rest, and firm control helps us avoid vices.

The bourgeoisie accuses us of falling into totalitarianism. But it forgets to say that here in Nicaragua we have freedom of the press; that we do not use torture; that there was no *paredon* (wall against which prisoners are executed by firing squads); and that an opposition exists.

**Washington accused Nicaragua of falling rapidly into a Cuban-Soviet mode. What is your reaction to charges that the Sandinist Revolution is**

**beginning to be dependent on Cuba and the USSR?**

We do not owe imperialism any explanation. But we will say to Latin Americans that we are not going to become another Cuba. Neither do we want anyone to become another Nicaragua.

Every revolution has its own framework and its own style. We feel very close to the Cuban Revolution. We do not deny that nor will we ever deny it because that would be dishonest.

However, we are also aware that our Revolution is different from Cuba's in many ways: we have political pluralism and a mixed economy. We have not executed anyone. We also have a collective administration.

We coincide with the Cuban Revolution on many points, for example

in our anti-imperialist stance. Of course, we also have differences. Without going into detail, in international policy the Nicaraguan Revolution has its own opinion about Afghanistan and Poland.

**But, Comandante: You said just a short while ago that within two years 100 per cent of Nicaraguan revenue will be designated for servicing the foreign debt and buying petroleum. Then, even more than now, foreign financial assistance will be needed.**

**Do you sincerely believe that socialist countries will help Nicaragua to continue upholding political pluralism and a mixed economy? Isn't it utopian to think that such sources will be interested? Do you truly think that there will be no 'pressure' for Nicaragua to follow a specified course?**

I am entirely certain that we will have help without restriction from socialist countries. Remember that yesterday's history cannot be the same as today's.

Conditions in the world have changed. The Yankees invaded the Dominican Republic; now they would think 200 times before doing the same in Nicaragua. The Soviets likewise have had experience in Cuba where the revolution took place under specific circumstances.

If the Soviets — and the socialist countries — did not understand that they would be anti-historical. We have the hope, rather the almost absolute certainty, that the Soviets understand perfectly what is going on here and would not think

of trying to guide our Revolution.

Otherwise, our Revolution would not have any meaning, and we would ask why in the devil we did it.

One of the most important elements in a revolution is for the people to be masters of their destiny and act according to their wishes. If someone comes to tell us what we have to do, then the Revolution is over.

**A problem that disturbs Latin America is the possibility of armed aggression against Nicaragua. How serious is the danger of attack by the Somoza forces that are outside of Nicaragua, especially in Central America and the United States?**

They have already attacked us several times. Last year they made dozens of attacks. The latest one was less than a week ago. We are afraid these attacks will be more frequent in the future. But the real danger is not these attacks by ex-guardsmen.

More serious is the possibility of there being an element of provocation to create a conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua. Even so it would be difficult to overthrow the Sandinist Revolution.

The only way to defeat us militarily would be by an invasion of US troops; though even they would pay a very high price in lives, political prestige and future perspective. For us belligerency is not the main problem. We are more concerned about the war against backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment. That is what worries us more and we hope that there will not be an outbreak of warfare in the area.

# Socialist Challenge

# Defend Ken Livingstone!



## Iran crisis deepens

By Davy Jones

**THE Iranian regime of Ayatollah Khomeini is in total disarray as it reels from the assassination of the President and Prime Minister.**

There is massive disaffection with the regime throughout the country, over the failure to prosecute the war against Iraq, the rampaging unemployment and increasing attacks on

democratic rights.

Whole areas of the country are controlled by nationalist guerrillas as in Kurdistan, or according to some reports, supporters of ex-President Bani-Sadr and the Mojahadin guerrillas.

The Iranian masses disposed of the Shah in a mighty revolutionary struggle. They fought for democratic rights and solutions to their elementary social and economic needs. The Khomeini regime has proved conclusively its inability to grant these demands.

The result has been the dramatic growth of opposition groups and currents: some around figures such as Bani-Sadr and outright supporters of the former Shah; and other more militant currents like the Mojahadin.

As the regime has grown weaker so it has increasingly turned to savage repression against all opposition. More than 600 executions of political opponents have been carried out in the past few months and hundreds more have 'disappeared' or been arrested.

These actions by the Khomeini regime can further undermine the gains of the anti-Shah revolution. But the bombing campaign of the Mojahadin and other bourgeois politicians represents no way forward for the Iranian workers and peasants either.

Terrorist bombings only have the effect of reinforcing the hold of the mullahs — as witnessed by the 1m strong demonstration in support of Khomeini following last weekend's bombing.

The Iranian workers and peasants should not rely on either the Khomeini regime or the Mojahadin/Bani-Sadr bloc to carry through the revolution.

They should build the broadest movement including the Mojahadin against the repression of the regime and for the defence of democratic rights, including the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination.

**KEN LIVINGSTONE, leader of the Labour Greater London Council, has come under savage attack from the press since coming to office in May.**

The right wing Tory press, led by the obnoxious *London Standard*, has launched a campaign of slander and vilification on every word and action of Ken Livingstone's. The right wing Labour councillors have been quick to join forces with the Tories in attacking Ken and even some of the left councillors have been airing their misgivings in public.

