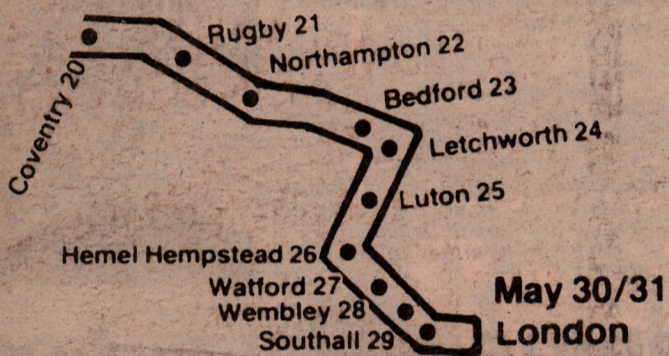


Socialist Challenge

NATIONAL JOBS DEMONSTRATION

LONDON 31 MAY
Assemble noon
Hyde Park

Greet the March



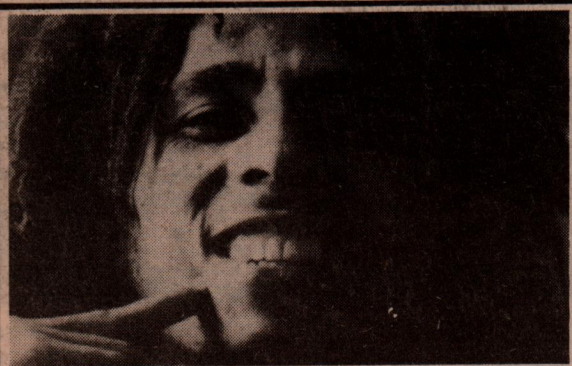
Peoples march

for jobs



SAVE ROVERS

*The inside story
by Pat Hickey,
Rover Solihull
deputy
convenor*



Tribute to Bob Marley 1945-1981

KICK OUT THE TORIES

Now Ireland is an issue

THE comments of Tony Benn on the Labour Party's policy on Ireland, reprinted on this page, mark a significant new departure in British party politics. Whatever the qualifications Benn made or the conditions he attached, the fact remains that he is the most prominent British politician so far to call for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

The significance of this development can be judged by the reports that Michael Foot is threatening to demand that Benn resigns from the shadow cabinet should he make any more comments on Ireland. Of all the political differences between Foot and Benn, it is Ireland which is, for Foot, the crunch issue.

That is not surprising. Whatever the differences between Labour and the Tories on wages policies, trade union rights, unemployment, or social reform, the two parties have traditionally stood together on matters outside the narrow confines of England, Scotland and Wales.

The bi-partisan approach to Ireland, which the Tories and Labour have followed since British troops were sent back on to the streets of the six counties nearly 12 years ago, is just one example of a unanimity of praise for the vast majority of Britain's many imperialist adventures.

Break

Tony Benn's words threaten to break that consensus. It is true he coupled his call for the withdrawal of British troops with a demand that they be replaced by a United Nations force. It is also the case that UN troops are usually used as no more than a cloak of respectability for Western intervention.

The classic example is Korea in the early 1950s, when - wearing the uniform of the UN - British, US, and other Western troops invaded that country.

There is also an obvious contradiction in Benn's correct view that 'the Irish people north and south must solve their own problems' while at the same time suggesting an uninvited intrusion into those 'problems' by an outside military force.

Nevertheless, although Benn remains vague about when British troops should be withdrawn, and for us that should be immediately, the significance of his remarks is substantial. This is especially true given the fact that they were made in the course of Benn's campaign to be deputy leader.

Already his opponent, Denis Healey, has attacked Benn for what he said on Ireland; already, therefore, Ireland is an issue in the campaign for the deputy leadership. It would be logical for Tony Benn to formally add British withdrawal from Ireland to his platform.

Whether he does or not, the Irish issue will no longer be avoided by those who have shied away from it for so long, and especially those within the Labour Party.

This year's Labour conference is due to discuss the report of the study group set up to formulate an Irish policy. All the signs are that the study will come out in favour of bi-partisanship and the Unionist cause. The campaign in the Labour Party and the unions to resist such a policy should now be stepped up in every area where socialists have any influence.

Debate

Tony Benn's statement represents a growing pressure inside the Labour Party to break the bi-partisan policy. Socialists have an unprecedented opportunity to engage wider sections of the labour movement in a debate over what will be the real and long-lasting solution to the situation in the six counties.

Socialist Challenge remains convinced that the immediate withdrawal of troops is the most practical and principled solution.

Benn would not have spoken out as he did without the clear indication from the voters of Fermanagh and South Tyrone that the campaign for the five demands of the prisoners, and their challenge to Britain's attempts to pretend that what is going on in the north of Ireland is a 'law and order' problem, represents the mass feeling of the nationalist population.

We encourage Tony Benn to speak out, but our admiration goes to the heroism of Bobby Sands, Frankie Hughes, the other hunger strikers, and the men in Long Kesh and the women in Armagh.

What Benn said on Ireland

TONY BENN made his controversial comments on Ireland in the course of an interview on BBC radio on Tuesday of last week. Benn said:

'Britain's military presence in Northern Ireland is a major part of the problem. We have got to find a way of allowing a solution to be found in Ireland itself.'

'I think the situation is such that British troops in Northern Ireland cannot solve the problem.'

'The time has come when we may have to ask the United Nations to set up an international commission, ask for a United Nations peace-keeping force in Northern Ireland, and when the UN peace-keeping force is established to withdraw British troops.'

'There is a very widespread feeling, which I share, that the present policy has reached a dead end; that the idea of maintaining a standing army in Northern Ireland to main-

tain law and order without a political initiative is failing, has failed, and is likely to fail.'

'The prison issue is much less important than trying to find a way of breaking the deadlock, and there is a big international dimension here.'

'Nobody thinks violence is going to solve the problem, nor frankly, will a standing army in Northern Ireland.'

'But when you have the Pope, the general secretary of the United Nations, Mrs Ghandi, and American Congressmen and the European Commission of Human Rights coming in, people in this country have now got a responsibility to seek a new initiative of a political character, and that is what a lot of people would like to see take place.'

'The real question is not about prison clothes. The question is: 'Can Britain maintain an army in Northern Ireland and hope to solve the problem.'

'There is a view, and I hold it

very strongly, that the partition of Ireland was a crime against the Irish people, and that the legitimate objective for this country is to bring about conditions where the Irish people can solve the problems themselves.'

'I think that we should set as a clear objective of British policy that the Irish people north and south must solve their own problems without violence and that there is a strong case for the trade unions in the north and south to try to get together to establish some new structure that would carry the strain once Britain withdrew.'

'But I am not ready with an easy solution.'

'Partition took place without the consent of the majority of the people of Ireland in 1920. It was imposed on Ireland by a British government. And the British government, in my view, has no long-term future in Ireland.'

'The problem has to be solved there.'



'Dump Concannon' campaign launched

By Tom Marlowe

The Labour Committee on Ireland has launched a 'Dump Concannon' campaign in the Labour Party, to have Don Concannon sacked as the party's spokesperson on Ireland.

The committee is also circulating a model resolution for submission to this year's party conference.

Anger at Concannon was first expressed forcibly after his visit to Bobby Sands.

Concannon, who marched into Sands' room in the H blocks unannounced, went with the sole purpose of telling the MP that as far as the Labour Party was concerned he could starve to death.

Distaste

Martin Flannery MP described Concannon's ghoulish mission as 'unimaginative, totally insensitive, and like sending a British tank to a Northern Irish funeral'.

