

Socialist Challenge

STOP THE MISSILES



↑ **JOBS**
NOT
BOMBS ↓

DEMO LONDON OCT 24

HYSTERIA has accompanied the closing stages of the contest for Labour's deputy leader. Hysteria in the bosses' press and on the right wing of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Day after day the media has spewed out an endless stream of indignation at the prospect of a Benn victory.

Every demagogic argument in the book has been used, from Healey's mudslinging slanders about Jon Lansman, to the hypocritical accusations of breaching democracy levelled at the Transport Union's vote for Benn.

Why this hysteria? After all, Benn being elected deputy leader won't break the right wing's grip on the PLP or the shadow cabinet. What the press and the right wing fear is the symbolic impact of a Benn victory.

It would mark the determination of the rank and file of the labour movement to impose their will on the leadership — to elect the leaders that they choose and to impose policies for radical change.

Whether Benn wins or loses, the fight for left advance will go on. Con-

BENN IN TORIES OUT

trary to all those who say that this fight is 'divisive', it is in fact the best way to pursue the fight against the Tories.

To win a government which can make a real break with Toryism of every variety and push forward socialist advance, it is necessary to sweep away all the old rubbish of the Wilson-Callaghan-Healey years. A victory for Benn will be a clear signal that this is the path that the Labour rank and file has embarked upon.

The deputy leadership fight has shown how far the majority of Labour leaders oppose the

wishes of the rank and file.

The campaign to impose the will of the labour movement on these leaders, by removing them if necessary, is a vital component of the struggle for a Labour

government committed to socialist policies. A victory for Benn will mark an important stage in the fight to kick out the Tories — of every variety.

Benn on LSE picket line



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TONY BENN FOR DEPUTY



ORGANISE FOR A

By Brian Heron

LAST WEEK Thatcher sacked the 'wets' from the Tory Cabinet, the Liberals formed an alliance with the Social Democratic Party, and the deputy leadership battle in the Labour Party reached fever pitch. All three events marked dramatic changes in British politics.

The Tories, according to Ian Gilmour, are 'moving on to the rocks!' Thatcher's hard-line politics are not working. And the SDP and Liberals are sitting in the wings waiting for Thatcher's collapse, hoping to pick up the pieces.

The fact that the SDP are taking more votes from the Tories than the Labour Party demonstrates the continued resilience of the workers' movement. But nobody can be blind to the fears that Labour's internal battle might provoke a Labour collapse at the next election.

How real is that danger? How can the left defeat it?

Disease

First, it is crucial to recognise that the battle inside the Labour Party is, and always has been, a fight between the classes. When the *Daily Express* sings Healey's praises it is not the 'good old Labour Party' that it is aiming to defend.

Most of the media hate the Labour Party and always have done, even a Labour party that buckles under the IMF and NATO. But a Labour Party that has the right to impose its policies on its leaders and remove the leaders if they don't carry them out is quite another thing.

It would encourage millions of workers and the unemployed to believe that they could win the battle to finish off the Tories and their system once and for all. The Labour Party battle is over who should lead the workers' movement and to whom those leaders are accountable.

The idea that the Labour Party should be more accountable to the people who support it is a contagious disease. Anybody who watched Len Murray wring his hands over the latest unemployment figures or saw the disgusting spectacle of AUEW leader Terry Duffy smiling as he walked past the Laurence Scott workers' delegation on the Labour Party march in Birmingham, knows that the union leaders are due for a good dose of democratic accountability.

The radical policies of the TUC need to be translated into action. It is crystal clear that a new leadership in the unions is desperately required which will remove the roadblock to mass action against the ailing Tories.

Radical

Will the fight for a new leadership in the Labour Party and the unions lose Labour the election? Yes, if that fight is not carried through to the end.

There is enormous common ground between Healey, Roy Jenkins, and Edward Heath. They all support nuclear weapons, incomes controls, and the Common Market, and they all hate the idea of radical socialist change. All three are running in the opposite direction to the views of increasing numbers of workers on these vital issues.



Organising mass action against the Tories like this Labour Party CND demo last year is the best way to ensure a Labour victory

Why on earth should millions of unemployed trade unionists vote for a Labour government to carry out an SDP or a Tory 'wet' programme, especially when they experienced such a programme for four years

under Labour from 1974 to 1979?

Labour's only chance is to convince working people that it stands for radical change and that it has the leaders to carry it out — or to be

replaced by those who will.

Eighty thousand people have joined the Labour Party in the last two years. Hundreds of thousands have turned out on the unemployment marches, and in the factories and work-place interest in the Labour Party is growing daily.

The reason is simple. The fight for new leaders in the Labour Party opens the door to the fight for a different sort of society — a socialist society.

If that support can be won at the outset of the left's campaign it can be multiplied tenfold if it is carried through to the end. Three basic policies are needed to make sure that happens.

Resources

First, there is a huge base that can be won to enthusiastic support for Labour and for socialist policies inside the unions. The Labour Party should throw its resources into organising in the unions.

But such a perspective needs to be linked to two important principles. First we need a democratic union movement which elects its officers and puts its decisions into action. Second we need a policy of joint Labour Party/trade union action to finish off the Tories.

And that means all-out support for those like the LSE workers who are leading the jobs' fight in the teeth of the opposition of their own union leaders.

Second, we need to continue the battle for leadership within the Labour Party. It is clear that Michael Foot has to go. At every turn he has shown himself more concerned to defend Healey than party policy.

Alongside an open challenge to the Foot/Healey clique Benn should resign his shadow cabinet position if he wishes to lead that fight.

Third, 'a radical shift of the balance of wealth and power in favour of working people' means fighting for real socialist policies. As the fight against the Tories sharpens, so we will need better weapons.

For example, to effectively remove the power of the bosses and the banks we need two things: a commitment to full-scale nationalisation, and the same democratic workers control over the economy as has begun to be achieved inside the Labour Party. Otherwise genuine power will never be in the hands of working people.

Women

Similarly the debate on the role of the armed forces should be continued by campaigning to break the alliance with the US-led war machine NATO and to get British troops out of Ireland now.

There is much more to be done to promote the advance of women and youth and to continue the fight against racism. That's why the policy debate must continue in the most democratic fashion throughout the labour movement.

Now is not the time to lose our nerve. The ruling class will do everything to stop the Labour Party coming to office, just as they will stop at nothing to save their exploitative system.

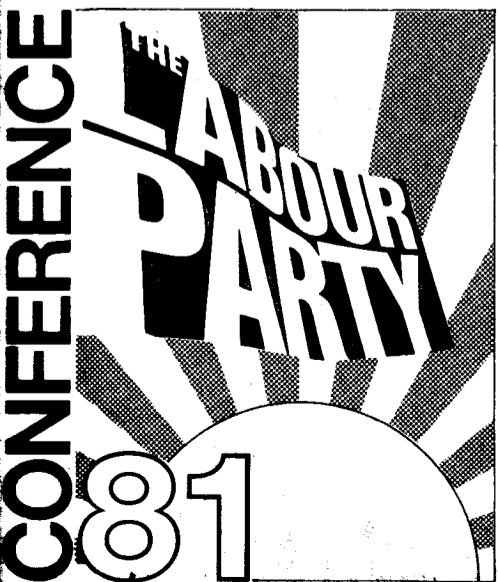
But working people are searching for radical policies. The Labour Party can be swept to victory by mobilising the workers movement around such a programme.

Fringe Meetings at Labour Party conference

Saturday 26 September
Brighton Kemptown CLP — Wagner Hall, Regency Rd 7.30pm with Tony Benn; Bernard Dix; Joe Marino; Norman Atkinson; Joan Maynard; Tony Saunois; Rod Fitch.
Institute For Workers Control — Queen's Hotel, Kings Rd 7.15pm. 'Local Government & Industrial Renovation' with Tony Benn; Audrey Wise; David Blunkett; Michael Meacher; Valerie Wise.
Sunday 27 September
Campaign for Labour Party Democracy — Metropole Hotel, Kings Rd, 1.30pm with Tony Benn; Eric Clarke; Dennis Skinner; Joan Maynard.
Democracy, Development and Disarmament — Pavillion Theatre, New Rd 2.15pm with Tony Benn; Stuart Holland; Mary Kaldor; Mike Cooley.
London Labour Briefing — Queen's Hotel, Kings Rd 8.30pm with Ken Livingstone; Audrey Wise, Merle Amory and speakers from Lothian.

Monday 28 September
Labour Co-ordinating Committee — Kings Hotel, Kings Rd 5.15pm. 'Can Local Government Survive?' with Ken Livingstone; David Blunkett; Alan Taylor.
Labour Campaign for Gay Rights — Royal Pavillion, Maureen Colquhoun speaks 8pm.
Labour Action For Peace — The Dome 7.30pm with Tony Benn; Frank Allaun; Ernie Ross; Fenner Brockway; Philip Noel-Baker; Alex Kitson and others.
Liberty: Equality: Full Employment — Pavillion Theatre, New Rd 7.30pm with Frances Morrell; Peter Townsend; Jimmy Reid; Francis Cripps; Stuart Weir.
Tuesday 29 September
Labour Abortion Rights Campaign — 5.15pm, Royal Albion Hotel with Jo Richardson.
Labour Committee on Ireland — Pavillion

Theatre, New Rd 7.30pm 'Labour and N Ireland: After the NEC Report, What Next?' with Joan Maynard; Jock Stallard; Alan Sapper; Ken Livingstone and others.
Labour Co-ordinating Committee — venue to be announced 7.30pm. Forum On the AES with Stuart Holland; Adam Sharples; Harriet Harman and others.
Wednesday 30 September
Labour Co-ordinating Committee — Kings Hotel, Kings Road 5.15pm. 'Labour and Mass Politics' with Peter Hain; Audrey Wise; Charles Clarke.
Thursday 1 October
Labour Co-ordinating Committee — Kings Hotel, Kings Rd 5.15pm. 'Trade Unions and Socialism' with Bernard Dix; Jack Dromey; Pete Rowlands; Audrey Wise.



FOR A LABOUR GOVERNMENT

LABOUR VICTORY



With the Transport Union votes in his pocket Benn looks set for victory

Fleet Street fails to sway TGWU vote

By Geoff Bell

A CONCERTED campaign by the ruling class press to win the vote of the Transport and General Workers Union to the side of Denis Healey failed on Monday, when the union executive decided to recommend a vote for Tony Benn as Labour's deputy-leader.

In the week running up to the meeting of the union executive Fleet Street conducted a 'disinformation' operation. Its aim was to persuade the TGWU leaders that they had no option but to cast their vote for Healey.

Particularly to the fore in this campaign was the *Guardian* which on 18 September ran a front page story headlined 'Deluge of TGWU votes for Healey'. No other newspaper that day even mentioned what, on the surface, appeared a dramatic story, namely, that 'based on returns from 10 of its 11 regions' the TGWU 'can hardly do anything else but back Mr Healey'.

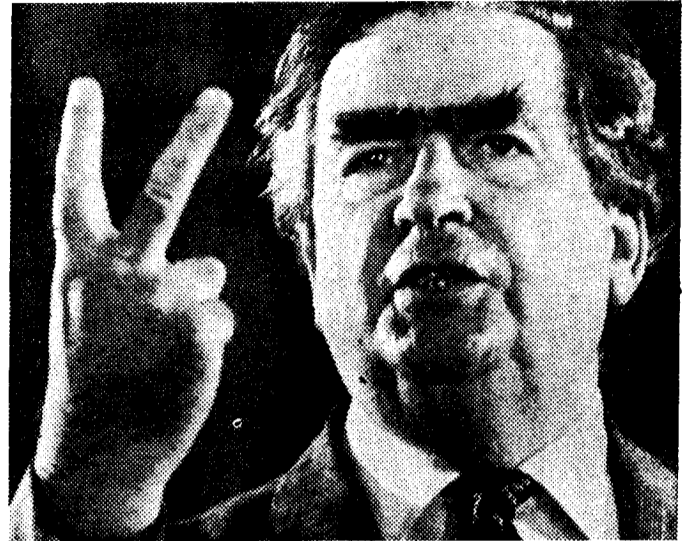
It is not surprising that other papers didn't carry the *Guardian* story that day: it was based more on the prejudices of the *Guardian* proprietors than any concrete evidence.

The truth of the matter was

that six regions after 'consultation' with their members had called for a vote for Healey, but that three of the largest regions, London, Scotland and the Northwest had backed Benn. The *Guardian's* report was a deliberate act of disinformation. It claimed the Northwest had voted for Healey and that John Silkin 'has done well in London'.

The *Guardian* story was later taken up by the rest of the media, and the impression given to the public was that the TGWU executive had no option but to vote for Healey.

In fact, the returns were inconclusive. The 'consultation' procedure was carried out in different ways in different regions. Results in some regions were heavily influenced by right wing full-time officials. Nevertheless the three regions who backed Benn contain the majority of the TGWU



Denis Healey refused to comment on the TGWU vote

membership.

Unfortunately Alex Kitson, acting general secretary of the TGWU, gave the Healey cause some credence when he said at the press conference after Monday's vote that Healey 'had attracted most support' in the consultation process.

Kitson, however, has, for some weeks now, been running his own campaign for the TGWU to abstain on the deputy leadership.

There is no doubt that the TGWU consultation process was badly run. It would have

been more democratic had the decision been taken at the TGWU conference in June.

But the right and centre of the union combined to prevent a vote being taken there because they knew a majority of the conference would have voted for Benn.

But at least some consultation did take place in the TGWU and the balance of that consultation did favour Benn. On the other hand Healey's biggest supporters, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers took its decision in July by a dictate of the executive.

Danger! Witch-hunters at work

By Alan Freeman

LABOUR's right wing is getting desperate. Healey's prize blunder of accusing Jon Lansman of organising the heckling against him at recent events shows that.

But they have also begun to systematically accuse the Benn campaign of harbouring 'extremist infiltrators'. In particular the International Marxist Group, which supports Socialist Challenge, has come under regular attack from Roy Hattersley, Denis Healey and their friends in the right wing press.

When sixteen right wing Islington councillors deserted the Labour Party for the greener pastures of the SDP they explicitly singled out so-called 'IMG infiltrators'. And in recent weeks a number of IMG members' homes have been broken into and documents stolen.

All this clearly points to a right wing smear campaign against the IMG. But the real target of this attack would be the Labour left as a whole and the Benn campaign in particular. This serves to distract attention away from the real infiltrators in the Labour Party — the Labour right wing and their NATO and EEC backers.

Split

The establishment press spoke with a different voice last week when it was revealed that Liberal leader David Steel revealed that he had persuaded Roy Jenkins not to join the Liberal Party but to stay in the Labour Party and link up with the Gang of Three.

Steel did not want Jenkins to wage an honest fight to win the Labour Party to his policies. No, he wanted Jenkins to prepare a much bigger split later on. This open encouragement of infiltration with the explicit aim of splitting the Labour Party was welcomed by the media as a 'masterly achievement'.

Shah

In March the *Guardian* exposed the so-called Owen Plan which made clear that the Gang of Three plotted to split the Labour Party for over a year while publicly denying their intentions. It is most unlikely that other Labour right wingers were not fully aware of the infiltrating Gang's intentions yet they remained silent.