So what lies behind such a concerted campaign? Ken Livingstone himself thought that the press campaign would subside after the elections.

But he acknowledges that when he became leader many people thought that he would 'mellow' with the weight of his exalted position. If anything he has done just the opposite.

### Ireland

Ken has spoken out clearly on defence of workers' struggles, gay rights, discrimination against blacks, racism in the police force, Poland and by no means least, on Ireland.

He does not always have the support of the other left councillors in the GLC, let alone the Labour group as a whole. The new administration has begun to tackle many problems facing Londoners, some not too successfully.

It plans to cut fares — but at the expense of a huge rate increase; it intends to create more jobs and has supported struggles against redundancies such as the work-in at St Mary's hospital Paddington, as well as accommodating the People's Marchers.

### Gays

And when Ken Livingstone denounces discrimination against black people and gays he is speaking on the policy of the Labour group and the manifesto on which it was elected.

The Labour GLC has tried to blow a wind of change through the corridors of County Hall. They want to do away with some of the bureaucratic workings of the council and make it more accountable and open, particularly to the labour movement in London.

So why the campaign against Ken Livingstone? First, his stand on Ireland, in particular his complete support for the hunger strikers and for the withdrawal of British troops.

He has been the only major Labour Party figure who has taken such a stand. He has openly broken from Labour's bipartisanship with the Tories.

But he now needs to take this fight into the Labour Party as a whole in order to overcome his isolation from his colleagues on this issue.

### Benn

The second reason why Livingstone has come under such a barrage is that for many people the Labour GLC is seen as a forerunner of a left Labour government led by Benn.

Hence its success or failure is of concern to the hacks in Fleet Street as well as to the Tories on both sides of Westminster Bridge, not to mention Foot and Healey.

The eventual outcome of the GLC is also the concern of all of us on the left. Ken Livingstone has stated that either the GLC or the

government will be totally victorious. That is not a small question for the working class which is looking to the Labour Party for leadership against Thatcher.

Socialists should stand four square behind Ken Livingstone against the attacks from the media and the right.

### Choice

It is very easy to shout 'Resign! Resign!' every time the Labour GLC makes a slip. But the developments inside the Labour Party today means that the left has to begin to make a choice. Either we can stand on the side lines, shouting 'Foul!' while we keep our positions pure, or we seize the opportunities opening up for us.

Socialist Challenge has many criticisms to make both of the Labour GLC's manifesto and of how it operates. But a confrontation with the Tories is clearly coming.

If such a confrontation is to be a victorious one against the government, Ken Livingstone has to be defended now when he speaks out on the crucial issues facing the working class.

# Socialist Challenge

**OK: time to deliver the goods!**

A BAD week for our Fund Drive. £440.10.

Our quarterly target is £16,400 or £1,270 per week.

Unlike the capitalist press we don't bullshit our readers and supporters. When we say we need £16,500 a quarter to run our paper and resource our campaigns, we mean we need it.

We can't rely on our advertising revenues — about a tanner a week in the first half of this year. We can't rely on big donations, selling the film rights, fairy godpersons, or a mass circulation (yet).

We have to rely on you, our supporters, to deliver the goods, if we are to deliver the goods.

Have a read through this issue — next week we should be back to sixteen pages — would

you settle for anything less?

This week our thanks go to supporters in Outer West London, Bath, Leamington, and Des Stevens.

**Stop Press:** Last week, thieves broke into the home of a Brent Socialist Challenge supporter. They got away with £60, most of which was money from Socialist Challenge sales.

To make up for this loss, Brent SC is strongly urging all supporters to attend its fundraising social, advertised in SC events. Please come! Help the paper and enjoy yourself at the same time!



Tony Benn for Deputy — 'The fastest selling badge on the People's March, (*Morning Star*, 1 June). You too can have a copy of this hot property for just 20p (plus 11½p postage).

## Mr Livingstone presumes..

**SOME people lie because they can't help it. Others, especially ambitious politicians, because it suits their purpose.**

Mr. Ken Livingstone, the leader of the Greater London Council, is an ambitious politician.

At a meeting in Brixton, while a riot raged outside, he accused newspapers, including the *Daily Mirror*, of a "daily diet of filth" about the riots and of making racism respectable.

He told us he was "horrified" at our support for the police and for restoring law and order. We should have men-

### Mirror Comment

tioned unemployment and poor housing, he added, and the switching of grants from the cities to the counties.

And our riot coverage was "appalling for race relations."

**Certainly we believe law and order must be restored on our streets. So does Michael Foot. Doesn't Mr. Livingstone?**

But the *Mirror* stressed the riots were only a symptom of our troubles. That solving the causes meant spending much

more on housing, education and jobs.

**WE SAID:** "The spending on the inner cities has been ruthlessly and blindly cut."

**WE SAID:** "Politicians talk about racial equality. It is time to show they mean it."

**WE SAID:** "If the police can protect seaside resorts from skinheads, coloured youngsters are entitled to ask why they cannot stop racist provocation."

Everything Mr. Livingstone accused us of was false.

**LONDON HAS GOT A LIAR FOR A LEADER.**