The LCI is calling for resolutions from local labour parties in support of the sacking of Concannon. It has also called a demonstration in Mansfield, Concannon's constituency, on 27 June where Labour Party members and others can express their distaste for the current Irish policy of the Labour parliamentary leadership.

Lobby

A similar opportunity will be available on 27 May when the LCI is organising a lobby of Labour's national executive.

The model resolution for this year's conference reads: 'This conference notes the work of the NEC's Study Group on Northern Ireland over the



past 12 months in its efforts to formulate an independent Labour Party policy on Northern Ireland.

'Conference expresses its concern, however, that the documents produced to date by the study group do not reflect either the views of the Irish Labour and democratic movements, or the debates which have taken place inside the British labour movement.'

'Accordingly, conference rejects any policy recommendations from the study group which fails to base itself on the following points:

• Opposition to

bipartisanship with the Tories.

• Renunciation of the right of veto over British policy in Northern Ireland currently extended to the Unionist community.

• Support for the reunification of the 32 counties of Ireland.

• Commitment to a British political and military withdrawal from the six North-Eastern counties.'

The LCI has pointed out that this motion can be amended, and one obvious such amendment would raise the granting of the five demands of the political prisoners.

Socialist Challenge

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

Name.....

Address.....

Age.....

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

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

The brother of hunger-striker Ray McCreesh, speaking in Dublin



By Gerry Foley,
Dublin, Monday

THE British government continues to pursue a policy designed to provoke an explosion of desperation and rage in Ireland.

This was graphically illustrated last Friday, when the coffin carrying the body of hunger-striker Francis Hughes was commandeered by the police.

They refused to let it go through the streets of nationalist West Belfast, where a large crowd had gathered, waiting to pay its respects.

A statement from the Hughes family described their agony:

'A large force of RUC followed the hearse from the hospital. Minutes later the RUC forcibly stopped the hearse. The RUC tried to pull out the driver. Francis's father was assaulted by the police, as were other members of the family.'

'We then proceeded once more. Within a few minutes we were stoned by a Loyalist mob who had gathered in a housing estate into which we were led by the RUC. The RUC made no effort to protect us.'

'At the Randalstown slipway the RUC again halted the hearse... and refused the family permission to accompany it...'

'We, the parents, brothers and sisters of Francis Hughes, murdered by the British government, wish to protest in the strongest possible way at the manner in which Francis's body was hijacked by the RUC, who were obviously acting on the orders of their political masters.'

Throughout the North, the nationalist people saw the desperation of the mother and sisters of Francis Hughes, and they will not soon forget it.

Even moderate Catholic politicians are saying that the RUC will never be tolerated in Catholic neighbourhoods.

Hero

By the time Hughes' coffin finally arrived at this family home in south Derry county a huge crowd of mourners had assembled. More than 20,000 strong, it was the largest funeral ever held in this rural nationalist area.

The crowd left no doubt that Francis Hughes was a hero. As a reporter from the *Irish Times* wrote:

'When three masked gunmen stepped out from the crowd and raised their rifles, the cheers must almost have reached the army helicopters swooping low overhead.'

The British government has always claimed that Francis Hughes was a 'murderer'. In fact, he was convicted of killing a member of the Special Air Services in a gun battle which he fought against a whole squad of this terrorist counter-insurgency commando unit.

In the fighting he wore a military uniform. He was gravely wounded, manag-

ed to escape but lay under bushes, hiding, for three days, nearly bleeding to death.

As for his adversary, the SAS, in the year following the gun battle in which Hughes was wounded they murdered at least a dozen Catholics, including a 16-year-old youth who was incautious enough to see if an arms cache he had found and reported had been taken away.

Even unwary duck-hunters found themselves stalked and killed by this military murder squad.

Unlike the SAS, Francis Hughes did not kill for money or for a sense of power over fellow human beings, but to strike back

against oppression. He joined the IRA as a youth, after being dragged from a car and systematically beaten up by the police — an experience suffered by many ordinary Catholics.

Finally, crippled and imprisoned under brutal and humiliating conditions, Hughes slowly starved to death to defend his honour and that of the people for whom he fought.

As for the Hughes family, they are calm, intelligent, dignified, with a sense of humour.

I could see this riding in a car a few weeks ago with one of the Hughes sisters, watching the way she talked herself through

a police cordon that had blocked the road, leading to her home.

I could see it watching her mother serve tea to a large crowd when her son was already approaching death.

Monster

The entire Irish people could see it when Oliver Hughes described his brother's suffering when he had only a few hours to live: *'We are sad, but we are proud that we have a son and brother who is prepared to give his life for his country.'*

The government continues to reject every attempt by the most respect-

able Irish politicians to negotiate even a purely verbal concession that would throw a veil over the arrogance of the British authorities.

Pleas from both John Hume, leader of the SDLP, and Cardinal O'Fiaich have been rejected by a sanctimonious Thatcher in the past week.

This is a small neighbourly country where hundreds of people know the hunger-strikers and their families. They knew what Bobby Sands meant when, in an essay smuggled out of prison he wrote:

'I fought a monster today, and what's more I defeated a monster's ar-

my... The monster is shrewd, it plays with me, it humiliates and tortures me.'

'I'm like a mouse in comparison to this giant. But when I repel the torture it inflicts upon me, I feel ten-feet tall...'

'When I resist it doesn't understand. You see it doesn't even try and comprehend why I resist. "Why don't you give in to me", it says.'

'"Give in to us," the monster's army jibes. My body wants to say "Yes"... I am beaten, you have beaten me," but my spirit says "No... I refuse to be beaten."

'This angers the monster. It goes mad. It

brutalises me to the point of death...

'My body is broken and cold, I'm lonely and I need comfort. Somewhere afar I hear familiar voices which keep me going. "We are with you son, we are with you, don't let them defeat you."

'I need to hear those voices. They anger the monster, it retreats, the voices scare the devil. I know if they shout louder they will scare the monster away and my suffering will be ended.'

Freedom

Sands' mother sat with him before he died. Her last words to him were, 'You have finally got the freedom you fought for'.

This is the human victory of the hunger-strikers and their families; one that the smug British bourgeois British prime minister continues to deride and decry. Is it any wonder that this country is seething with anger?

Sands' death was followed by the growth of sporadic violent protests. This has momentarily frightened sections of the population and disorientated the movement. The leaders of the H Block campaign understand this problem and are trying to overcome it.

In particular, the Republican leaders in the campaign seem to be coming to a clear comprehension of the need to put pressure on the established political leaders in order to open the way to uniting the Irish people against British imperialism.

There have been some riots in Dublin's city centre. The immediate result was that subsequent demonstrations were smaller and made up almost entirely of young males.

This has enabled the pro-imperialists to go on the offensive, to claim that the H Block campaign is promoting violence. But the continued shift of public opinion against the British government indicates that this setback will only be temporary.

In Derry, a major outburst of anger among the youth now seems inevitable. I arrived there a few hours after Hughes died. After a short vigil every youth in sight attacked the police.