Socialist Challenge exposed last year that leading right wing Labour and trade union figures were sponsors of a shadowy NATO-funded organisation called the Labour and Trades Union Committee for Transatlantic Understanding. Among the vice-chairmen of the Committee was leading witch-hunter Roy Hattersley.

The policies of Labour's right wing are capitalist policies through and through — support for the Common Market and NATO, for wage controls and austerity policies for the working class. Their policies have nothing in common with



What would Harold have done in my predicament?

the interests of working people, and should have nothing to do with the party of Labour.

It's no wonder that Jock Bruce-Gardyne, Tory MP for Knutsford could write in the *Sunday Telegraph* of 2 February this year the following comment about the Labour right wing's former 'darling' David Owen!

'Several years ago I enjoyed a memorable junket as the guest of the late Shah of Persia. Dr. David Owen was of the company, the more we chatted between the helpings of caviar

about the state of the world the less we seemed to find to disagree about. By the time we came home I'd begun to wonder if one of us wasn't in the wrong party.'

Despicable creeps like David Owen are two a penny on Labour's right wing leading the witch hunt campaigns against the Labour left. They are aided by the establishment press.

Deputy leadership contender Denis Healey has an £8,000 a year retainer from the *Daily Express* for writing occa-

sional articles. Since when has the *Daily Express* ever said one word in support of working people?

All socialist currents whatever their affiliation, have always tried to influence the thinking of the Labour Party. But the Labour Party's own reactionary bans and proscriptions have prevented them from being part of the debate inside the Labour Party.

Socialist Challenge believes that the most democratic method of resolving the debates within the Labour movement would be to open up the Labour Party to all genuine currents in the labour movement. This would lay the basis for building a Labour Party

fighting for the interests of the working class.

We are confident that our supporters' campaigns in the Labour Party for withdrawal from the EEC and NATO, for unilateral disarmament, for British troops out of Ireland, and for workers' control of industry will find an increasingly broad audience.

Socialist Challenge readers should be alert to the possibility of a witch-hunt, not just against the IMG but against the whole left. They should raise this inside the Labour Party to ensure that a defence will be mounted around the right of all socialists to put their views in the Labour Party.

JOIN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

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

Name.....

Address.....

Age.....

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

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

COMMITTED TO SOCIALIST POLICIES

Whenever jobs are threatened:

'SET THE LAURENCE SCOTT EXAMPLE'

By Pete Clifford

TONY BENN visited the Laurence Scott pickets on Wednesday last week. His support for the 22 week long strike was timely. Engineering union officials were hotly debating the dispute which has become a struggle inside the union itself.

AUEW leaders, Boyd and Duffy, had previously withdrawn official backing when the workforce refused to accept a deal which did not guarantee keeping the factory open.

Not content with this stab in the back, Sir John Boyd had also sent Tony Benn a letter protesting at his support for the Scott's fight.

But as Benn explained he was 'very proud to be here, to give support to the workers at Laurence Scott. Trade unions must develop the political dimension in their activities.'

Two other Manchester MPs joined Benn on the picket line. Charles Morris, the local MP reaffirmed his backing for the dispute. Bob Litherland, MP for Manchester Central, endorsed this when he said that he 'would go on backing the Laurence

the Laurence Scott workers work harder when they've been thrown out of their factory?'

'Unemployment has been created', Benn continued, 'so that workers such as at Laurence Scott will be frightened. To see those men and women who create the wealth locked out of the gates is fundamentally wrong.'

Benn's visit and the continuing growing support for the struggle of the Scott workers will bring no comfort to Boyd and Duffy. Laurence Scott is now emerging as a national symbol in the fight for jobs and a democratic labour movement.

Laurence Scott workers have had no strike pay for six weeks. They need money urgently to sustain the struggle. Last Saturday on the Birmingham demonstration they raised £250 and promises of more to come.

But thousands of pounds are needed every week. Socialist Challenge readers are urged to get their trade union branches, steward committees, trades council and Labour Parties to send money urgently. Have a collection at work today. Rush donations to G Fryer, 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire.

Scott strikers against the system and their own union.'

Later that evening Laurence Scott convenor Dennis Barry spoke at a Benn election rally of 1,500 in Manchester. He argued forcefully that 'whenever jobs are threatened we've got to set the Laurence Scott example.'

He went on: 'As believers in democracy we are totally behind Tony Benn.' To tremendous applause, Dennis Barry attacked the misleaders of the trade union movement, the likes of Boyd, Duffy and Chapple, who were trying to stifle the Scotts strike and defeat Benn's campaign.

Benn again took up the Scott's dispute when he referred to Thatcher's reshuffle.

'Norman Tebbit says you must work harder,' said Benn. 'But how can



Tony Benn: 'It is these men and women who create the wealth'.

Photo: Socialist Challenge

Picket attacked...

AT FIVE o'clock on Monday morning, 20 men with crash helmets forced their way through the picket and burnt open the gates. There was a police presence throughout the time.

In the scuffles with these twenty cowboys, picketer Colin Mitchell was arrested for allegedly throwing an egg. Ironically it was Colin who was attacked on the Doncaster picket line two months ago when Arthur Snipe drove his Rolls Royce at him.

Later in the day one of the scabs was arrested after he attacked a local photographer with a two foot hammer.

None of this will deter the strikers from carrying on and they will do everything in their power to prevent any equipment being moved out of the factory.

Pete Rowen, chairperson of LSE shop stewards committee.

...but support grows

AT THE Manchester North AUEW district shop stewards meeting held last Monday in support of Laurence Scott we called for all the factories in the area to send delegations to our picket line.

The meeting passed unanimously a resolution calling for official backing to be restored. To this end, district stewards are calling for a demonstration outside the final appeal court of the AUEW on 12 October in Eastbourne.

Dennis Barry, convenor

Tommy Healey

IT IS with regret we must record the untimely death of Tommy Healey, a fine example from Liverpool's ranks of militant class fighters.

Tommy became a staunch unionist over a decade ago and was introduced to revolutionary politics by the International Socialists.

During the early '70s he helped to build a strong IS branch of revolutionary workers and an equally strong trade union organisation in the Speke area.

Eventually, he became deputy convenor of the Standard Triumph factory and a tireless organiser in the newly formed Speke Area Trade Union Committee.

Through these positions he constantly built support for workers' struggles, in Liverpool and nationally.

After leaving Standards and while working on the railways he joined the local branch of the International Marxist Group.

Tommy brought to it his revolutionary elan and militant trade unionism, constantly steering the branch to any dispute, no matter how small, between the working class and the bosses.

Although he later left the branch, he remained a constant source of support and advice.

At any picket, demonstration or rally in Liverpool you were sure to meet him. Though extremely modest and unassuming he was always to be found in the front ranks, and had a passionate hatred for the ruling class and their servants in the trade union bureaucracy.

Most recently he was teaching on shop stewards' courses, bringing to a new layer of trade unionists the sort of class struggle approach he lived by.

He regularly showed the film 'Look back at Grunwicks' to those classes and would remark that although he had seen it many times he always got a sense of excitement from this epic battle over basic trade union rights — a battle he and many Liverpool trade unionists played a small part in.

Tommy's words and deeds which we should remember him by are summed up in Joe Hill's song, 'There is a power in a band of working men, a power that must rule in every land'.

We send deepest sympathy to his wife, Eileen and children Carolyn, Stuart and Lewis.



Terry Duffy was on the platform at last Saturday's unemployment demonstration in Birmingham. Which was more than the Laurence Scott workers were. The Labour Party are very good at organising marches through our cities protesting at unemployment but it couldn't give a platform to a group of workers who more than anyone are fighting for jobs.

Model resolution for AUEW branches

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

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

If your branch supports this resolution, make sure one copy is sent to the AUEW Head Office and another to the Strike Committee, 20 Round Croft, Romiley, Cheshire SL6 4LL with donations.

LAURENCE SCOTT STRIKE BULLETIN

TEN THOUSAND copies of the Laurence Scott strike bulletin have been produced to get the truth out about the dispute. The strikers aim to get them into every major plant in the country.

Phil Penning, TASS steward, told Socialist Challenge, 'They sold like hot cakes on Saturday's march, hundreds were sold in a few hours.'

Orders are coming in from around the country. John Parkinson, secretary of the Lancashire Association of trades councils, has ordered 500.

Back the Scotts struggle by ordering a quantity of bulletins to sell at your stewards' committees, union or Labour Party branches.

Orders to Laurence Scott stewards, 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire. Or phone 061 231 4434. Copies 5p each.

JOBS NOT BOMBS

'Any woman who wants to be like a man has no ambition'

Women strikers from Laurence Scotts who have been on strike for 22 weeks talked to LAURA and JUDE from Manchester on the journey down to last Sunday's unemployment demonstration in Birmingham.

Out of a workforce of 650, there are 200 women, mainly working on the shopfloor. In recent years the ratio of men to women has increased at Laurence Scott.

Women were not replaced as new machines were introduced. The women on strike are as determined as the men that they are fighting for everyone's jobs. Their right to work is every bit as vital as the men's.

BERYL HAYMAN (APEX): In the papers you only hear of men out of work. They never mention women. I'd like a few of the perks that men get. But I don't want to be a man. Younger women today won't put up with what we did.

JOAN DRABBLE (APEX): Twenty years ago

not so many women went out to work. Nowadays lots of women work. Women have to survive. We are as much entitled to a job as any man. If a young woman makes it as an engineer it makes headline news.

BERYL: It'll be a long time before we get equality. They still think you're

just there just to brew up and all that. A man comes to you and says, 'I've no button on my shirt.'

Well, my attitude is that there's a needle and cotton and he can sew it on. Any woman who wants to be like a man has no ambition.

ELAINE CROSS (TASS steward): My union is pretty strong on women's rights. There is a TASS school for women on women's rights. APEX was one of the first unions to go in for equal pay.

We went down to the House of Commons at the time to lobby for the Equal Pay Act. We didn't get equal pay in LSE until 29 December 1975.

BERYL: They gave the men's jobs different titles. I took my case to arbitration to get it sorted out. They called me a special grade to keep me quiet. They say men are 'specialising'. The Equal Pay Act has made no difference.

LINDA MARTIN (APEX): Part of my job involves what we call 'chasing'. It means I have to go onto the shop floor a lot. When I go down there I get lots of cracks about chatting the fellas up and that I'm not really there doing my job. Men never get any of that and they do far more messing.

BERYL: At the moment people over 25 are brainwashed into 'his' and 'her' type jobs. You need to start training girls for boys jobs — there I go talking about 'men's' jobs!

Women are more self-sacrificing, they give everything, work harder and get more involved, more militant if you like. Not aggro but stronger.

JOAN: Women sit much longer on the picket lines and turn up regularly.

LINDA: Being with the girls from work on things like this demo, makes you feel strong.



Elaine Cross



Linda Martin



Joan Drabble



Beryl Hayman

Youth fight for the future

By Toni Gorton

TWO questions loom large for young people in Britain today — the possibility of death by nuclear weapons and the prospect of life on the dole.

As youth jobs go down the drain, the TUC and various youth organisations have launched a national 'Jobs for Youth' campaign.

The highlight of the campaign will be the Jobs Express, a special train which will be travelling from Scotland to London arriving on Friday 27 November.

Although the organisers are limiting the participants to 400, special events are being organised in all the towns through which the train will pass.

Nearly half the three million unemployed are under 25 with young blacks, women and those living in the inner cities the hardest hit. In some areas youth unemployment is over 50 per cent.

Youth may not have rents or mortgages to pay, or families to feed but being young and out of work is just as soul-destroying as it is for the older person.

The rage at the injustice of it all, the feelings of futility and frustration came to a head during July when youth in the big cities took to the streets.

Trade unionists and unemployed youth should be planning to meet the Jobs Express as it passes through their town. Concerts and rallies are being organised and the campaign will culminate in a youth festival and national demonstration on the weekend of 28-29 November.

Youth will also be heard at the Tory conference when a demonstration of unemployed youth organised by the Right to Work Campaign assemblies in Brighton on Friday 16 October.

Meet the Jobs Express

Demonstrate for jobs

- Newcastle — 23 November
- Edinburgh — 23 November, lunch
- Glasgow — 23 November, evening
- Liverpool — 24 November, lunch
- Manchester — 24 November, evening
- Sheffield — 25 November, lunch
- Birmingham — 25 November, night
- Swansea — 26 November, lunch
- Cardiff — 26 November, evening
- Bristol — 27 November, lunch
- London — 27 November, afternoon

Jobs for youth Festival
London Saturday 28 November

National demonstration
Sunday 29 November

National lobby of Parliament
Monday 30 November

For further information contact your regional council of the TUC or your local branch of the National Union of Students.

Over 300,000 US workers march against Reagan

By Toni Gorton

ON 19 September, over a quarter of a million US workers marched on Washington to reaffirm the solidarity of the American labour movement and to protest President Reagan's budget cuts and tax policies.

The 'Solidarity Day' demonstration, on the same day as British workers marched in Birmingham, was the first time in the history of the AFL-CIO (the US equivalent to the TUC) that it had ever called a mass national demonstration.

Hats

People came from all over the country. Many wore matching paper hats produced by their trade unions with slogans and the names of their organisations printed on

them — farmworkers from California with placards in Spanish, ironworkers from New Jersey and unionised actors chanting 'No business like show business'.

Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president, said that President Reagan who spent the day 65 miles away at Camp David, could no longer claim to speak for the average American worker.

He said that Mr Reagan's tax-cut programme was helping the rich more than anyone else and was proving to be the 'most irresponsible fiscal

act of our time.

'They are sacrificing the homes, health and hopes of millions on the altar of crank economic abstractions that defy the laws of simple arithmetic and dismay even their friends on Wall Street,' he said.

Representatives of civil rights and women's groups echoed the labour movement's warnings.

Boots

'We're saying to those who have \$1000 boots, while our children have no shoes, well, no, we won't take that,' declared a spokesperson for the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

International Herald Tribune reported that the march was inspired by the workers' struggles in Poland.

Thousands of marchers wore garments with

the Solidarnosc emblem and carried placards praising the Polish workers.

The demonstration was the latest in a series of local and national protests against the policies of the Reagan administration.

United Mine Workers brought thousands to Washington in a Black Lung march last spring; in April 20,000 railworkers protested government policies; there have been the Harrisburg anti-nuclear protests and an anti-war march in May along with the Martin Luther King Day demonstration in January.

In a speech clearly showing the opposition of the labour movement to Reagan, the president of the United Mine Workers of America said: 'We did not choose this battle.

Battle

'It was thrust upon us by President Reagan, a president who claims to

have a mandate from the people.

'Well, we are the people and I proclaim that if the battle must be, let it be.'

Labour Party supports a woman's right to work

THE women at Laurence Scott, like the victorious women at Lee Jeans, are fighting for the right of everyone, men and women, to work.

But women often have first to combat resistance from male co-workers and trade unionists that they should have the same opportunities as men.

It is, therefore, extremely welcome that the Labour Party national executive has called a demonstration, probably for next spring, specifically on this issue.

We reprint a model resolution which aims to build that demonstration in the ranks of the labour movement.

This branch of welcomes the call by the Labour Party for a demonstration on a woman's right to work early next year. We note with alarm the growing unemployment amongst women in comparison to men and recognise the urgent need for the labour movement as a whole to take up this issue.

We urge the Labour Party NEC to fix the date of the demonstration as soon as possible to ensure maximum mobilisation throughout the labour and women's movements. We must act swiftly to stop the Tory project of sending women back into the home and fight to defend the hard won rights which women have gained.

Further information from 374 Gray's Inn Rd, WC2. Send letters of support and resolutions to the Labour Party 150 Walworth Rd, London SE17.

SMASH THE 40%

Labour debates nuclear arms race

Unilateral disarmament is a major issue in the contest for the deputy leadership of the Labour Party.

Denis Healey has gone so far as to say that he won't serve in a Labour government committed to this policy.

MIKE PICKEN, Oxford Labour Party and secretary of Labour CND, reports on probable developments at Labour Party conference.

THE vote for unilateral nuclear disarmament at the TUC earlier this month makes it certain that this policy will be reaffirmed at the Labour Party conference.

For the second year running, nuclear disarmament has attracted the largest number of resolutions at the conference.

Over one hundred motions were submitted, the overwhelming majority calling for Britain to unilaterally disarm.

Significantly, some of the largest unions are now unilateralist. Among these are the transport workers union, the mineworkers, the public employees the construction

workers and the printworkers, SOGAT. This reflects the growth of support within the labour movement for the policies of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

NATO

Last year's Labour Party conference passed contradictory resolutions. Motions supporting both multilateralist and unilateralist positions were carried and a resolution calling for withdrawal from NATO was heavily defeated.

This year, CND supporters will be campaigning for a two thirds majority on a card vote, which is necessary to get policies automatically included in the party programme.

A draft model resolution circulated by CND, Labour Action for Peace and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has attracted wide support.

However, during the debate it will be necessary to draw a clear distinction between multilateralism and unilateralism.

Unfortunately the model resolution failed to do this.

Despite making it clear that unilateral abandonment of nuclear weapons should not be conditional on multilateral negotiations, the resolution states that ultimately such negotiations are the only way to achieve nuclear disarmament.

The resolution does clearly call for a future Labour government to close down all nuclear bases, to refuse Cruise

missiles and cancel the Trident programme.

A multilateralist resolution, likely to be proposed by the electricians' union, should be vigorously opposed at the conference.

A separate resolution calling for Britain's withdrawal from NATO has attracted increasing support from constituency Labour Parties. However, this motion is likely to be overwhelmingly defeated again this year. Of the trade unions only the Associated Scientific and Managerial Staffs Association conference voted against NATO.

Councils

Many Labour-controlled councils have declared their areas nuclear free zones. The Labour Party national executive has officially supported this.

Some councils, particularly the London ones, have refused

to spend money on civil defence preparations for a nuclear war. This is illegal, and the Labour Party NEC has not supported such moves. A further resolution will therefore be proposed at the conference supporting such local authorities who are prepared to break the law.

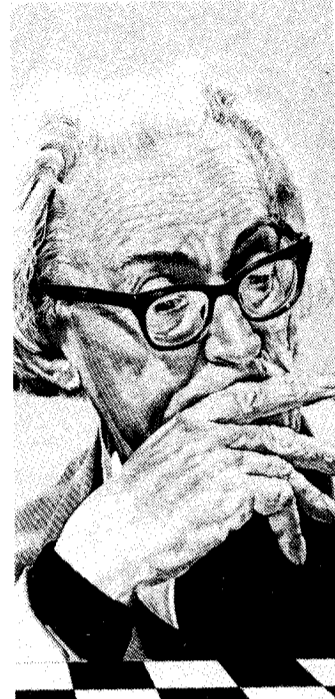
that this is counterposed to multilateralism at some time in the future.

Drop

Michael Foot used the contradictory position passed last year to appoint Brynmor John as Bill Rodgers' successor as defence spokesperson. We must ensure that the policy passed is seen to commit the future Labour government to complete unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Second, we should press for the Labour Party to campaign energetically against the missiles now, rather than waiting for the next election.

The party should throw its weight into mobilising its mass working class support behind the campaign against Cruise and Trident and particularly for the CND march on 24 October.



Michael Foot

Sunday 27 September, assemble 11 am at the Peace statue (Hove boundary) march to The Level, rally 1.30 pm. Speakers include EP Thompson.

Disarmament fringe meeting: Monday 28 September, 7.30 pm, The Dome. Speakers include: Tony Benn, EP Thompson, Fenner Brockway, Joan Ruddock.

Sheffield busworkers build CND march

By Chris Pitts. TGWU 9/10 branch.

NEXT time you get on a bus, have a look at the advertising on the side. Imagine seeing, instead of the usual 'Eat at Joe's' type of advert, a slogan reading 'No Cruise! No Trident! Join CND!'

This is just one of the ideas now being discussed by a small group of busworkers in Sheffield who are building support for the campaign against nuclear weapons.

We came together as a group of showings of the film 'The War Game', organised by myself and another Socialist Challenge supporter on the buses, with the backing of our union branch.

Our priority at the moment is organising the largest possible turnout for the national demonstration called by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on 24 October in London.

As a workforce we are split up which made me pretty pessimistic about the chances of organising anything.

About 2,000 drivers and conductors in Sheffield are spread over four garages in different parts of the city, and work three types of shift — early, late, and 'part day' shifts.

But when the Sheffield peace and disarmament group, including CND,

Badges

organised the massive local demonstration of over 12,000 last March, it was obvious from seeing co-workers on the march, and wearing anti-missile badges afterwards, that there was at least as much interest in nuclear disarmament on the buses as anywhere else.

It was the Labour Movement Conference last May, called by Manchester Against Missiles and CND, that really gave me the metaphorical kick up the arse that I needed to get started.

Flushed with enthusiasm (I had been delegated by my union branch), I reported back at the very next branch meeting, and submitted a resolution on CND which has been the springboard for our activities since.

Moving

The resolution basically noted the Transport and General Workers Union national policy in favour of nuclear disarmament and committed the branch to affiliate to Sheffield CND, send a delegate to its organising meetings, to support the campaign generally and the national demonstration specifically.

To make sure that things actually got moving, we included a few concrete proposals in the resolution.

One of these is that the branch would provide a venue, publicity, and finance for two showings of 'The War Game'.

This film never fails to attract an audience — partly because of the level of interest in nuclear disarmament among the population, but also partly because it was made for the BBC and then banned by them.

This gives it a

clandestine, 'underground' flavour, which we played up in our publicity.

When it is followed up properly by a speaker 'The War Game' is the best recruiter that CND has.

Stall

Altogether, about 35 people attended, and most said they were interested.

So far the union branch has bought a bulk order of posters and leaflets advertising the demo and are investigating cheap transport down to London.

To build interest in the film showings, we set up a CND literature stall in the canteen on a couple of days, but decided that this alone was too passive.

It was useful, in that a few people came over and looked, and asked questions, and we sold a few pounds worth of anti-missile badges and pamphlets. But most workers walked on by.

Petition

So we plan to use some kind of petition, probably in support of the South Yorkshire nuclear-free zone, as a chance to talk to as many co-workers as possible.

Originally, we discussed the idea of a convoy of South Yorkshire buses trucking down the M1 to London for the demonstration.

Unfortunately, this isn't on — shame. I for one would have got a big kick from driving one of those double-deckers full of pro-



Chris Pitts — raring to go

Scots protest neutron bomb

By T Brennan

OVER three hundred people took part in an open air rally in Edinburgh on 13 September in protest against the Reagan administration's decision to develop the neutron bomb.

The rally took place in the middle of Edinburgh's famous International Festival when the city is flooded with tourists from all over Britain and other

parts of the world.

Edinburgh Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament had called for an international protest at the neutron bomb decision following a successful picket of the US Consulate a few days after Reagan's announcement.

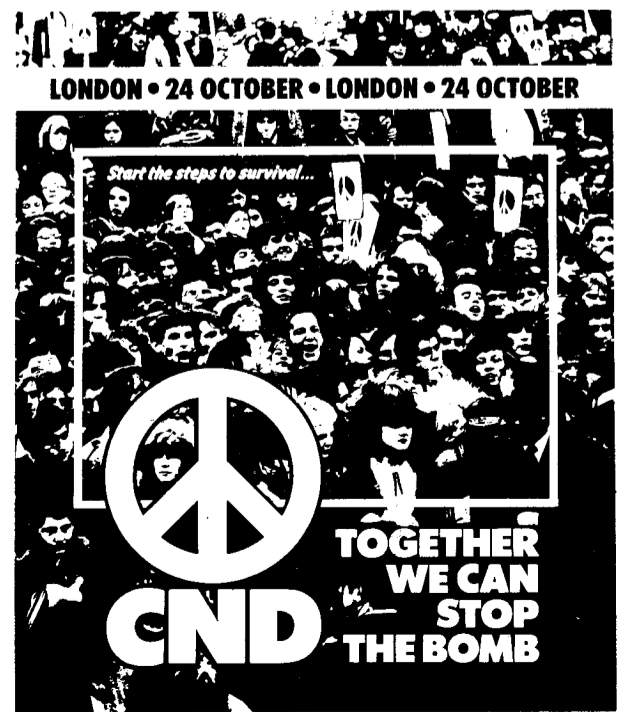
The rally, with local Labour MP Robin Cook as the main speaker, attracted a wide variety of visitors from different nations.

testers into the capital.

But if this year's demonstration is anything like the last, I will get a big enough kick just from be-

ing in the crowd, and sensing the organised strength of our class.

See you there on October 24.



An exclusive exposure

How the Labour Party's statement on Ireland has been rigged

By Geoff Bell



A 26 PAGE statement, recently approved by Labour's national executive will be discussed at this year's party conference.

The policy proposed in the statement contains a commitment to Irish unity and a call for the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Nevertheless, this falls short of the views of the majority of the resolutions submitted to party conference and of the demands made by constituency parties to the study group which drew up the statement.

The reasons for these failures is that the study group was heavily weighted in favour of pro-Loyalists and a good deal of its evidence was rigged.

Socialist Challenge can now reveal how and why this occurred. It is also possible to name those

chiefly responsible.

These are Dick Barry, a full-time research officer for the Labour Party, Alex

Kitson, party chairperson and acting general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union and Tony Saunois, national executive member for the Young Socialists. They were assisted by the party's spokesperson on Ireland, Don Concannon.

All were members of the study group, established two years ago by the NEC, which drew up the NEC statement. For different reasons these individuals were determined to resist the call by the rank and file of the party for British withdrawal and

unambiguous support for a united Ireland.

Concannon was opposed because he is, by conviction, pro-Unionist.

Even more virulently Loyalist is Dick Barry who has, for a long time, supported the view that Ireland is 'two nations'. This ideology gives unequivocal support to the Loyalists.

1976

In 1976 Barry wrote a policy document on Ireland for the NEC. This included the view that the Loyalist gangs of the early 1970s, whose favourite pastime was assassinating Catholics, could be properly described as 'counter-terrorist organisations'.

The 1976 report was rejected by the NEC but the author's views lived on to colour the latest policy statement. Barry was secretary of the study group.

Its chairperson was Kitson who, at one time, seemed likely to counter Barry's influence, having previously spoken in favour of British withdrawal.

But Kitson's experience with his trade union members in Belfast moderated his views. These are overwhelmingly Loyalists, which is hardly surprising as Catholic workers who could join the TGWU prefer to be members of the Dublin-based Irish Transport and General Workers Union.

LPYS

So concerned became Kitson with keeping his Loyalist members happy that at one point he threatened to resign from the study group if it came out strongly in favour of Irish unity.

Finally, there was Tony Saunois of the LPYS and a supporter of *Militant*. In theory *Militant* has a 'troops out' position, but it does not take this seriously, preferring to conduct fruitless searches for 'class unity' in the North of Ireland. Saunois' aim in the study group was to get support for the formation of a new Labour Party in the North of Ireland.

Control

There were other, more left wing, members of the study group but because Barry organised it he was able to control how it operated.

This is reflected in the organisations the study

in the section entitled 'Unification — Our Objective' 50 per cent more space is given to arguments against unity than to those in favour. Not surprisingly the study group cites 'evidence' submitted to it in the North of Ireland as to why unity should be opposed.

Originally, the pro-Loyalists on the study group wanted their report to completely oppose Irish unity. As late as February Don Concannon was insisting on this in private meetings of the group.

Subtle

But a series of pressures produced a more subtle approach. First, the views of the CLPs, as reflected in evidence submitted to the study group, showed a majority in favour of troop withdrawal, Irish unity and against the Labour Party organising in the North of Ireland.

This was followed by mounting protests in the CLP's over the party leadership's support for Margaret Thatcher's starving to death of Bobby Sands MP.

Finally, three members of the study group threatened to write a counter-report if the Loyalist majority on the group pushed their views too strongly.

Veto

Consequently, the NEC statement is a mish-mash of compromise and ambiguity. It says 'our aim is to bring about the unification of Ireland by agreement and consent between the two parts of Ireland.'

This implies that without the 'consent' of the Unionist minority in Ireland there will be no unity. On the other hand the statement states its opposition to 'a veto on political development by Unionists'.

Nevertheless, while the NEC statement supports unity as an 'ultimate aim', in practical terms it rejects it. Thus it calls for the continuation of direct rule, to be replaced by a power-sharing government in the North.

This, together with the formation of a new North of Ireland Labour Party means the NEC is proposing new institutions and organisations which, because they are long term and confined to the six counties of Northeast Ireland, actually reinforce partition.

Little

The truth is that a long term commitment to Irish unity means little. It needs to be backed up by firm proposals for unity and British withdrawal.

The pro-Loyalists in the study group were never going to allow that to happen. All they did was build a Unionist house and paint it over with an Irish unity gloss.

At the NEC meeting when the statement was discussed Sam McCluskie of the National Union of Seamen recognised this reality and, because he is in favour of a real commitment to British withdrawal, voted against it. The party conference should follow that example.

Support LCI resolution on Ireland

By Penny Duggan, vice chair, London Labour Committee on Ireland

This year's party conference is a historic milestone. Over 50 motions on the agenda offer the best guarantee yet that Conference will be forced to discuss what policy the next Labour government should adopt to resolve the crisis of British rule in Ireland.

The Labour Committee on Ireland has been to the forefront of the battle to get Ireland onto the agenda. This fight has been strengthened by the statements of leading figures of the Labour left such as Ken Livingstone and Tony Benn, who have both reflected and stimulated wider discussion on Ireland among the party and its affiliated organisations.

The LCI are asking for support for their emergency resolution from delegates. This spells out the crucial policies the Labour Party must adopt.