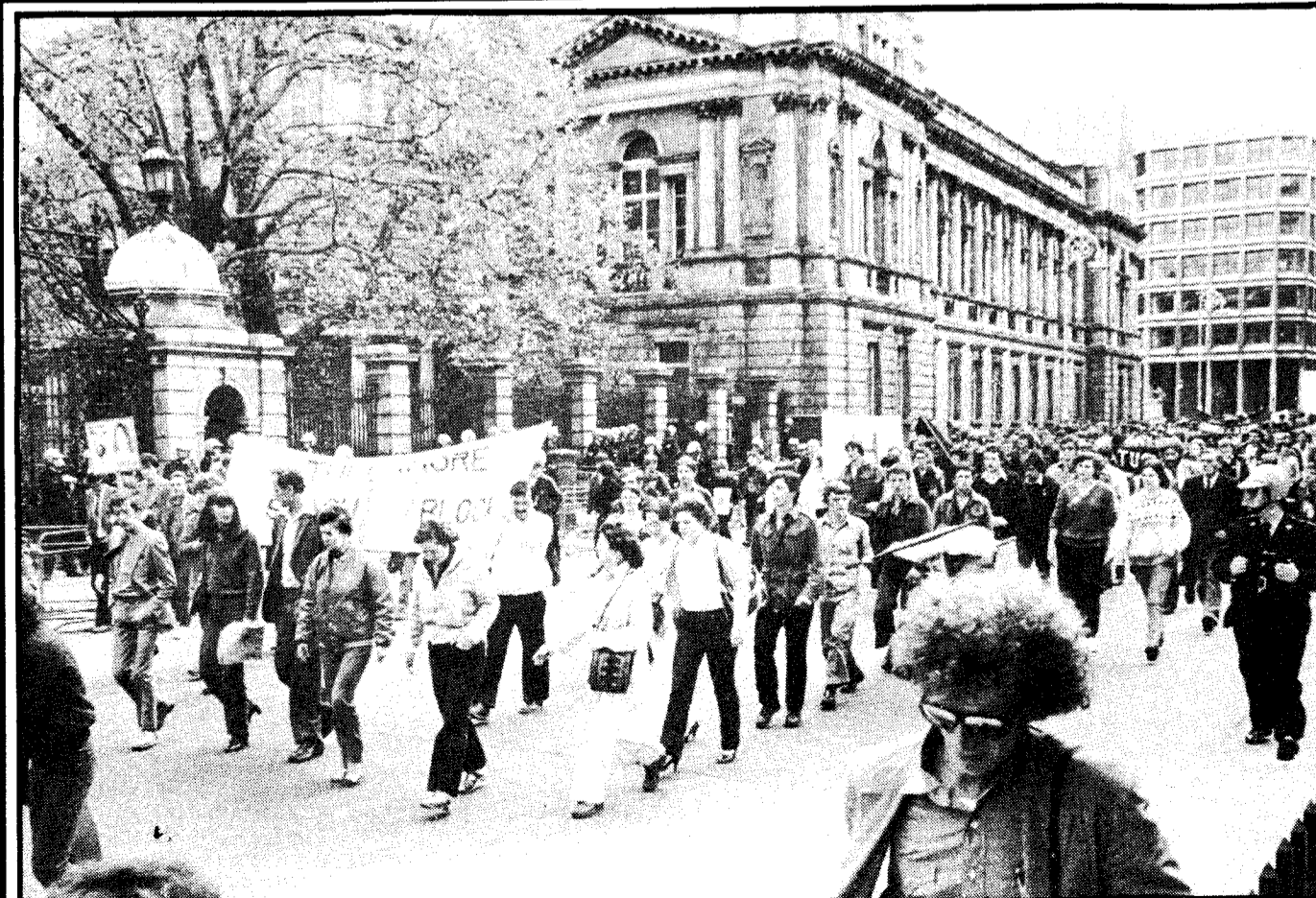
Deadly

They waged a bitter and deadly fight. Large numbers of petrol bombs, blast bombs and nail bombs were thrown, and there was shooting. Last week, three young people in Derry were killed.

If Patsy O'Hara dies this week, as he is expected to, it will almost certainly be a signal for an eruption of the whole of Ireland.

What is needed is to prevent outbreaks of desperation is an acceleration of active international support which will make clear to the young people of this country that Thatcher cannot get away with her defiance of truth and human values; that the people of Britain and the world have the same sense of justice and humanity as they do.

And that they will join the protests of the people of Ireland if they are given the time, and shown the way.



Dublin demonstration in support of the prisoners

Labour Party

Post Office engineers back Benn

POST office engineers hold their national conference at the beginning of June. Like other unions affiliated to the Labour Party their conference will be dominated by Benn's candidacy for deputy leader of the Labour Party.

Socialist Challenge spoke to GINGER KELLY, vice chairperson of south central external branch of the POEU, and chair of the area council of post office unions.

My POEU branch has put a proposition to the conference which reads: 'This conference instructs the union's Labour

Party delegates to vote for Tony Benn at the Labour Party conference.'

We put the resolution because many of us are sick at the way things have been going at conference in recent years. We felt that Tony Benn reflects the mood of the rank and file trade union movement and of our branch.

Tony Benn's candidacy may well divide the party but we feel that this open challenge to the leadership is the only way that the issues will be fairly discussed.

Of course the present leaders of our union will be totally against the election of Benn, and firmly behind Healey. I say the present leaders of the union because if more Broad Left candidates are elected on to the national executive we may well see a change.

I've attended union conference over the last ten years as a delegate or observer and very little time has been spent on political matters. That adequately reflected opinions at the time, but now things have changed.

The working class, and that includes the POEU membership, are becoming more political and obviously debates will become more intensified as a result.

The media have made a lot of criticism about democracy and the bloc vote. That's because democracy threatens the capitalist press and the type of society we live in.

I'm in favour of the election of the leader taking place completely outside the framework of the parliamentary Labour Party, and held within the ranks of the ordinary rank and file Labour Party members, including the trade union members.

We have a very active Broad Left in London and we'll be pushing for other branches to support this proposition at conference. I believe it's fundamentally important that conference gives an instruction of that sort to the union's delegates to the Labour Party conference.



*As we went to press we heard that the south central external branch proposition on Benn had been omitted from the conference propositions published by the union.

The union leaders claim it arrived after the deadline. The branch secretary claims he delivered it by hand two days before the deadline, and so the branch are appealing against the omission from conference agenda.

Benn campaign strengthens Labour left

By Davy Jones

THERE'S nothing like an election to force discussion of politics. Opponents of Tony Benn claimed that his candidacy would concentrate Labour Party discussion on 'personalities'. The reverse has happened. Every Labour Party and union has discussed what policies they want the deputy Labour leader to implement.

That's why Michael Foot has reacted with such fury against Benn's recent speeches calling for British withdrawal from Ireland.

His dissident voice threatens to make Ireland an issue inside the labour movement upsetting the fragile bipartisan agreement.

Benn's critics claimed that the internal party disputes on democracy would damage Labour's electoral chances. That argument too is in tatters after Labour's landslide successes in the local elections.

Revenge

Some labour movement 'lefts' claimed that Benn standing for deputy would weaken the left's fight for democracy in the Labour party. Again the reverse has occurred.

After the Wembley conference Michael Foot and the right wing confidently boasted of overturning the 40-30-30 electoral college formula at the October Labour conference. Now that hope is fading fast.

The shopworkers' union (USDAW) unexpectedly voted to defend the formula and now the transport workers and the miners seem likely to follow suit. To date the only union to back Foot's preferred 50-25-25 option is APEX.

Amazingly this right wing union voted in the same resolution for the manifesto to be drawn up by the national executive rather than the parliamentary Labour leaders. As a result there may well now be a slim majority inside



Tony Benn at last November's unemployment march in Liverpool

the Labour Party for the left's position on the manifesto at the next conference.