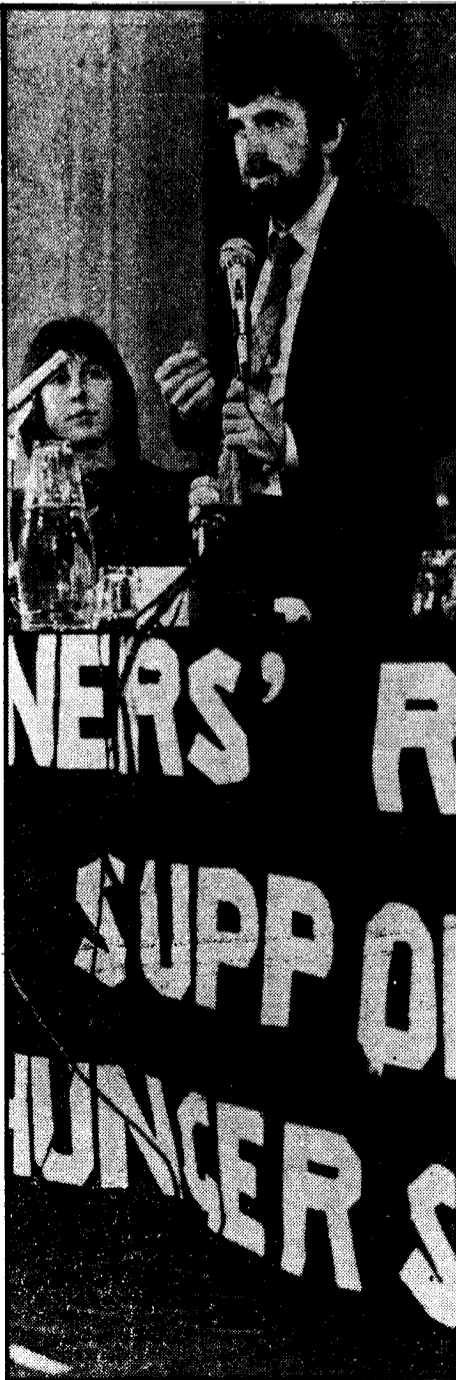
Most importantly, and contentiously, it calls for pressure on the Tory Government to concede the five demands of the hunger strikers. Time and time again the Labour front bench has expressed support for Thatcher's intransigence, while around the world and in Ireland opposition to her government's policies grows and deepens.

Whether this resolution wins or loses at conference those in the Labour Party and trade unions who oppose Britain's attempts to rule and dominate in Ireland must organise to bring pressure to bear on the Tory government to concede.

But alongside that we have to tackle the underlying causes that allow Britain to get away with the prisoners' situation.

Britain must give up any claim to rule in Ireland and get out. No ifs, no buts. The next Labour government should be committed to immediately begin to do so.

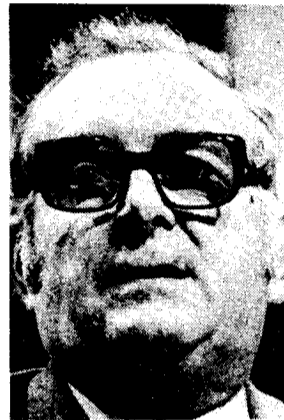
The LCI resolution spells out these points and calls for clear policies to turn vague support for unification of Ireland and British withdrawal into a clear commitment by the next Labour government.



Owen Carron, MP spent several days in London last week explaining the issues behind the H Block hunger strike. On 17 September 700 people attended a rally in Camden Town, London to hear Owen. Another speaker at the rally was European MP Richard Balfe who told the audience, 'no one who travels in Europe as I do can fail to realise that there is wide support for the H Block prisoners'



Don Concannon



Alex Kitson (top) and Sam McCluskie



Tony Saunois

group met in Ireland. These included the Ulster Political Research Group, a front for the paramilitary Ulster Defence Association, the now defunct Progressive Unionist Party and Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party.

Nations

Even more interesting, the study group met the Campaign for Labour Representation, the United Labour Party and the Labour and Trade Union Group. All of these contain no more than a handful of individuals and are heavily influenced by the 'two nations' ideology espoused by Barry.

Bias

Neither did the study group see Sinn Fein who have over 30 councillors in the South of Ireland, although it met every other political party in the South which had elected public representatives.

This pro-Loyalist bias is evident in the report drawn up by Barry, on behalf of the study group which forms the basis of the NEC statement.

Britain has gone back to the thirties.

Mass unemployment is here to stay. Wage cuts are back. The social services are in ruins.

The real aim of Thatcher's monetarism is quite clear: a direct assault on working class strength. No economic recovery will be contemplated unless she succeeds.

Thatcher is the most hated British Prime Minister of this century. She should be driven from office.

But this isn't enough. We need an alternative not just to monetarism, but to the bankrupt policies that let her in — those of the last Labour government. Michael Foot is wrong when he says that the search for an alternative will divert from the fight against the Tories.

If we can't convince working people that things will be different, our chances of defeating Thatcher will be so much the less. This is what makes the battle in the Labour Party so important.

But what is the alternative to be? Socialist Challenge looks at the proposals put forward by the Labour Party NEC in its statement to conference; The Socialist Alternative. We explain why we disagree with it, and explain our own alternative.

Agreement

Thatcher has pulled the wool from many people's eyes. Indignation at her government has led to policies that were once hotly contested being widely adopted: unilateralism, withdrawal from the EEC, large increases in public spending, a return to full employment, the 35-hour week — these are some of the issues on which very broad unity now exists and should be built on.

We are socialists because we reject the tragic and destructive results of a society based on profit and not social need. We want an end to a Britain which clings to falling overseas profits by playing second fiddle to Reagan in the world war stakes; which can waste £9bn every year on weapons, and consign 3 million to the dole while our inner cities, hospitals and schools rot.

We want jobs, not bombs. That's why we agree with many of the long-term objectives in the NEC's plan: jobs for all, common ownership, economic and social equality, rights for women (we would add youth and black people), collective provision for social need, an internationalist foreign policy, and a democratic socialist society.

But can this be won by Labour's traditional methods? We don't think so.

Our plan is one not just to rebuild the economy, but to mobilise the resources of the labour movement to meet and defeat the resistance to change of the rich and powerful.

What can be achieved?

One of the merits of the new Labour left is that it no longer accepts the myth that the resources for change don't exist. We don't have to put up with the cuts, wage restraint, and unemployment. Do away with the profit system and you don't need attacks on workers. It costs the government £3,700 in lost taxes and in benefits to put one worker on the dole. Over £10 bn could be put in government coffers just by ending unemployment. Lost production costs the country nearly £40 bn every year.

This could pay for: a 50 per cent increase in pensions, a minimum wage of £105 a week, a 75 per cent increase in house building, a 25 per cent increase in health and education spending, and a 50 per cent rise in industrial investment.

In order to build houses,

hospitals and schools we would need to produce steel, building materials, machinery and consumer goods for the workers employed.

The whole economy could be revitalised, if a proper economic plan was used to direct the process. It would end the stupidity of having 3 million workless while no-one builds houses or hospitals. A socialist alternative should begin by:

- * rebuilding our education system and health services;
- * making public transport into a genuine social service;
- * ending social inequality; a minimum and maximum wage, index-linked social benefits for all in need, an end to unearned income.

Producing for need and not profit will also mean:

- * work for all, with special emphasis on the right to work of women, youth and black people;
- * defence against inflation through index-linked wages;
- * a 35-hour working week throughout industry.

What has gone wrong?

This is not utopian or impossible. Labour's own researchers have shown the resources exist to do it. The problem is that governments try to use the NEC's methods: government spending without taking control of production and investment. The result has been:

- * a balance of payments crisis because industry can't cope with demand;
- * industrialists lose profits and refuse to co-operate;
- * the party's plans are sabotaged by Whitehall, the CBI, the banks and its own cabinet.

To deal with this the following new measures are needed:

- * control of investment and production to rebuild industry;
- * a socialist plan to make sure that growth is co-ordinated;
- * a plan to stop the banks' sabotage;
- * a plan to stop the cabinet selling out to the IMF, the Treasury and the CBI, and create a government accountable to working people.

It is in trying to deal with these four problems that the Labour left hit problems. They base their strategy on similar ideas to those put forward by Tony Benn in *New Socialist*, and echoed in *Manifesto*, a detailed alternative by six Labour leftwingers, recently

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TOWARDS SOCIAL BRITAIN



It's the unelected few in the Stock Exchange who decide the country's economic priorities, not working people

published by Pan.

The latter argue that the main resistance to change has come from foreign and multinational capital, from the IMF and forces outside our economy. They put forward the idea that Britain is a 'colony' of the IMF and multinationals. Thus their answer is to rebuild the economy behind protective tariff walls, using planning agreements to secure the co-operation of domestic capital.

What are the facts? First, where did the IMF get its ideas

from? From the banking and business community inside Britain. In 1976 the IMF forced cuts on the government after a sterling crisis.

Ransom

But these cuts were being demanded by the CBI and the treasury for two years beforehand. Joe Haines, Healey's secretary, says that the sterling crisis of 1975 was actually engineered by the treasury to make the government give in.

The multinationals that hold the economy to ransom are not foreign. They are mainly British companies. The enemy lives at home. What has happened is that for over a hundred years they have chosen to operate abroad because they get more profit oppressing the peoples of the Third World.

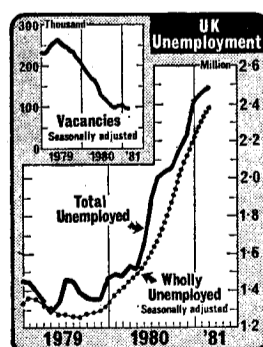
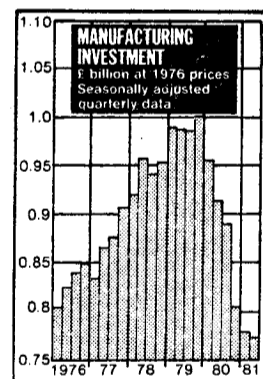
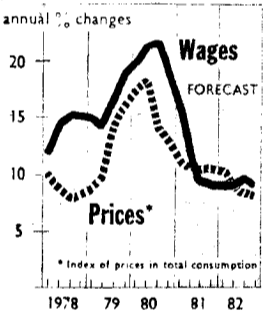
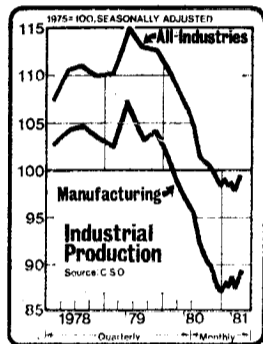
They are not prepared to invest in Britain unless the working class is first smashed up.

Between 1974 and 1979, British companies acquired £11bn worth of overseas assets, even though industry declined

so much that they lost £8 bn worth of assets overall. The banks increased their overseas borrowing from £5 bn to a staggering £33 bn. In the first three months of 1981 alone, £2.6 bn fled overseas.

This happens because Britain was, and remains, an imperialist country. It enslaves with the pound as well as the gun, using sterling's international role to safeguard foreign investments and hold down the peoples of the Third World. Banking, as a result, plays a completely disproportionate

ARDS A ALIST IN



Spending on arms compared with social services

Annual expenditure	£ million	£ million	£ million
Defence budget, 1981-82	12,274	Hospital and community health services	9,892
of which:		Child benefit	3,385
pay etc of personnel	4,942	Medical Research Council	99
defence research and development	1,676	Services for disabled	97
upkeep of Polaris submarine	269	Supplementary pensions	1,310
airforce equipment	1,689		
Programmes	£ million	£ million	£ million
Trident nuclear missile system†	5,500	British Rail electrification*	750*
Sting Ray Torpedo programme	950	Thames flood barrier	750
Individual items	£ million	£ million	£ million
One nuclear powered fleet submarine	175	Humber Bridge	80
One Type 22 frigate	120	Lothian's rate support grant cut	47
One Tornado F2 aircraft	14.3	900 new houses	14.5
One Challenger Main battle tank	1.5	Improvements to 300 houses	1.5
	£		£
One 81mm mortar	7,500	Stairlift for disabled person	1,500
One light support weapon	350	School books for 75 children for one year	340
8-tonne army vehicle	27,000	One meals-on-wheels van	4,000

* not yet sanctioned by the government † to be bought from the United States Table: Labour Research Sept 1981

doomed. Our plan starts from the need to acquire the information and control needed to take the running of industry out of the hands of its owners and put it in the hands of working people.

The first step would be to control finance. That means:

- * nationalise all the banks and finance houses;
- * end, once and for all, the role of sterling as a world reserve currency;

This would free tremendous resources for investment and control of industry. It would remove from the capitalists' hands a weapon they use to enslave peoples of the Third World.

It would allow us also to look at, and publicise information about the financial dealings of every company in Britain. This should be done publicly by:

- * giving every union the right to inspect the books, and financial dealings, of any company operating in Britain.

This information is the first step to being able to control industry. The next one is to end the isolation of sector-by-sector planning and organise, at every level of the labour movement the pooling of information, leading to:

- * a national labour movement plan for the economy, based on production for need, not profit.

How is this plan to be implemented? The NEC propose to continue with the Industrial Strategy's idea of 'planning agreements'. It says that firms will be 'required to enter planning agreements in return for government support'.

But first, as we have seen, firms will not co-operate. Second, it does not give workers real control. Third, it is undemocratic. It means that the unions, with 90 per cent of the people in a firm, would have one-third representation on a board in which one third come from management, and one-third from Whitehall.

Genuine workers' control means what it says. The government should:

- * authorise the unions to take over control of production and of management in any factory or industry, either to implement the labour movement's plan, or if the employers take actions contrary to workers' interests;
- * seek to establish genuine control of industry by workers, with at least two-thirds majorities accountable to the workforce, and the right to hire and fire management.
- * ensure that the boards of all nationalised industries and government planning bodies, are made up of democratically-elected and accountable

representatives of the workers' movement.

To ensure that these measures work, the government will have to set about nationalising the commanding heights of the economy. Not because of some dogma that equates socialism with nationalisation. The record of nationalised coal, steel and the social services shows nationalisation is not in and of itself socialist.

But it is necessary because you cannot neutralise the bosses' resistance unless you take away their property. You cannot seriously set about implementing a plan unless the government has in its hands the title to the most important industries.

The Labour Party should name the companies it intends to nationalise, as has Mitterrand in France, and begin preparing the workers in those companies to reply to the ferocious anti-nationalisation campaign that will result.

Workers' democracy

Such measures cannot be taken from above. The last government's great failing was its attempt to rely on a bureaucratic civil service that remained totally hostile to its intentions.

The labour movement has to be mobilised to meet business resistance, and the plan has to be executed by democratically-elected committees. Preparation for this is taking the democracy struggle into the unions, and ensuring the accountability of workers' representatives throughout the labour movement.

The Labour left, from Benn to Foot, are insistent on the need to implement socialism through existing parliamentary structures.

What does this mean? That we should respect the vote of the British people as expressed in elections? We don't disagree with this. The problem is that the capitalists class doesn't respect this vote.

As Tony Benn has shown, the last government's decisions were actually taken by a cabinet which was not elected but chosen by a Prime Minister who has become an 'elected monarch'.

Furthermore the cabinet followed the line of Whitehall, the CBI, the Treasury, Brussels and the IMF — none of whom are elected, and none of whom are accountable to working people.

The crucial task of socialism is to replace these unelected bodies, in the state and the economy, by genuinely democratic bodies accountable to the working class.

It would be good if, during the struggle to establish such workers' democracy, parliamentary were to take our side —

but we don't want to surrender in advance by relying on it. This means:

- * the dissolution of all undemocratic centres of power including the Lords, the existing civil service, the police and the army, and their replacement by popular democratic organisations dedicated to the interests of working people.
- * a government which is directly accountable to working people.

The Labour left are quite right to point out that such alternative forms of popular power cannot be created overnight. But they draw a peculiar conclusion from this. They argue that immediate measures should be very limited, and limit any organisation to that which presently exists — parliament and its committees.

Power

But when workers occupy their plants, when they organise action for wages increases, when they defend themselves against the new picketing laws when they do all these things, then they are laying the basis of the emergence of their own organisation of power.

We have a great disagreement with the NEC about the methods which could be used in fighting for their policies. We don't believe it is an adequate strategy to wait until the next Labour government is elected.

We totally oppose the policies that led to the social contract and voluntary wage restraint, which were based on the idea that the working class should give up fighting the employers and leave politics to the parliamentary Labour Party.

We believe that the working class should now be mobilised to defeat the Tories by driving them from office, and that in the course of this struggle, it should prepare to impose on the next Labour government the policies that it needs.

A socialist foreign policy

The final great problem that the NEC does not address itself to properly is that of building a movement of international solidarity that can defend us against the international pressure that will be brought to bear upon us.

They fail to acknowledge the connection between international pressure and what our own capitalists are doing. British capital has the most developed network of international contacts of any nation in the world. It will use them against us.

Import controls are the worst possible way to respond to this pressure. First, they ignore the basic problem, which is investment. Proper planned

trade is impossible without tackling production and investment.

Second, it is not planned trade at all. Real planned trade would call for a state monopoly of all foreign trade together with a series of trading agreements with the rest of the world which mutually benefits our trading partners, instead of being unilaterally imposed by Britain.

Third, it is a disguised subsidy to the most backward sections of capital: it means working people have to pay more to buy British-made products because the British factory owners have failed to modernise production.

Fourth, it will antagonise the very people whose support we want to win: the workers of other countries who will see import controls as exporting unemployment to them.

The real goal of a socialist foreign policy should be to link up with all those who are fighting our capitalists abroad and break out of the trading patterns of an imperialist country.

We have to get out of the EEC which is a protectionist cold war creation, a barrier to unity with the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Third World, and a device for political collaboration between multinational bosses.

We have to abandon any commitment to military alliances directed at the Third World and the Soviet Union — which means getting out of NATO as well as getting rid of nuclear weapons.

We have to end the British army's foreign role and withdraw all troops from abroad, and above all from Ireland.

Oppose

Most of all, we should cease to confuse a neutral foreign policy with an independent foreign policy. Britain should not be neutral in the wars now going on in the world. We should support liberation struggles in El Salvador, the Middle East, Indochina and Africa, against America and its allies and against our own capitalists and their allies.

We should oppose American foreign policy which is directed at destroying these liberation struggles, and defend the Soviet Union against American's war preparations.

We should be at the forefront of support for the Polish workers, whose struggles point in the direction of a genuinely democratic socialism, and we should support Cuba when, as in Central America now, it extends and develops socialist revolution.

In this way we should aim to build up world-wide support from working and oppressed people, who are our best hope fighting the international resistance of capital.

role in the economy.

The 'strong pound' is the basis for the rundown of industry, the misery of working people in Britain, and the starvation and murder of millions throughout the world.

At the same time, British industrialists refuse to co-operate with government plans as long as working class organisation remains intact. Benn's Industry Bill was contemptuously brushed aside.

In its lifetime the Labour government signed only one planning agreement — with

Chrysler UK. The CBI testified to the Commons, point blank, that they would not co-operate with the Industry Bill whether or not it became law.

What is to be done?

The capitalist class of this country will not co-operate in rebuilding the economy. Any strategy, like the NEC's, or Tony Benn's, which looks for its agreement, instead of working out how to take it over, is

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LIVERPOOL: News from Nowhere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1.
LONDON: Central Books, 37 Grays Inn Rd; Colletts, 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; Centerprise, 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.

organised by Lewisham Fightback, 26-27 September, Lee Centre, 1 Aisilbie Road, SE12. Contact Eric Goodyer 01-692 7826.
TROOPS Out Movement traditional music evening on Fri 25 Sept, 7.30-12. People of no Property from Ireland and Latin American groups, Hargrave Hall, Hargrave Road, London N19, near Archway tube. £2, or £1 unaged, food and drink available.
REMEMBER the hunger strike. Torch light parade to Tribune meeting. Rally at the Level, Brighton 8pm 30 September London coaches leave 6pm York Way, Kings X, £2.50 Ring 267-2004 for tickets.
SOLDIERS Charter 81 founding conference. Civil rights for service personnel — unions for the armed forces? Sat 3 October at Response, Old Brompton Rd, London SW5. If you were in the armed forces or are interested get details from John McMullen, 1 Nevern Rd, London SW5.
ANTI-SEXIST men's newsletter. The Southampton men's group is producing the November issue. Articles, letters, cartoons from all sympathisers welcome. Copy by 16 October to: Nick, 4 Ranelagh Gardens, Southampton. Tel 0703 28981.
DEMONSTRATION: Drive British Movement of North London Politechnic! Fri 25 September, 2.30pm, NLP Holloway Road site (opp. Holloway Rd tube). Stop BM forming a branch at the Polytechnic. Endorsers include Ken Livinstone, Jack Collins (sec, Kent Area NUM), Tamara Deutscher. More info: 01-278 2232.

Socialist Challenge News

Two ways to fight for socialism

DO you agree with what *Socialist Challenge* is saying and doing over the Labour Party conference? If so you can help us — and socialism — more actively.

But if the press want to forget LSE, Labour's right wing aim to bury them. Healey and Callaghan can't stomach a fight against the Tories, that's why they are gangling up with their media friends against Benn and the left in the party.

A fightback is also the last thing Boyd and Duffy, the AUEW's right wing leaders want. That's why they've put their block vote behind Healey in the Labour leadership battle and why they're working hand in glove with the right wing to sabotage Labour Party support for LSE.

The right wing fights on two fronts. SO DO WE. That's why we've been taking up LSE wherever we go in the unions and in the party. — and why we'll be taking the cause of the LSE workers to this year's conference.

If you agree that there should be a united fight in the unions and the Labour Party, how can you help? It's very easy. We believe socialism will result from actions by working people.

So we organise for action. In every locality there are supporter's groups and campaigning activity which you can join in. Write to us and we'll put you in touch.

Or help us extend our message. We want new regular sellers, and we can send you a regular bundle of papers each week to sell at work, to friends, or in your Labour Party. Why not start with five papers next week? Last, but not least, you can give us money! Because we have no income from the advertising barons and because of our campaigning work, we need £16,000 every three months over and above sales income, to support our work.

You can help by sending a donation however small, or by taking out a bankers' standing order for a regular monthly donation.

A fiver a month and five papers a week — isn't it worth it for socialism?

REVOLUTION

3 MILLION ON THE DOLE YOPS AREN'T WORKING

REVOLUTION 18 gives young socialists the arguments to help build the fightback against the Tories.

We report on how the black communities have defended themselves, in Toxteth, Moss Side and Bradford after the youth rebellions, against the combined onslaught of the police, courts and media. Defence and support of the arrested youth must be fought for by all young socialists in the labour movement.

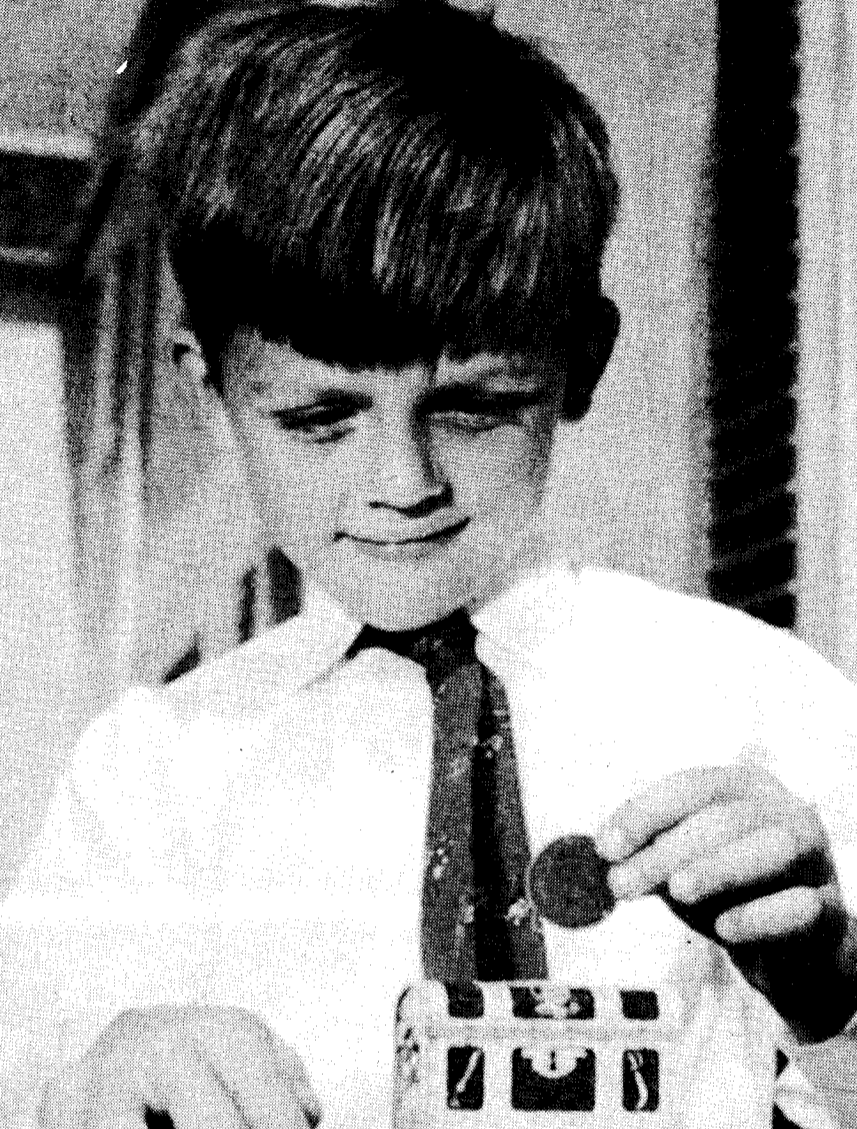
We explain how we think the Labour Party Young Socialists should have defended the youth, instead of making a grovelling apology to the Labour national executive.

An article from Paul Adams from Liverpool 8 examines the lessons we can learn from the black liberation struggles over the years, and the contribution of the black revolutionary, Malcolm X.

As the Labour Party conference draws near we discuss what the Labour Party is, and why socialists have an interest in fighting for the victory of the left wing against Foot and Healey.

In the build up to the October CND demo, Mike Picken from Labour CND draws the lessons from CND's 'First Wave' in the 1960s. We also show how Reagan's attacks against liberation struggles in the Third World are linked to the fight against Cruise and Trident missiles in Britain.

A member of Bristol YS reports on the Troops Out Movement youth delegation to Belfast in August, giving LPYS branches the opportunity to discuss their attitude to the Irish anti-imperialist



The Duke of Westminster (above) was one of the richest people in Britain from the moment of birth — the rest of us have to fight for every penny for the socialist cause

International
 September 1981
 Volume 6
 Number 3
 60p

Bernadette McAliskey on a New Stage for Ireland
 Alan Freeman on Benn's Socialism
 Will Reissner on Reagan's USA
 Images of Revolution: Morgan, Morgan, Martin

INTERNATIONAL
 September issue out now!

Bernadette McAliskey on the Irish struggle, Alan Freeman on Benn's socialism, Will Reissner on Reagan's first six months and an interview with a revolutionary Marxist active in Solidarity in Poland.
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struggle.
 After Thatcher's Cabinet reshuffle it's clear that the Tories are preparing for open confrontation with the working class. Already the public employees have been told they will only get a maximum of 4 per cent in the coming pay round.
 It's vital that youth play a leading role in the fight for socialist policies and a united fightback against the Tories.
 All Socialist Challenge readers should read Revolution. More importantly try to help us to sell it. All of you must know some young people interested in fighting the Tories, whether at work, school, college, or on the dole queue — so sell them a copy of Revolution.
 Write to us and we'll send you some papers: Revolution, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

01-836 3028
accidental death of an anarchist
 Wyndham's Theatre
 "a huge success"
 New Std. July 1981
LAST 5 WEEKS

Solidarity congress declaration

THE supreme aim of the independent trade union Solidarity is to create dignified conditions of life in an economically and politically sovereign Poland, a life freed of poverty, of exploitation, of fear and deceit, in a society organised democratically and on the basis of law. Today the nation expects:

1. The improvement of food supplies by the establishment of control over production, distribution, and pricing, in collaboration with the Solidarity union of individual farmers.
2. A reform of the economy, through the creation of authentic self-management councils in the factories and through the liquidation of the party 'Nomenklatura' (Note: the system of party appointments to key jobs).
3. The truth through social control over the mass media and the suppression of falsehoods in education and Polish culture.
4. Democracy through the introduction of free elections to the Sejm (parliament) and the people's councils.
5. Justice through the assurance to each of equality before the law, the freedom of prisoners of opinion, and the defence of persons charged for their political, editorial or trade union activities.
6. The protection of the nation's health, through the protection of the environment, an increase in the funds channelled into medical services, and a guarantee to the handicapped of the rights which are due to them in society.
7. Coal for the population and industry, through giving a guarantee to the miners of decent living and working conditions.

We will achieve these aims through the unity of the trade union and the solidarity of its members. The activities of a variety of forces creating a feeling of exterior danger will not remove from us the desire to struggle for the ideals of August 1980, for the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie accords.

Adopted 10 September 1981



Walesa challenged by union militants during last summer's strike wave. The picture comes from *Gdansk 1980* — Pictures from a strike from Puls publications, BCM Box 697, London WC1. Though the photos in this £5.50 book are interesting, the anti-communist bias of the commentary leaves a lot to be desired.

Solidarność time for the Labour Party to act

By Davy Jones

A MAJOR confrontation between Solidarity and the Polish authorities seems imminent. In the past week the ruling Politburo has accused Solidarity of fomenting bloodshed, with one member even demanding the banning of the union movement. And the Soviet leaders sent their toughest warning yet to the Polish Communist Party demanding immediate radical action against Solidarity's alleged anti-Soviet campaign.

But the struggle for workers' democracy in Poland has received little solidarity from the British labour movement. Michael Foot and Denis Healey were in Moscow politely discussing the arms race the day the Kremlin's threatening letter reached Poland.

The Labour left too has come under fire for its weak support for the Polish workers. The establishment press and right wing union leaders have attacked the cam-

paigns for democracy in the British labour movement as being sham democracy compared to Poland.

In the televised debate on *Panorama* John Silkin felt able to accuse the Benn campaign of giving a 'glimpse of Stalinism'.

What are the Polish workers fighting for, and why should the whole labour movement, and its left wing particularly, support them?