Neither have the votes for Benn at the union conference been negligible. His candidature received more than 30 per cent of the vote at the APEX conference and over 20 per cent at USDAW. Both unions were expected to overwhelmingly oppose

him. The pattern of union decisions on the deputy leader is now becoming clear. Those led by the right wing are unashamedly swinging their bloc vote behind Healey. Those led by the left, under pressure from the media campaign about 'union leaders in smoke-filled rooms', are seeking 'more democratic' methods.

BENN

TONY FOR

DEPUTY

OUT NOW!

Tony Benn for Deputy badge. Fastest selling badge in the Labour Party - get yours from Islington Research Group, c/o PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. 20p each (plus 11½p postage) - bulk rates available.

Alan Fisher's proposal which was adopted by the NUPE conference was for branch ballots to determine the deputy leadership. A 1000 word manifesto from each candidate will be circulated to the members but no decision has yet been taken on the form of local ballot.

John Suddaby, secretary of Camden NUPE and chairperson of London NUPE divisional council, told Socialist Challenge: 'In Camden we will organise a mass members' meeting to discuss which candidate to support and I hope that the London division will organise a public debate with the different candidates.'

Secret

Such forms of mass democracy and collective branch discussions can only aid the process of democratising the unions and the Labour Party. But any proposals that union branch ballots should take the form of secret ballots should be firmly resisted.

Without such collective discussion within the union individual members are left in secret ballots to the slander campaigns of the establishment press. And the one thing that's certain in the Labour leadership election is that not one of the mass circulation dailies will be backing Benn!



Clive Jenkins got a rude shock as ASTMS conference backed Benn

ASTMS backs Benn

By Mark Turnbull

THE ASTMS national conference last weekend voted by 14,684 to 14,034 to back Benn for deputy leader of the Labour Party.

Fifteen emergency motions were submitted, most supporting Benn.

But the ASTMS national executive did everything in its power to avoid being clearly mandated by the conference on the issue.

The original executive motion called for support for the present leadership - ie. Foot and Healey. But they soon withdrew this when they sensed the tremendous hostility to the IMF's darling boy Healey.

This was made clear by the size of the fringe meeting with Tony Benn organised by the number 5 divisional council. More than 500 people attended and gave Benn a standing ovation after a hard-hitting speech against the Tories and the ruling class.

The national executive therefore submitted a new motion calling for divisional council discussions to 'advise' the ASTMS delegates to Labour Party conference. This piece of 'fake' democracy was

posed was narrowly defeated and the resolution to back Benn was passed.

Two hours later the executive was defeated again when conference voted for withdrawal from NATO, for opposition to Cruise and Trident missiles and for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

On a card vote this pro-

Labour Party School

Sat/Sun 23/24 May

Day 1

Formation of LP & developments to 1945/ Election of 1945 Labour govt and rise & decline of Bevanism

Day 2

Rise of new LP left & Bennism/ Tasks for socialists in LP now

Workshops

History of LP women's sections/ 1931 LP split/ Labour League of Youth in 1930s/ LPYS in 50s & 60s

School open to Socialist Challenge supporters. Admission by ticket only. Price £2.50 for both days or £2 single day. Limited places available so apply urgently to local Socialist Challenge organiser. All applications must enclose payment, cheques to 'The Week'.



Stop the missiles

What next against the bans?

By Toni Gorton

THE Appeal Court has refused to overturn the month-long blanket ban on marches in the London area imposed by the police.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament tried to get the bans declared illegal, but it ran into the brick wall of judicial prejudice and solidarity with Tory class interests.

Sir David McNea, on behalf of the Metropolitan Police, argued that near the end of April there was clear evidence of a highly volatile 'tinder box' situation throughout the area (786 square miles) and that a month's respite from all marches in London was necessary to prevent serious public disorder.

In his affidavit, McNea pointed to the 'serious disorders' in Brixton which had resulted in 23 buildings being destroyed, 154 police officers being injured, 157 police vehicles damaged and 58 members of the public injured.

Mr Justice Comyn said that all processions were 'potentially provocative'. They attracted undesirable elements who wanted to disrupt them. Extremists would go to any area to cause disorder.

Lord Justice Ackner said that in the last five

years there had been a great increase in violence and in these times some of our rights might have to be restricted.

In his opinion there might be a good case to amend the provisions of the Public Order Act, 1936, when it was reviewed by the government.

Lord Denning felt the ban was well justified to preserve the peace of the city.

The attitude of the courts is clear. They not only defend the wide interpretation of the law held by the Tories and police, but they would support changes in the legislation which would further restrict public rights of protest and assembly.

Whatever pretence they make of defending peaceful processions, like those of CND, from 'extremist' elements like the National Front, it just won't wash.

CND cannot continue to declare its 'unhappiness' with the situation. It's life or death for the labour movement and CND. The groundwork is being laid for the government to assume greater powers to outlaw political protest.

Those movements that choose to defy the law will find a more militarised police opposing them and vast confusion in the working class unless we take up the question now.

Unless we clarify the labour movement on the issues we will lose one of the biggest democratic rights we possess. In addition, many organisations which as yet lack mass support will become frustrated with the bans and get smashed up in trying to defy them.

The Labour Party, the TUC and CND must show the way. We must prepare for a big campaign to change the balance of forces in support of the right to protest.

This means a clear call to oppose all bans and to mobilise the masses of people in the streets against the bans.



CND
JOBS NOT BOMBS

SAT. 6th and SUN. 7th JUNE
FASLANE TO GLASGOW
RALLY & CONCERT

- TRIDENT OUT
- CRUISE OUT
- NO NEUTRON BOMB
- NATO OUT
- NUCLEAR FREE EUROPE

See over for details



CND prepares for massive October demonstration

By Toni Gorton

CAMPAIGN for Nuclear Disarmament organisers plan a huge turnout for the national demonstration in London on 24 October.

Arrangements are not yet finalised, but they consider that Trafalgar Square would not be big enough as the final rallying point, and they look to fill Hyde Park with the hundreds of thousands expected.

The demonstration and rally will be the

culmination of a week of conferences, seminars and activities on the theme of Steps to Survival.

Among the proposals for discussion are alternatives to the arms industry following on the Lucas Aerospace project — a trade union conference is scheduled for

this; local government and civil defence; and alternative defence strategies.

In the next few months many local festivals meetings and demonstrations will be taking place.

Youth

One that will be especially important for young campaigners will be the Glastonbury CND Festival to be held on

19-21 June. There will be theatre and bands, including *Aswad*, *Deicide & Fall*, and *Hawkwind*.

Speakers include Bruce Kent, general secretary of CND, and EP Thompson, author of *Protest and Survive*.

Scottish CND is now able to hold its march from Faslane to Glasgow and activists should arrange contingents to support this march.

National Demonstration 6-7 June

March for the CND future

London → Clydeside → Glasgow

See overleaf for itinerary

- For a nuclear-free Europe
- Jobs not bombs
- Stop Trident
- No Cruise missiles

Published by
CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT
11 GOODWIN STREET LONDON N4 TELEPHONE 01 263 4954

August 1945 — Japan Tomorrow — Britain?

THE IMAGES of nuclear war are strikingly brought home in the popular little handbook *No Nuclear Weapons* produced by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The photo-montages by Peter Kennard which catch the imagination and strike horror in the soul are complimented by the texts of Ric Sissons which lay out some of the facts of the drive to nuclear war.

No Nuclear Weapons by Peter Kennard and Ric Sissons. Pluto Press/Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, £1.



The other half

World military expenditure is more than double that spent on world health. For the price of two American Trident nuclear submarines, primary schools and teacher training facilities could be provided for half the population of the third world which lacks minimum levels (as per UNESCO standards) of education.