Poland is supposed to be a 'communist' society.

It is true that Polish capitalism was overthrown, bringing enormous gains to the workers and peasants, but there the similarity with communism ends.

There is a large ruling bureaucracy in Poland linked into the Soviet bureaucracy with its own material privileges over the rest of society. Most importantly this bureaucracy wields a complete monopoly of political power through the Communist Party and a repressive apparatus to defend the status quo.

This system denies the mass of the working people any political rights or independent organisation. At least that was the case until last summer's historic struggles leading to the formation of the independent union movement, Solidarity.

Since winning the right to independent organisation the Polish workers have begun to systematically demand the complete democratisation of society.

They have insisted on an end to the censorship of the media which attempts to stifle all opposition. Because of the continual slander campaigns against it in the official media, Solidarity demanded the right to its own journals, and recently, to its own TV network.

Media

They have not insisted on the shutting down of the state media or other papers with which they disagree, but for an extension of the media to the union movements with their undoubted mass support.

Similarly Solidarity has now called for free elections and the ending of the

one-party system in Poland. It has not asked for the banning of the ruling Communist Party, but for an extension of democracy so that the Polish workers can freely choose between all political currents.

At their recent congress Solidarity approved a resolution calling for workers' self-management, including the right to hire and fire the factory director, normally appointed by the ruling party.

In 'communist' societies the workers are told that they own the factories. So with a massive economic crisis and proven bureaucratic corruption and mismanagement, it is an inevitable consequence of the right of independent organisation that the workers should demand to run the factories themselves.

And on every front

Solidarity has opposed the privileges of the ruling bureaucracy and its attempts to keep all positions of power in society through the party-nominated lists, the undemocratic 'nomenklatura' system.

The direction of Solidarity's development is towards the overthrow of the whole ruling bureaucracy in Poland and its replacement by a system of workers' democracy at every level.

Some socialists fear that this mass movement has reactionary goals, like the restoration of capitalism, especially when they see the establishment press supporting Solidarity.

We have no illusions in the right wing press. They will be the first to suggest 'moderation' to the Polish workers rather than see a real workers' democracy come into existence. They jumped on the bandwagon to try and discredit socialism and communism.

But that should not blind us to the fact that the Polish workers' struggle is the best advertisement for socialism we have had

for years. The workers are not calling for a return to capitalism but for a thorough-going workers' democracy.

For years workers throughout the world have been presented with a choice: capitalism or Stalinism. The Polish workers are struggling for a third alternative: socialist democracy.

The British labour movement faces greater problems, not the least of which is that a crisis-racked capitalism is still well and truly with us. The search for radical policies to tackle this crisis has been coupled with a fight for increased democracy within the labour movement, especially the Labour Party.

The Labour left should draw the lessons from the Polish workers. They have found at each stage their gains have been threatened without a thorough-going democratisation of all the institutions of society.

The Labour left has to couple its campaign for party democracy with demands for the extension of democratic rights and workers' democracy to all spheres of society.

More importantly, the Polish workers' appeal to the workers of the Soviet bloc showed that they realised the importance of international solidarity for the success of their own struggle.

The Labour left should take the lead, not the hypocrites in the establishment press and the right wing union leaders, in championing the cause of the Polish workers and building concrete international solidarity with them.

The success of the Polish workers in establishing workers' democracy would be a hundred times more effective than conference resolutions in winning the battle for Labour movement democracy in Britain.

Turkey's generals: defending the 'Free World'

By Nick Robin

ON FRIDAY 12 September 1980, in the early hours of the morning, tanks and armoured vehicles rolled into Turkey's major cities.

Three days later, the new ruling junta had already arrested an estimated 15,000 people, dissolved parliament, outlawed the right to strike, and shut down all political parties. It has been a bloody twelve months since then.

Repression has reached levels rarely seen in countries which are not actually fascist dictatorships. The balance of forces in the Middle East have been tipped in favour of the warmongers as

Turkey has replaced Iran as Uncle Sam's main cop in the region.

The coup in Turkey demonstrated once again that NATO is not only a vehicle for the Reagan/Thatcher war drive, but an instrument to repress the workers' movement. The militant labour movement in Turkey has suffered a severe reversal.

Trade unions and all political parties and professional associations have been banned: among them the Republican Peoples Party (RPP), the sister party of the Labour Party, affiliated to the Socialist International.

The Labour national executive took

an important symbolic step in inviting Bulent Ecevit, the former leader of the RPP, to this year's party conference. But we must take steps which are not only symbolic.

The lies in the capitalist press about Turkey's benign and democratically-inclined Generals should be combatted. There needs to be a campaign for an end to the hangings, for freedom for political parties and the release of trade unionists. That's the best way to contribute to saving the lives of our sisters and brothers in Turkey.

In particular the Turkey Solidarity Campaign urges supporters in the

Labour Party to back the campaign against the deportation from this country of Dogan Tarkan, a socialist newspaper editor. The Labour NEC should support a joint Labour Party/trade union delegation to observe the trials of the DISK trade union leaders currently underway in Ankara.

For information on Turkey contact the Turkey Solidarity Campaign, BM Box 5965, London WC1N 3XX — why not affiliate to the campaign? Labour conference fringe meeting on Turkey is on Thursday 1 October, 12.30pm in the Ship Hotel in Brighton.

A strategy for 1981/2

GLC Labour group paper passed by Regional executive of London Labour Party

MICHAEL HESELTINE has decided to take further powers against Labour-controlled councils in order to force massive cut-backs in the social wage.

At the moment the government is moving against Lothian Council in Scotland with their new powers which apply only to Scottish councils.

Heseltine plans to announce in the Queen's Speech in November new measures to prevent councils increasing rates in order to avoid cuts in services and jobs. He says he does not want 'Lothian' style powers.

Limit

Instead he proposes to give himself power to set a limit on commercial rate increases and thus force more of the burden onto domestic ratepayers. He will also have power to fix a percentage increase limit to domestic rates.

Thus councils would face massive cuts or bankruptcy. The only way out for councils would be a supplementary rate, as borrowing to cover the deficit would be illegal.

But before a council could

have a supplementary rate they would have to either hold a referendum on the issue or dissolve the whole council and hold a full election.

He is facing opposition within some areas of the government and the civil service and also from some Tory councils so that his plans may yet be amended.

But whatever finally appears, there can be no doubt that we are entering the final phase of the struggle with the Tories. Either we or Heseltine must eventually lose. The new powers would prevent a fudging of the issue.

We must mobilise total opposition in an attempt to prevent this legislation passing.

The Party has a major role to play in this campaign but it also has to decide its wider strategy. We will be forced into massive cuts or bankruptcy unless we defeat Heseltine's new legislation as it makes its way through parliament.

Call

We therefore call on the annual conference to set aside time for a major debate on this crisis and to call on

*the party to mobilise urgently all Labour-controlled local authorities, Labour Groups, CLPs, affiliated organisations and trade unions in a concerted campaign in opposition to Heseltine's legislation, drawing attention to the devastating effects it will have on vital council services and in massively increasing the level of unemployment;

*Labour councillors and those about to seek election in 1982 to commit themselves not to make cuts;

*the National Executive Committee and Parliamentary Labour Party to restore penalties and lift bans imposed under the powers of the district auditor;

*the PLP to take all measures necessary to delay and disrupt parliamentary business in order to prevent the passing of this legislation;

*the trade unions to launch a campaign of industrial action to support the PLP and to give a clear commitment that if Heseltine gets his new powers and forces councils into bankruptcy then they will support those councils defending jobs and services.

It is vital that the whole movement is aware that if we fail to defeat Heseltine's new legislation as it goes through Parliament, then the options before Labour councils will be devastating.

Choice

We would face a choice between Labour councils making massive cuts in services and jobs (including compulsory redundancies) or councils becoming 'bankrupt' and calling on the trade unions for a major campaign of industrial action to defeat the government.

The only alternative to this dilemma would be mass resignation by Labour councillors.

Finally, on the return of a Labour government, conference calls on the NEC and PLP to undertake to effect the repeal of the Heseltine legislation, and undertake to restore penalties and lift bans imposed under the powers of the district auditor.

**no cuts,
no rates or
rent rises!**

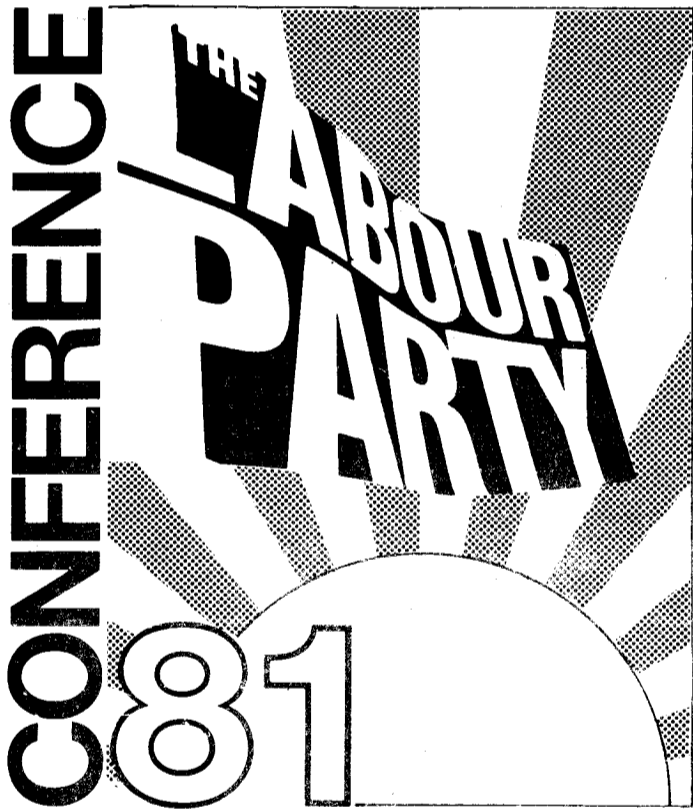
Phyllis Dunnipace
Rob Jones

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Socialist Challenge

PAMPHLET

Copies available from 'Rates pamphlet', PO Box 50, London N1. 25p each plus postage. Bulk orders 10 and over 20p a copy.



'Benn will be the next

knees, then won't that radical groundswell that you talk of be dissipated in terms of defeats, cuts, unemployment?

No, I don't see that as a danger. We can be defeated at an election but that shift to the left in the Labour Party is now, I think, irreversible. I mean, Benn may not win this time but he'll win in the future. Benn will undoubtedly be the next leader of the Labour Party.

The Labour Party could win the next election but it will only do so if it goes on in a very firm socialist programme, hard opposition to what the government has done, support for the trade unions.

It will be too late to do it in the few weeks before an election. It really needs to be done now.

Even if Benn gets in, he's surrounded by a shadow cabinet and parliamentary party which is still going to be a terrible drag holding back.

Now all that could be advanced by a major industrial conflict in the autumn. The Tories are going for two key pieces of legislation, control on the unions and controls on the Labour councils, it's a very nice link that sense.

I'm glad they're coming together. And that may mean you could actually get the downfall of the Thatcher government during the winter.

You might find, in the same way as there was with Heath, against a backdrop of a major industrial struggle, that a snap election is called.

But when Heath fell, brought down by the trade unions, he was forced to make massive concessions. Surely the best conditions for the sort of Labour government you describe has to be created now with Labour reaching out now with the unions to bring this government's life to an end.

Yes, that's the strategy the Labour group here spelled out in the document we put to the Regional Executive — we have a major campaign aimed at defeating this legislation.

If you defeat this legislation you possibly defeat the government as well. As we go through the autumn the trade union and council legislation will become major controversial points.

KEN LIVINGSTONE, left Labour leader of the Greater London Council, has been in office now for four months — a long time these days in British politics. His views on running local government, the rates issue, Ireland and gay rights are now quite well known. In this interview TESSA VAN GELDEREN and BRIAN HERON question Ken Livingstone on the major issues under discussion at this year's Labour Party conference in Brighton.



If the left do win control of the Labour Party, how do you see that affecting the victory of a Labour government at the next election?

There is no prospect of us winning the next general election without Benn. He is a symbol, a focus. Labour voters who abstained last time will vote with Benn in the leadership.

It is true that the left victories in the Labour Party are building the SDP but in the sense that the right wing conservative section of British public opinion is moving away from Thatcher to the SDP as the best chance of keeping out a radical left government.

What we're seeing is a shift to the left on the entire British political spectrum. The Labour Party is moving to being a socialist party, not just a social democratic one; and a conservative opposition is moving from a monetarist Thatcher position.

What you got in the recent split in Islington was a realignment, the Labour vote remained firm, so it provided the basis for a purified Labour Party,

ty, a genuinely socialist Labour Party, taking control next time at the May elections, and the SDP becoming the Conservative Party of Islington.

Look at Warrington. The British establishment is throwing everything into building up the SDP in order to prevent the election of a left Labour government.

If that means as capital you ditch the Tory Party and run something else that's got a better chance, that does represent a shift to the left on the political spectrum. Now I think that's what's happening.

It's not the case that the SDP is replacing the Labour Party on the left. It may be that the sheer weight of establishment/media pressure can engineer an SDP victory, but those people lost us the '70 and '79 elections.

Working people will be rapidly disillusioned. What you would then have is the election of a radical socialist Labour Party.

Unless there is some vigorous battle against this Tory government now, unless it's knocked to its

fight against the 4 per cent limit.

What's your position as leader of the GLC on the 4 per cent pay limit.

I issued a statement that we would support any unions in struggle against the 4 per cent and we expect that our representatives in the national negotiating committees will

You've said that we need a Labour Party based on conference policy. Tony Benn has also been confronted with this question. He doesn't agree with conference policy on Ireland, nor do you, at least from

Rates: Heseltine forces the left to think again

By Tessa van Gelderen

MOST militants on the left of the Labour Party will tell you that rates are no longer the issue. Heseltine's new legislation has seen to that. As the Regional executive of the London Labour Party recognised: 'rate increases cannot provide a way of replacing the money withheld by the government, because of the harsh effects rate rises have on many workers' living standards and the new legal powers the Tories are expected to take.'

Option

Unfortunately, some of us have been arguing consistently against both cuts and rate rises, that the latter was not an option for the working class who would still be paying for the crisis.

And, again unfortunately, it's not simply a case of 'told you so' but one where really serious, perhaps irreparable damage has been done.

There is no doubt that the SDP has made gains and will continue to make gains locally because of the huge burden working people have been subjected to with increased rates, rents and very often cuts in council services as well.

It is not enough for the left to bleat that if these social democrats had their way when they were still in the Labour Party, things would have been a great deal worse. This may be true, but the real problem remains: many working people are fed up with Labour — and it's not just because of the betrayals of the last Labour government — but because of what local

Labour councils are up to at present.

The left only saw one option, to try to 'save' the working class from cuts and other attacks that the Tory government were implementing. Such a position is both patronising and assumes a passive working class.

Mobilise

What was required then and is still required now is for Labour councils to give a lead in taking on the Tory government. It is the job of Labour councils to mobilise working people against the Tories, not to implement their anti-working class policies.