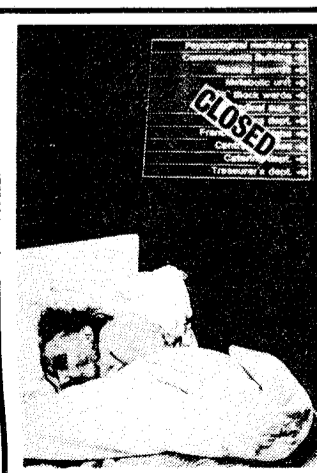
Britain and NATO

There are more than 100 American NATO bases in Britain. Trident and Poseidon submarines at Holy Loch on the Clyde, F1-11 bombers at Upper Heyford, Phantom F4 fighter bombers at Alconbury, Bentwaters, Lakenheath and Woodbridge. All carry nuclear weapons.



Accidents will happen

Nuclear war or devastation could be caused accidentally. The American government admits that since 1945 there have been 36 serious accidents involving nuclear weapons. Independent estimates put the number at well over 100.



A sense of priorities

Britain spends more money each year on defence than on health. For the price of 385 Tornados the government could build more than 320,000 new homes.

If the bomb drops

The British government has produced a pamphlet, *Protect and Survive*, giving you advice. When nuclear war threatens, a free copy will be distributed to every household.



August: 1945

On 6 and 9 August 1945, over 200,000 people died when the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hundreds of thousands of others were maimed, died prematurely or were born deformed.

The real choice

You do have another option. Campaign against nuclear weapons. Oppose the siting of Cruise missiles in Britain. Demand that the government cancel Trident, scrap Polaris and all other nuclear weapons. Get Britain out of NATO and close the American bases. Say No to nuclear weapons.

Join the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. They can be contacted at: 11 Goodwin Street, London N4. Telephone 01-263 4954

Coventry— a long hot summer?



The funeral of Satnam Singh Gill

it and to 'put pressure on the police to deal decisively with racist and fascist provokers of the violence', black youth have no faith in the police.

They are not prepared to wait until the labour movement or their elders back them. Their presence in the Precinct on a Saturday is symbolic of their stance.

Self-defence

They are Coventry kids as much as anyone else.

They are not prepared to wait, although they would welcome support. Black self-defence is the only answer. We must campaign for their right to defend themselves against racist violence.

The demonstration this Saturday is an expression of the anger felt by black people and anti-racists at the death of Satnam Singh Gill and the increasing number of racially motivated attacks in Coventry and other cities. It is also a show of determination by black youth that they will fight back.

But we should also take it as a warning — unless there is a concerted campaign to stamp out racism, Coventry will be in for a long, hot summer of race rioting.

By Anna Reese

'It used to be okay to be with coloureds at school. But when they get on the streets it is totally different. This is a white man's city. They have no right to be here,' said Brad, a 16-year-old unemployed skinhead, to the *Coventry Evening Telegraph*.

'Pakis' are his sworn enemy and he explains the significance of bootlaces among racist skins in Coventry.

'Red laces means you're NF, yellow you're anti-Paki League, and white you're British Movement.'

Brad and his mates are among the white skinheads who — encouraged by the

propaganda of the NF and the BM — have been attempting to enforce no-go areas for blacks in Coventry Precinct.

This is the frightening aspect of recent events in Coventry. Why Coventry? Is it an exception or is it the beginning of a new phase of racism in Britain?

Coventry was the boom town of the '60s and

many blacks, Irish and East Europeans came to the city where work was plentiful.

The landscape has changed dramatically. The boom town of the '50s and '60s is becoming the graveyard of the '80s. Thousands of jobs have been destroyed in the last couple of years — the car and the machine tool industry are at the centre of the industrial collapse.

Young people have no prospect of a job; predictions of the unemployment rate among school leavers rise to 80 per cent.

Against this back-

ground an increasing number of racist attacks have taken place. Fascists are capitalising on the frustrations and anger felt by white unemployed youth and point the finger to black people — as in the 1930s scapegoats are found.

Unity

'It's the niggers and the Pakis...send them back and there would be no problem and them Kam-puchean boat people and all,' says Brad.

These ideas are having

a wide impact among unemployed white kids who want to vent their frustrations and despair at not having a job, money or anything to do.

This is what makes Coventry different. In Brixton, Southall and Bristol there had been unity in action of the youth against the oppressive role of police in their community. At no stage in Coventry in the last three months has that unity existed.

Racist feelings, never far below the surface of British society, are exploding with a vengeance.

Racist youth vent their bitterness on black people.

But black youth have shown that they will no longer tolerate racist abuse or racist violence. They will fight!

Mass street violence is a distinct possibility. Black youth organising around the slogans 'We are Coventry kids — No no-go areas and black self-defence' have been attempting to defend their community and teach racists and fascists a lesson.

Despite appeals by the establishment and the Communist Party to cool

1-5-13

By Adrian Shaw

One man walked a Southall street, minutes later, lay at the feet of a helmeted, shielded man in blue. Inquest held, but the coroner said, not murder.

Five men held an embassy fast, minutes later, killed in the blast of firearms held by men in black. Inquest held, but the coroner said, not murder.

Thirteen went to a party game, minutes later, went up in flame of incendiary thrown by persons unknown.

Inquest held, but the coroner said, not murder.

Deptford families call for new inquest

AT a meeting two hours after the jury in the Deptford fire inquest reached an open verdict the parents of all 13 victims decided to call for a new inquest.

They also plan an international inquiry into the cause of the fire, the handling of the police investigation and the inquest and press treatment of the affair.

Lawyers, scientists and lay people from the Caribbean, North America, Africa and Britain will be asked to form this commission.

Donations to help the families are still needed. Send them to New Cross Massacre Action Committee, 74 Shakespeare Road, London SE24. Tel 01-737 2268.

Demonstrate for
Cynthia and Nasira

6 June
Manchester

Assemble 12.30 at the corner of Princess Rd and Moss Lane East, Moss Side. For coaches from London phone Satnam 01-485 6672

'Brixton may look like a tea-party...'

A message from young West Indians to the lord mayor and citizens of Coventry

WE ARE a group of black young people living in Coventry. Many of us were born here, some of us came here at an early age and all have had our formal education in this country...

We are always seen as problems; by your

If anyone wishes to conduct a meaningful survey of our situation, he or she will find that perhaps more than 80 per cent of us are unemployed and have no prospect of employment whatsoever.

We are judged only by the colour of our skin, not by the strength of our character.

We are accorded little respect, either as citizens or as residents of this country.

All the indications are that we are not wanted in this country. A colour bar is operated at all the entertainment centres in this city.

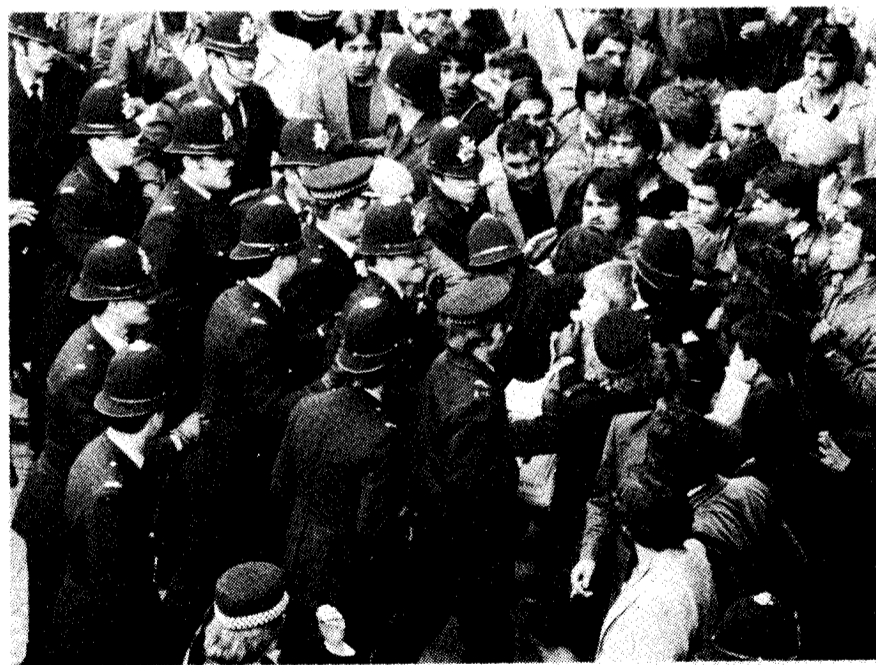
Dress

Most clubs in the city will not admit us or will only admit two or three in order to get around the race relations laws. It doesn't matter how well you do or do not dress.

The people from the housing department push us around and when they feel like it they offer us houses which are unfit for even pigs to live in.

Police

We do realise that as a matter of priority we must equip ourselves with occupational skills so that we can present a positive self-image to our children, to our parents, and to society. However, of all the problems we face, the greatest is without doubt the police.



In the Precinct on 2 May

The harassment we suffer at their hands are unimaginable and perhaps may not be fully understood if you are white, particularly if you are a magistrate. Words like 'f...ing black bastards' 'jungle bunny', 'niggers', 'my father didn't fight the war for black bastards like you,' 'Why you black c...nt don't you go back to the fucking jungle where you come from' and so on...

One of our brothers, who was under age, was kept in the cell for a very long time. When he asked 'How are my parents going to know I am here', he was

social workers, by your probation officers, by your teachers, by your housing officials, by the careers department, by your social security departments and last but by no means least by the police.

The stark realities of our daily life are based on racism prejudice and discrimination.

We do sympathise with our Asian brothers and sisters. We kept ourselves at a distance in this matter because we did not want to influence the situation and hope that by keeping a low profile the skinheads would not interfere with us; but in the light of what happened last evening we want to give this message loud and clear.

This is a message to the lord mayor, to the city councillors, to the white community of this city and particularly to the skinheads and other white racist thugs who think they can attack us and get away with it.

We as black young people of Coventry are peaceful law-abiding people. The white community has nothing to fear from us. We don't beat up old ladies or go around smashing things. We don't interfere with the police, skinheads or racist thugs. But we reserve the right to walk the streets of this city unmolested and we feel every citizen has the right, be s/he black or white.

Anyone, we repeat, anyone, who attacks us will be attacked in return with every means at our disposal.

So skinheads and racists beware; leave us alone and we will leave you alone; but if you attack any of our brothers or sisters again then we declare war. If you want this city to remain peaceful then the message is clear leave us alone.

We hope everyone takes this message seriously, because we are dead serious. If you don't and the attacks on our brethren continue, then Brixton might look like a tea-party to what will happen in Coventry.

told by the officer that he will send the message on the 'jungle drums'...

The police deliberately provoke us, sometimes make false arrests, and harass us everywhere we go. When you go to court the magistrate always believes the police evidence against ours...

It is as though we have now reached the point of no return and the incident which took place in the Burgess last night 6 May 1981, convinced us that the police are our real enemies. The skinheads first hit one of our brothers, yet after the fight the police only ar-

rested the blacks.

The name of our black brother who was beaten up was given to the police by a responsible member of our community yet no action was taken. One of our sisters was indecently assaulted by four skinheads. When she went to the police station she was mocked and asked whether she was 'on the game'.

The whole thing was treated as a big joke. She was questioned by three male police officers and asked to lift her dress up. It was only when she kicked up a fuss that they sent for a female police officer...

ALL PHOTOS: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)



WEDNESDAY: The march leaves Stafford at 9.30am for Cannock. Halfway to Cannock a hundred miners come out of the pits to greet the march.

That evening Sherean and I are billeted with a local Labour councillor who claims to be the only socialist estate agent in the country.

He's very keen on getting Sherean and I away from the pub early and he expresses the view that what worries him most about unemployment is young people like Sherean, who is 17, not ever learning what work discipline is like. Sherean keeps her eyes firmly on the television set.

THURSDAY: we march from Cannock to Wolverhampton. Asian workers, women workers, workers in overalls line the streets clapping us as we pass their factories. It's a sunny day and the band at the front gives it a carnival atmosphere.

The march has a broad appeal because it is brightly coloured, young and enthusiastic. The rally, following a rather painful church service, underlines this enthusiasm.

Merl Haywood argues that 'the women of this country, who are among the weakest and therefore hardest hit sector of the population, should be in the forefront in London on 31 May. Enough is enough.'

Red Robbo echoes this theme: 'It's time we got rid of the likes of Edwardes. We need maximum unity to give a clear message to Thatcher. Get out now.' Tony Benn, the speaker everyone is waiting for, receives a standing ovation as soon as he starts to speak.

'An injury to one is an injury to all,' he says, explaining why people should oppose unemployment. 'If all men and women are brothers and sisters then they have an equal right to govern the country in which they live!'

Referring to the rebels of the past — Wat Tyler, John Ball, the Hedgerow Priest — Benn explains the socialist philosophy behind early peasant rebellions: 'All things will not come right in England', John Ball said, 'until all property is held in common.' John Ball was hung, drawn, and quartered for his views then. Now they do it in the Sun and the Daily Mail.

Benn argues: 'What the French communists and socialists have done in France in electing Francois Mitterand, the English people would do when they got rid of the Tory government. Bellows the Quaker, Robert Owen who formed the first national trade union, the Chartists and the suffragettes all argued that men and women should be treated equally and not discarded by those who own the wealth when they are not making enough of a profit.'



Valerie and Sherean on the road

He concludes: 'The march has done more than many political leaders to bring the reality of unemployment home to the British people, and I wish you every success.' The Spinners play us out singing The Family of Man, and We Shall Overcome. The atmosphere is electric after such a successful day.

The People's March is becoming an exhilarating experience.

FRIDAY: the march sets off at 9.15am with the clergy up front again. Outside Bilston steel works a small coffin is carried containing one of the last pieces of steel to be made in the works, a symbol of the 24,000 jobs lost there.

The bishops at the front are causing some discontent. There is a lack of people speaking on platforms who are actually fighting for their jobs.

SATURDAY: the people's marchers drown out Brian Mathers of the transport union and demand an Ansell striker on the platform.

What we want is jobs...

By Andy Buchanan

ON MANY occasions last week, the eastern leg of the People's march from Sheffield to Nottingham took the form of a triumphal procession of working class solidarity.

The size of the reception varied from town to town, but everywhere the warmth of the welcome was the same. In Chesterfield, 3,000 local people joined the march.

In the mining village of Hucknall, marchers were billeted with local people. Their warmth and generosity made for many emotional farewells the next day.

Aim

So far the march has achieved its stated aim of stirring the conscience of the 'people'. But it has already done more than that. It has given vent to all the pent-up hatred the working class feels for this Tory government.

But instead of going on from this to offer some practical steps workers should take in the fight against unemployment, the Communist Party — the main organisers of the march — has fought to keep 'politics' off the march.

One little incident sums it up. As we were marching into Nottingham, an elderly woman on the pavement shouted: 'When you get

down there, kick the bastards out!'

The marchers cheered back. But one added: 'Quick, call a steward. She's breaking march discipline!' A joke, but not a funny one.