We have to welcome the lead that has come from both the Labour GLC and the London Labour Party. As the resolution explains: 'Only

through a show of strength can the Tories be forced to retreat, as the miners and rail workers' victories earlier this year demonstrate.'

Stop

Let's go from here. Let's use everything in our power to stop Heseltine's legislation — in Parliament and out. Let's use from now on the local elections next May to show that the labour movement does have the strength to bring this government to its knees.

And that means all Labour councils and Labour Party members have to make that the number one priority. As the London Labour Party's strategy for 1981/82 says: 'We are entering the final phase of the struggle with the Tories. Either we or Heseltine must eventually lose.' Let's make it Heseltine.



...t leader of the Labour Party'

your public statements.

Does that mean you wouldn't put forward that policy? How do you see the relationship between Labour leaders and socialist or radical policies when they don't agree with conference?

I think it's a problem we've only really thought about since I got elected here. It's not been a problem Labour leaders have faced in the past, is it?

My initial gut response was to say that I have a right as an individual member of the party to fight for any position in the movement quite openly and I think that is the case on all those issues which are not direct GLC issues.

If the Labour group here decided to go for a policy that I didn't support, I think I'd have to resign. I think if Benn became leader of the party and the party conference decision was to continue to commit troops to Ireland, well then I think he'd have no choice but to stand down.

But it's not likely that a party that's going to elect Benn would then turn round and start pushing right-wing policies.

The reverse is true, the election of Benn would be in a sense breaking a logjam and there would be a further shift to the left in policy.

Polls suggest that 67 per cent are in favour of troops out now, yet the Labour Party conference itself doesn't represent that position. Surely this would indicate that it's not so much a case of being accountable to Labour Party conference but rather accountable to mass support inside the working class. And therefore you need a new instrument to be able to judge and gauge that.

Well to be quite honest, that vote on Ireland was engineered



Ken Livingstone on the picket line. But will the pickets be out in support of him?

with all the machinations of the old block vote, the old trade union clique, delivering the Labour Party leadership out of a spot of bother.

When we had an honest debate in London at the Labour Party conference we had a vote ten to one in favour of Britain out of Ireland.

We timetabled a serious debate; we didn't have the executive running round saying to the trade unions, 'Look, defeat this, it will be difficult,' and so on and all those appeals to loyalty.

I'm fairly certain that if the Labour Party is allowed a free debate on Ireland and Foot doesn't wander around twisting trade union leaders arms saying, 'this is the one we can't afford to lose, lads, stick with us

on this,' then they would vote for withdrawal.

So Labour Party conference could, in that sense, be the body which represented mass support and popular opinion inside the working class?

We cannot jump on Labour Party conference as it now is and say this is some wonderful democratic institution when we know it isn't. The struggle to democratise the party also includes the struggle to democratise Labour Party conference.

In a sense it comes back to a struggle inside each trade union. Any conference where the four major trade unions

have a majority of the votes must, to be democratic, have completely democratic procedures within those unions with the block vote.

I recognise that I get the publicity that I do because I'm GLC leader but then that's never discouraged any Labour rightwinger in a national position from fighting for what they actually felt was right. It strikes me as quite remarkable, all of a sudden, people are starting to have doubts whether you should do this when you're on the left.

I also detect that a lot of those people on the left who are critical of the positions on gay rights or Ireland, take this view that this is a diversion from the

class struggle, comrades, or this is not the issue. I think that gays, women and the Irish are just tired of being told by people who claim to be socialists that they are not part of the class struggle.

At the moment a supporter of Socialist Challenge in Islington is under furious attack from the Mail...

Who is this? I don't read the Mail.

Mick Sullivan...

What's the attack about?

He's supposed to have co-ordinated the left offensive inside the local Labour Party...

We'll have to give him the Order of Lenin or something....

What is your attitude to socialist organisations being active inside the Labour Party?

My attitude is that I'm in favour of widening that struggle. I'm in favour of ending bans and proscriptions and I wouldn't want to see them reimposed.

I believe in the right of socialists to organise freely within the Labour Party and that right must be defended. Those elements which are now criticising socialist tendencies within the Labour Party need to justify some of their backers and supporters in the Tory press.

I think there's a most appalling double standard that people like Hattersley can get up and complain that Benn is supported by a whole range of groupings on the left and not actually try and explain to us all why it is that every national newspaper has, at some time or other, with the exception of the left press, urged the Labour Party to support Healey rather than Benn.

We exposed in last week's Socialist Challenge that Neil Kinnock has organised a group of MPs to abstain. What's your comment on these people?

I'm not surprised that Neil Kinnock is organising a block of people to abstain.

We have to remember that it was Neil Kinnock at the last Labour Party conference who, when we were lobbying him to say what support could we have from the Labour Party executive in the struggle between Heseltine and Labour councils, said, and I quote, 'You don't expect me to stand here and hold your coat for you, do you?'

Photo: Socialist Worker

France: Four months of Socialist government

FOUR MONTHS after the election of Francois Mitterrand as French President, the contours of the policy of his Socialist Party government are becoming clearer. The euphoria which greeted the defeat of right wing President Giscard is giving way to a much more sober assessment of the extent to which Mitterrand and his Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy are likely to challenge the basic structures of French capitalism in order to achieve radical change.

Without doubt, the new government has taken a series of social measures in the interests of the working class.

The new government has abolished the notorious 'State Security Court' used mainly against Basque and Corsican militants, and French opponents of the state. It has suspended the deportation of immigrant workers, and taken measures to make it easier for immigrants to obtain residence and work permits.

The death penalty has been abolished, and the government has announced a 'slow down' in the nuclear energy construction programme, including the cancellation of the Plogoff project which had become a focus for resistance to nuclear power.

Amnesty

Of course, some of these reforms are extremely partial and contradictory. For example, the amnesty on illegal immigrants has been combined with a severe tightening up of the immigration regulations, which will make it much harder for new immigrants to get into France.

The nuclear energy programme has only been slowed down, not abandoned altogether. And in the civil liberties field, the new government looks as if it will be even harder than its right-wing predecessor against democratic rights for soldiers.

Nonetheless, the positive moves outlined above are in general far from what could have been expected from a Gaullist or Giscardian government.

Salvador

In the sphere of foreign policy, the new government is marked by policy contradictions which are typical of the European Socialist parties.

On the one hand, in relation to many Third

But the contradictions of Mitterrand are most clearly seen in relation to the basic issues of ownership and control of the economy, and the conditions of life of the French workers.

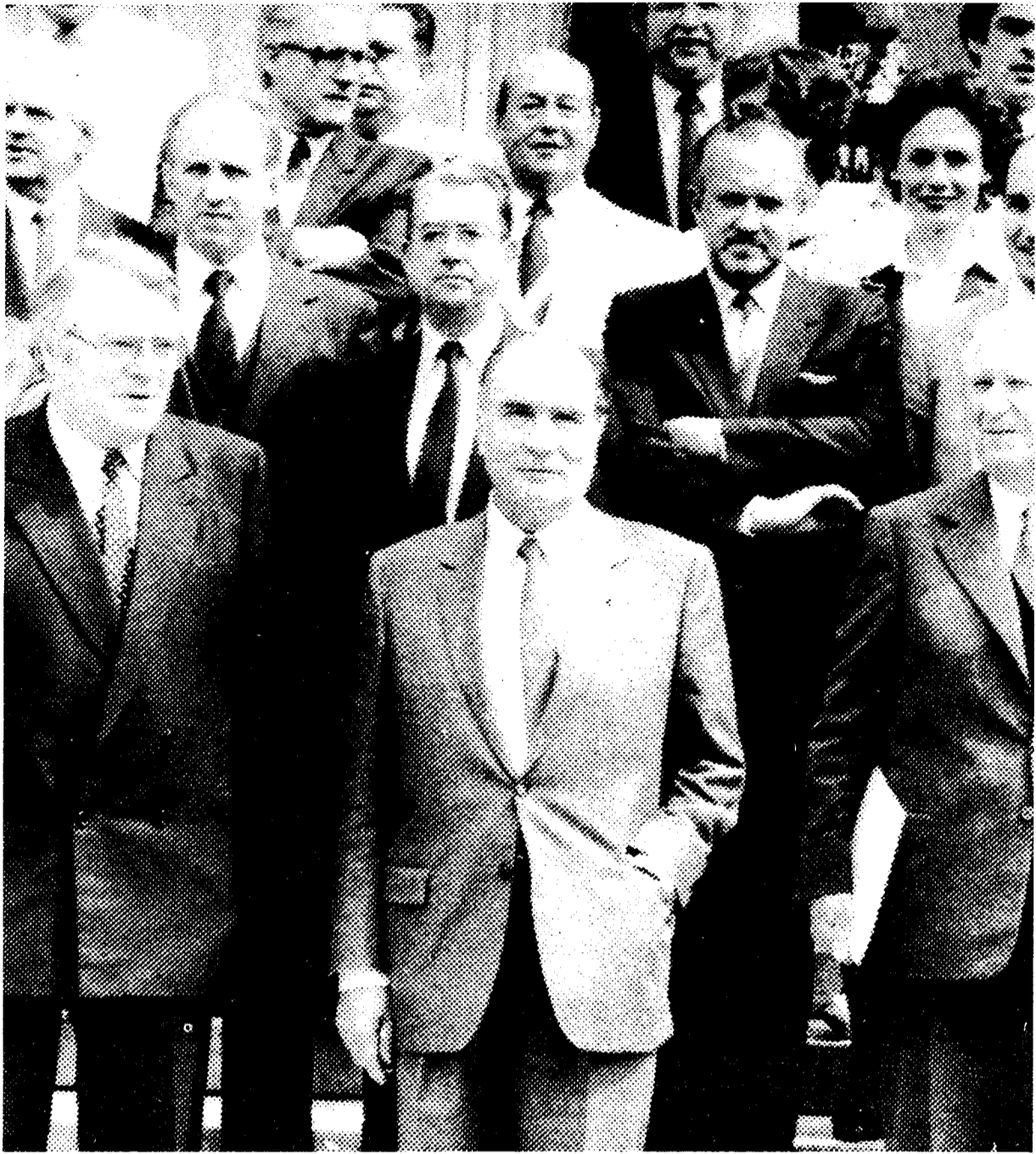
French capitalism is wracked by the same basic problems as British capitalism. Unemployment is nearly two million, while inflation has received another big spurt over the summer — with transport, gas, electricity and petrol all rising by about 15 per cent.

Economy

The key measures therefore for the government to take, to deal with the crisis to the benefit of the workers, are a shorter working week, an end to redundancies, and a halt in price rises — leading to decisive measures to put supervision and control of the economy in the hands of the workers.

How has the Mitterrand-Mauroy government responded to these needs?

The government has granted an extra week's holiday a year (bringing the total to 5 weeks). But instead of legislating the 35 hour week, a 39-hour standard week has been decreed together with negotiations sector by sector to bring a 35-hour week over five years.



Mitterrand with his cabinet

These negotiations will provide endless opportunities for the bosses to prevaricate.

Bosses

The first reaction of the government was to declare a suspension of all redundancies due to be carried out over the summer.

But as a result of pressure from the bosses, Prime Minister Mauroy has now declared that the government will respect the right of firms to declare redundancies.

Mauroy has also declared in favour of 'price freedom' — in other words the freedom of prices to go upwards.

The new government is also in full retreat on the question of nationalisations. It came to power on a programme of nationalising the few non-nationalised banks and of nationalising 13 major commercial giants.

Banks

The banks have now been nationalised. But the number of nationalisations has been whittled down to five.

Moreover, these nationalisations will only be of 'parent companies' — which enables the bosses to keep control over key subsidiaries) to which resources can be transferred.

Nationalisation will take place with compensation for the former owners, the precise form of this compensation is not yet fixed, but it is certain

to be generous.

There is no doubt that the Socialist government still has overwhelming support and sympathy among the workers. It is at the beginning of its term of office, and scepticism and doubt have not yet become a whittling away of support.

This backing of the government has also been secured by the participation of four ministers of the French Communist Party — given posts at the cost of Communist Party's abandonment of virtually all its criticisms of the Socialist Party.

Needs

But in the months to come the French workers will judge their new government not by the minor, if positive, reforms that have so far been brought in, but by the way which it faces up to the basic problems of the economy and the needs of the workers.

By retreating on the 35-hour week and price controls, and by stepping back from any major nationalisation policy, the government has avoided any early clash with the French bosses.

Ultimately the choice will precisely be either to administer French capitalism's crisis at the expense of the workers, or to start to challenge the power and prerogatives of private capital.

On the present evidence it seems unlikely that Mitterrand's government adopt the latter course.

Iranian students face death threat

CERTAIN death faces 54 Iranian students arrested after a peaceful occupation of the Iranian Consulate in London on 4 September if they are deported to Iran.

The students, supporters of the Mojahedin left wing guerillas in Iran, occupied as a peaceful protest against the killings being carried out by the Khomeini regime.

These killings aimed at the Mojahedin, but involving all left wing organisations, reached a new peak last weekend when the regime endorsed execution for all those who took part in armed demonstrations against the regime including those aged 12 or under.

Tehran radio on Sunday also announced that workers who went on strike were guilty of 'counter-revolutionary acts' another crime previously punishable by death.

Bail for the 54 students has been opposed by British police with the result that some have spent over two weeks in jail. Home Secretary William Whitelaw has so far refused to confirm assurances apparently given to MPs who have intervened on behalf of the students that they will not be deported.

Four Iranian students recently deported from West Germany were apparently executed on arrival at the airport by 'Revolutionary Guards' and supporters of the 54 students fear that similar fate will await any deported.

Concerned people in the Labour movement can give their immediate support to the 54 arrested by:

* Sending an appeal to the Home Secretary that any threat of deportation be lifted and the charges against the students dropped

* Circulating copies of a petition to this effect. Petitions and more information from: Iran Solidarity, BM Box 9270, London WC1 N3XX.

By Paul Lawson

World countries Mitterrand will adopt a more 'left' stance. The joint French-Mexican declaration that the FDR-FMLN forces in El Salvador represent an important section of the people of that country is typical of that stance.

Nuclear

But in other parts of the world, in particular on the Soviet Union and the Middle East the picture is different.

Mitterrand's foreign minister Claude Cheysson has denounced the British Labour Party for its anti-nuclear weapons and anti-EEC stance.

The new French Socialist government will be staunchly pro-Western and pro-Common Market. It will also be militantly pro-Israel. Neither will solidarity and sympathy with people of the third world mean that French troops will be withdrawn from Africa.



CP leaders Marchais and Fiterman

Bradford
12

'My mum has cancer... she hasn't got long to live'

TWELVE Asian youths in Bradford, members of the United Black Youth League, face life imprisonment. Charged with conspiring to damage lives and property they are all pleading not guilty.

The 11 July Action Committee is organising a campaign to defend them and get the charges dropped.

In their new bulletin 17 year old Anna Singh, sister of one of the arrested youths Giovanni, tells what happened to her and her family.

My mum was in hospital when Giovanni was arrested. She has cancer and has to keep going. She's there now.

When she came home a week later, Carmine told her about the arrest. Four police had barged in and arrested Giovanni. No one opened the door. They didn't knock. They just barged in. They searched his room. All his clothes were upside down, all over the floor. My mum was so upset, she was crying.