Throughout the march the stewards had been attempting to stop the marchers raising anti-Tory slogans. The back-up truck kept blasting out Radio One to drown any chanting. Anti-Tory stickers and badges were forcibly removed.

Chant

At one point we were informed that it was okay to chant 'Maggie Out' — a non-political chant, we were told — but that 'Tories Out' was banned.

Despite promises of regular march meetings and our efforts to initiate them, there has been no democracy on the march,



no open debate, no election of stewards. Some sections of the march have inevitably become a little demoralised and cynical.

While the march has achieved a magnificent response in all the areas it has passed through, the full potential for mobilising workers behind it in the fight against unemployment and the Tory government has barely been scratched.

Many union banners have lined up behind the march as it entered the towns. NUM branches have been conspicuous, as have a host of others — AUEW, UCATT, CPSA. But mostly the banners have only been followed by small groups of union officials.

There has been no consistent attempts to get large contingents of union members marching by calling for strike action as the march passes through.

In many cases, the organisers hadn't even made an attempt to contact workers who had already decided to come out to greet the march. We simply walked by, waving. There was no discussion, no political contact.

Route

In a Nottingham pub after the day's march we talked to Roy, a local textile worker. He explained that the march had generated enormous interest among his workmates. They had eventually decided to take an hour off work to meet us.

Unfortunately, although they were massed at their factory gate only a couple of hundred yards from the route of the march, they didn't receive a single leaflet explaining what was happening.

Interest turned into confusion and cynicism. This has been the story on far too many occasions.

DIARY OF A JOBS MARCHER

By Valerie Coultas

SATURDAY 9 MAY: we stay in the worst accommodation yet, a disused factory in Congelton, Cheshire, with no washing facilities. The Tories once again show their 'sympathy' for the unemployed by denying us town hall facilities.

SUNDAY: after a fractious start, because two members of the march have been threatened with expulsion for unsocial behaviour, we move off for Kidsgrove.

We're taken to the pithead baths at Walstanton by miner Keith Lockett. It's probably a bit of a shock for the miners coming up from the pit to see females waiting to shower, but everyone is very friendly.

In the evening I get a shock when entering the Kidsgrove working men's club there's a large sign above the snooker table announcing that ladies are not allowed to play.

A polite discussion takes place between Mark, Phil, one of the miners, and me, in which we are told that 'tradition is tradition', rules are there to be obeyed and that women can't play snooker because 'they don't work night shift'. Tempers are restrained but I'm not allowed to play.

MONDAY: we march to Stoke, where the rector makes a demagogic speech: 'Does social security make up for the insecurity felt by the foreman or fitter made redundant for the first time in his life?'

The sun is shining as we march down the Meir Road. Loads of people come out of the factories to greet us, and the march swells in size.

The third democratic assembly takes place in the afternoon. Barry Williams, the chief marshal, had tried to expel two SWP members from the march for unsocial behaviour. The 'democratic assembly' had previously decided that no one should be expelled without the marchers agreeing to this.

The stewards recommended the reinstatement of the two marchers and the SWP successfully press for the disciplinary decisions to be transferred to the stewards rather than the democratic assembly. Nerves are strained.

TUESDAY: the march goes from Stoke to Stafford — once again we are greeted by the clergy. Having been assigned by Albert to drive the mini-bus I go off to visit Rists, Belstaff's and Silverdale, and Hem Heath collieries. Through John Deason, the SWP has tended to dominate the delegation up to now. At lunchtime I'm invited to give up the van key to the SWP. I politely refuse.

In the afternoon we visit Walstanton colliery where two of the marchers speak and urge miners to come out on 31 May for the national demonstration in London.

Did the march fall down a hole?

THE Central London branch of the print union SOGAT may take action over the lack of reporting of the People's March by the national press.

If by the time it arrives in London at the end of next week the coverage is no better, George Willoughby, who is a full-time official, will consider calling action to secure the right of reply or to halt newspaper distribution.

To judge by the national papers, the march disappeared down a hole on leaving Liverpool.

London itinerary

Thursday 28 May, noon, Brent Black People's March for Jobs. Assembles Stonebridge Play fields, joins the main march at 2pm at Wembley trading estate. 3pm rally with Benn at Brent town hall, Forty Lane.

Friday 29 May. Set off 9.30am arrive Southall town hall at 2pm and community centre 2.30pm.

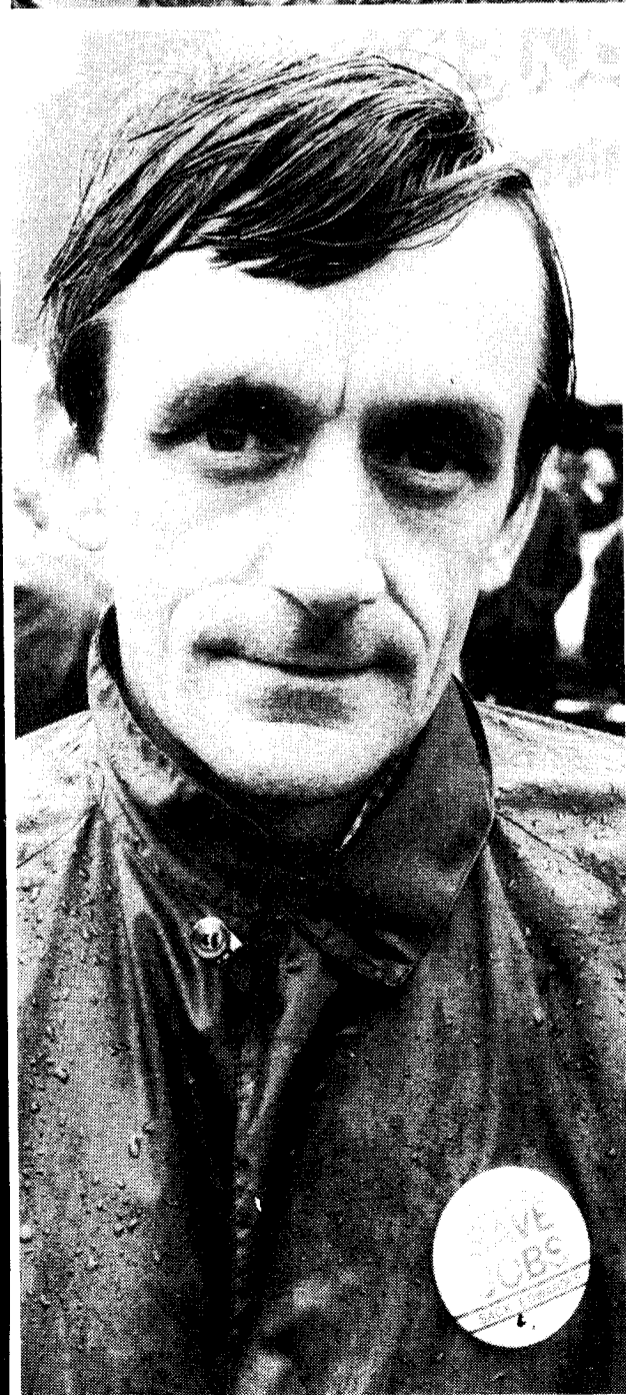
Saturday 30 May, 2pm-7pm, Carnival against unemployment at Brockwell Park (Brixton tube or Herne Hill BR). With Pete Townsend and The Who, and The Clash.

Sunday 31 May, demonstrate for jobs. Hyde Park Corner noon.