My mum went down to the police station and demanded to see her son. A policeman held her arm and told her to go away. They were all hassling her and asking why she wanted to see him at all.

Mum has had a lot of trouble with the police. My other brother, Carmine, was arrested during the 11 July disturbances. One of his white friends had also been arrested.

Mum went to see if this friend was alright. She asked and the police said, 'We only have black bastards here, no whites'.

Our family has had a lot of trouble with racists. Alfonso

(14), my younger brother, was with his nephew (aged 2) playing at the bottom of the street, where there were also six or seven Mods.

The Mods started picking on him, swearing and all that. All he thought about was getting Tony, my nephew, away from there. He ran back to the house where Carmine was having his tea. Alfonso was close to tears and really scared.

Carmine went down to see who these racists were, and they hit him with a helmet. He picked up a stick to protect himself and hit the helmet with it. He knocked it about a bit. That night, 20 Mods were outside our house.

They kept opening the letter box and shouting, through it, 'Get that black bastard out. He's going to die!'

My other brother told them to go away. My Mum was really ill and in bed. We didn't want to worry her. Giovanni told us to stay in the back room and he kept watch on the stairs in case they smashed the door or something, and hurt our Mum.

They carried on for 45 minutes and knocked the door



Picket of Home Office

about and left. They said, 'he is going to die! We'll be back!'

Two weeks later a policeman came around and said Carmine had to go down to the station for questioning about some disturbances.

A bit later he rang up and said, 'I have been arrested for kicking the helmet in', and the white Mod said that he had been assaulted by Carmine.

Alfonso gave a statement explaining what had happened. They kept him overnight and his case is going to come up in the near future. My Mum doesn't know. She thinks it's over.

Another incident that happened to me was when, on one of the pickets outside the Magistrates' Court, I was leafletting with another girl. A

lot of Asians and whites were taking them.

We saw a few white bus conductors, so we went up to give them the leaflets and there was a white man there. He said 'they all need hanging, they deserve it'.

I said, 'what do you mean, they need hanging? My brother is in there.'

He said 'piss off, you black sod and he hit me on my arm. He was big and stocky. He got hold of my neck and started squeezing. I could hardly breathe. The bus conductors just stood there.'

People from the picket then came up. Police came as well. I was really angry and holding on to him because I wanted him arrested for assaulting me.

One of the bus conductors told the man to get into the bus and wanted to shut the doors. The man went in. Because we were all shouting and saying something had to be done, a policeman got into the bus with him.

I went into the police station and a copper asked me if I wanted to make a complaint. I said, 'of course I do'. While I was waiting, the policeman pushed me hard on the back. The copper pushed me again.

I started crying. I didn't expect that in there. I said to him, 'you don't need to push me about'. He said, 'shut up, don't open your mouth until you are spoken to'. The copper tried to change my statement.

My mum still is in hospital;

she's very ill. They have said she hasn't long to live. She is worried about Giovanni. She says, 'go to see him, don't come to see me'.

Giovanni gets such bad migraines, he can hardly speak sometimes. My Mum wrote her will before Giovanni was arrested and she's left him as our guardian.

Join the campaign to free the Bradford 12

Support committees to win the freedom of the Bradford 12 have already been established in London, Leicester, Manchester, Luton, Huddersfield, Nottingham and Leeds. For further information, contact:

July 11th Action Committee c/o 2 Spring Bank Place, Bradford 8 tel 0274 661352; Leeds Support Group c/o 188 Roundbay Road, Leeds 8 tel Leeds 492484; Leicester Support Group c/o 70 Berners Road, tel Leicester 24875; London Support Group c/o 54 High Street Southall tel 01 571 4920;

Letters and telegrams of protest calling for the dropping of the charges and the immediate release of the 12 youth can be sent to the following:

The Director of Public Prosecution, 4-12 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1; The Attorney General, Rt Hon Sir Michael Havers, 6-b Wood Hayes Road, London SW19; The Home Secretary, Rt Hon William Whitelaw, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1; the Lord Chancellor, House of Lords, London SW1; The Chairman, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council Police Authority, County Hall, Wakefield, Yorkshire; Chief Constable Ronald Gregory, West Yorkshire Metropolitan Police Headquarters, Laburnum Road, Wakefield, Yorkshire; your local Member of Parliament.

National picket 1 October, Bradford City Court, coaches leave from London. Black People's Day of Action, 19 October in Bradford.

Photo: MICHAEL ANN MULLEN

Closed shop ignored

I THINK that what we say to people like M Daw in SC 211 whose awareness of their oppression is just beginning to take form is important and I take issue with your reply to her.

I could cite you several examples of the courts or the police acting to aid individual working people and so too could M Daw, which would make it all the more difficult for her to accept your totally correct point about the general role of the police and courts in defending the interests of the ruling class.

Obviously the role of the right wing media will have played a huge part in formulating the notion among many people that the police (armed forces) are a wonderful and neutral institution.

As socialists surely we see how crucial it will be to gain the support of large sections of the 'rank and file' of the police and armed forces if we are to be able to defend any real socialist gains we may democratically make?

The challenging question about the morality of the closed shop was ignored.

There are many far greater erosions of individual liberty perpetrated in the name of democracy and that national insurance contributions are also obligatory

but few people today would question their necessity.

Also gains made by trade unions affect all the workers in their particular industry and therefore everybody should be in the unions to contribute towards them.

Finally, as the reader implicitly touched upon the current strife in the Labour Party, there could well have been a few sentences on why it is crucial for socialists to support the campaign for Labour Party democracy and to support what people like Benn and Ken Livingstone are trying to achieve: to return a Labour government which will carry out a programme of socialism based upon Labour Party conference mandates — although we should make our reservations about the role of the Labour Party quite clear.

I feel very optimistic about the potential for a new mass Socialist movement in this country in the near future — I think more enthusiasm should have seeped into your reply!

SARAH VEALE
London

Letters letters Letters

Newcastle... never again By Atmah Singh

A STANDING ovation for Tony Benn and the Red Flag by more than 2,000 people was the enthusiastic start of one of the largest meetings ever held in the North east.

Tom Sawyer, the regional officer of the public employees union, NUPE, chaired the meeting organised by the North East Rank and File Mobilising Committee in Newcastle on 9 September.

He said that he hoped the meeting would be a watershed in Labour politics in the region. The last decade had

been a period of corruption and defections.

'Never again in the northern region will we select and elect people to misrepresent us and devalue our socialist principles as so many people in the past have done.'

He went on, 'We have learned our lesson and can become a campaigning democratic socialist party.'

MP Reg Race spoke on the need to unite the different parts of the labour movement in support of a socialist programme.

Only such mobilisation he said, could ensure the success of a socialist programme against the attacks by the capitalist press, the militarised police and army, and economic sabotage by the capitalists.

Questions were raised on Ireland and the hunger strike, withdrawal from NATO and a whole range of other questions.

The move away from labourism and the desire for socialism has never been felt so strongly in the north east.

Questions should be asked

HAVING read some of the articles about Denis Healey and Co. I feel inspired enough to add my little bit. Denis Healey receives £8,000 yearly from that Tory gutter newspaper the Daily Express for allowing them to use his name in their frequent attacks on the labour movement.

As well as being a friend of the Tory press and the international monetarists, he is also a vice chairperson of an organisation called the British Atlantic Committee.

The BAC has just published a document entitled 'Better than CND' and links a number of prominent Ministry of Defence figures.

Examples includes

Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington and Sir John Hackett, author of 'The Third World War' a book which envisages the west fighting and winning a limited European nuclear war.

The committee gives its address as the RUSI building next door to the Ministry of Defence in Whitehall.

Questions need to be asked about the anti-CND campaign especially at the Labour Party conference.

Just what are the connections between organisations like the BAC and Denis Healey, the Ministry of Defence and the Tory party?

Healey has already stated his intention not to participate in a Labour government that adopts the unilateralist stance, so that being the case, then why persist in standing for Deputy leader of the party?

A NUTHALL
Oldham

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

Send to Socialist Challenge c/o Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Anger — a great weapon

ROB Jones letter, SC 212, 'Anger is no substitute' called for less 'righteousness and unreasoned bias in favour of the working class.'

He thinks Socialist Challenge should report more 'starkly'.

But isn't this going too far down the road to 'balanced', 'impartial' even 'moderate' reporting, like the BBC or the Times?

Anger is one of the greatest weapons the working class and socialism have. The facts alone are not enough.

If people aren't just going to accept the facts as given, they must get these facts in such a way that they know they can do something about them.

John Reed, an American journalist in St Petersburg in 1917, wrote a book called 'Ten Days that Shook the World'.

It is absolutely brilliant journalism — precisely because it isn't just facts. Reed makes the October Revolution live, he makes the soviet members, the Bolsheviks and the conditions real, not just statistics.

If I want to know how bad the world is, I'll check it up in a government information bulletin or the Financial Times — not Socialist Challenge!

The great thing about socialist newspapers is that they're committed, like us — they know who the enemy is.

The Clash once said it — 'Anger can be power, Do you know that you can use it?'

OWEN TUDOR
Oxford

Socialist Challenge

Poland: A hungry people eats its government!

REVOLUTION — that's what is happening in Poland. The Polish workers are leading a thorough-going political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucrats who run this eleventh largest industrial country in the world. Their struggle deserves the full support of working people in this country.

As the second half of Solidarity's first national congress assembles, the ruling Polish Communist Party is keeping up a barrage of slanders against it. Solidarity is accused of being 'anti-socialist', even though the union movement has never called for a return to capitalism.

There is a very real danger in the next few days of a new initiative from the Polish bureaucrats and their masters from the Kremlin aimed at undermining the power and uni-

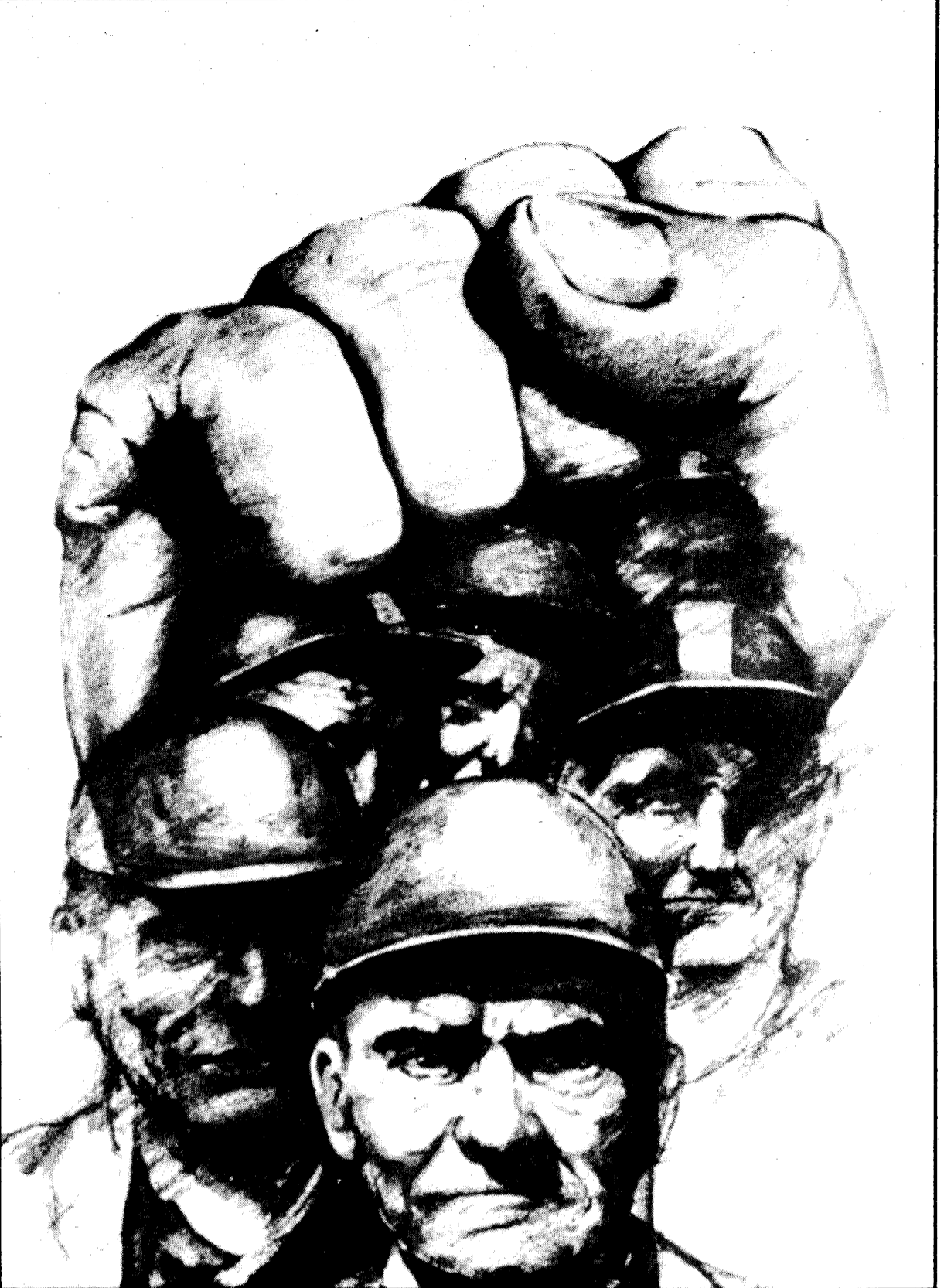
ty of Solidarity. The Soviet Union is considering starving the Polish people into submission by withholding vital goods and services. And the threat of military intervention is ever-present.

But the most dangerous suggestion under consideration by the Polish rulers is for a major government reshuffle. This would bring representatives from the Church and Solidarity into a military-led government

to introduce a state of emergency, repression against union militants and the outlawing of strikes.

Such a radical move may not appear in the Stalinist textbooks but it could be the last political card the bureaucrats have to play to hang on to their rule. It could dangerously divide Solidarity between its radical and moderate wings, and seriously compromise the hard-won independence of the Polish workers.

The achievements of the Polish workers in the last year have been immense. They have gained independent and democratic trade unions. They have established councils for workers' self-manage-



ment in 14,000 enterprises, the majority of the country's factories, and they have forced the government to drastically reduce its censorship of the media.

Increasingly they are challenging the right of a non-elected privileged bureaucracy to exercise its dictatorial rule in every sphere of Polish life. In

short they are beginning to counterpose real workers' power to the sham 'communism' of the Stalinists.

The Solidarity congress has already offered support to the workers of Eastern Europe in their struggle to form independent unions. It is high time that the labour movement in this country extended its

full support to the Polish workers.

The second half of the Solidarity congress this week will debate the union's programme. Central to this will be discussion over the economic crisis which continues to deteriorate.

It is estimated by the government itself that most Poles now spend an

average of four hours a day in queues for provisions, and the authorities have admitted an increase in malnutrition.

The Soviets and Polish bureaucrats will nervously watch the congress, remembering a popular Solidarity slogan:

'A hungry people eats its government.'

Socialist Challenge

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