Peoples march

MAY 21
LIVERPOOL-LONDON

for jobs



BL deputy convenor's diary of resistance

BL has announced the closure of the SD1 plant at Solihull. Last week a mass meeting decided to 'resist the closure by all means necessary.'

PAT HICKEY, deputy convenor at SD1 Rovers, Solihull, tells Socialist Challenge how that decision was reached, what the mood is in the plants, and what needs to be done now.

Monday 11 May. There's been speculation for weeks about the future of the SD1. Now we know that the company will make an announcement tomorrow.

Rumours are rife: SD1 production is to be increased; the Jaguar is coming to SD1; we will be building the metro overflow; the plant's being bought by BMW, the Japanese and so on.

Tuesday. The announcement will be at 2.30pm. The morning is like sitting in a condemned cell, not knowing whether you will be reprieved or hanged. People are tense, nervous. 2.30pm. Manual and

staff unions assemble in the conference room. The personnel manager, who has a degree in zoology, reads from a prepared statement: '...shift to smaller vehicles... strong pound... budget... accelerate cost production... Metro doing well.'

Then the crunch. 'We have decided to stop car assembly at SD1 and transfer production to Cowley by April '82. An exciting new Rover will be launched in the spring of next year.'

He carries on: 'Regrettable, painful but necessary, ensure survival' — heard that before.

Ford's disciplinary code

By Mick Drake, Ford Dagenham

TEN THOUSAND body and assembly plant workers at Ford Halewood are on indefinite strike against the company's two-shift lay-off 'disciplinary code'.

In response Ford is laying off many more workers at Dagenham and Southampton, and it is threatening to shut down the whole of its British operations — the most profitable Ford plants in the world.

The trouble started on the night shift on 6 May when four men in the Halewood body plant underbody area were disciplined for refusing to accept new timings on their jobs — timings that even Ford's industrial engineers could not justify.

When the men's department voted to stop work in support, Ford suspended the whole plant and later the assembly

plant for two shifts. The company then withdrew the discipline on the four, admitting it was wrong in the first place.

Rather than meekly accept suspension, the body, assembly and truck fleet night-shift struck. On Monday of last week a mass meeting of a further 6,000 day-shift workers voted overwhelmingly to join them on indefinite strike until the disciplinary code is revoked.

Halewood has been at the sharp end of the company's stick ever since the new Escort was introduced last August. The workers are experiencing what all Ford workers can expect in the wake of the massive efficiency programme announced by the company on 24 April.

Cuts

This calls for drastic cuts in manning on the lines; line workers to do minor repairs to their own tooling; an end to demarcation among skilled workers, and the introduction of 'quality circles' — meaning production workers doing their own inspection and eliminating quality control inspectors.

BL: SAVE

BL plants under the hammer

By Pat Hickey

Since the last Labour government gave BL a saviour in the shape of Michael Edwards, more than 56,000 jobs at Britain's biggest car firm have been destroyed.

The Speke assembly shop, the Triumph plant at Canley, the MG plant at Abingdon and most of the Castle Bromwich plant have been axed. In the remaining plants work rates have doubled and trebled, trade union rights have been trampled on, and shop stewards victimised.

The latest 'survival plan', announced last week, means 6,000 jobs to be axed immediately and up to 10,000 more in the next 18 months. The Wellingborough foundry, the Cardiff parts division, and the SD1 plant at Solihull are to close. Many other plants will be affected.

There can now be no doubt that the whole of BL is liable to be chopped. By 1984 BL will still not be viable in capitalist terms, but if the cuts continue it will be ripe for closure and hiving off.

The company's policy can only mean plants competing with each other. Resisting the closure



Although we expected it, it is still a shock. Reaction is bitter and angry.

Meanwhile the news is given to the shopfloor in a printed statement so as not to stop production! Along with this we are given the redundancy terms. An additional 12 weeks' pay plus one week for each year's service.

The extra money is conditional on co-operation with the run down of the plant.

A shop stewards meeting is called for 8.30am tomorrow.

Wednesday, 7.30am The plant committee meets. How are we going to fight? There are as many different opinions as there are individuals.

Some are for basing ourselves on the efficiency of the SD1 and arguing for the Jaguar production to be transferred to Solihull. Others want to look for a buyer. Some are for im-

port controls.

I argue for attacking the Edwards plan. But any resistance depends on Solihull, as the largest plant affected. We will have to occupy sooner rather than later and use that to involve the other plants.

We must go to a mass meeting, but with what resolution? There is general agreement that the mood must be built up. Action now is not out

Lode has to go

All this is part of Ford's so-called 'After Japan' programme — imaginatively codenamed 'AJ' — and it means the chopping of 29,000 jobs over the next four years, 40 per cent of Ford's total shopfloor and office workforce.

Those who remain are expected to be the kind of slave labour force that the Tories want throughout 'rationalised', 'efficient' British industry, with a reserve army of several million unemployed helping them to keep in line.

So far there has been a deafening silence from national trade union officials on the Halewood strike, although an emergency national meeting with the company was taking place earlier this week.

Yet Ford is so scared of the Halewood dispute spreading that no effort is being made to use the disciplinary code elsewhere while the strike is on.

Lead

National union officials and senior stewards should be cutting across Ford's divide and rule tactics by explaining that all Ford workers are now engaged in a major trial of strength: not just over the disciplinary code, but over the whole 'AJ' programme it is designed to force through.

We have the power to stop Ford's plans — let's use it.

Boycott Lee Jeans

The women at Lee Jeans are stepping up the campaign to save their jobs. At a mass meeting last Friday, dockers and miners came to discuss the campaign.

The jeans come from Ireland through Liverpool, Hull and Stranrath docks and dockers will be asked not to handle them. VF Corporation also own the Berkshire label, jumpers and so on and Blaxnit, socks and tights, which will also be boycotted.

As Caroline from the occupation said, 'So far the occupation's only been hitting us, now we've got to make it hit them.'

The transport firms which the company use are Ferry Master, Anglo Overseas and Dukes transport and workers in these firms will also be asked to cooperate.

To back this up the workers would like to see a consumer boycott. What's needed is a mass of material — posters, stickers and leaflets to take the boycott into the high street as well as into the docks.

The boycott campaign is the most effective way to make the action bite and to publicise the case of the Lee Jeans workers the world over.

Messages of support and donations can be sent to the Treasurer, Lee Jeans shop stewards committee, 45 Brougham St, Greenock, Scotland.

'We had no option but to take over'

By Pete Clifford

THE placards outside Laurence Scott, the Manchester engineering works occupied against closure, describe employer Arthur Snipe as the 'JR of Doncaster'.

Last week he acted true to form by suspending the two senior managers and taking sole responsibility for the dispute.

Snipe is a contributor to the Tory Party — he donated £5,000 in 1979. As senior steward Tom Clare puts it, Snipe represents 'the hard face of Toryism'.

In an area where an engineering factory closes

every week, the 650 workers at Laurence Scott have said No. Tom Clare says: 'We're here to keep a factory open, to keep jobs in the area.'

'We will remain here till we get that. Snipe says we've closed the factory by taking action, yet he gave us notice of the factory closing and refused to discuss alternatives.'

'We had no option but to take over.'

A large proportion of Laurence Scott's work is producing motors for the coal industry. The parent company, Mining Supplies of Doncaster, is one of those numerous firms, like GEC, which parasitically exist off nationalised industries.

Workers at the Nor-

wich plant of Laurence Scott have agreed not to touch Manchester's work. 'Now we're actively seeking support from the miners,' Tom Clare says.

The dispute has been endorsed by the executive of the engineering union, and the workers are now hoping to win support throughout the country.

Last weekend contingents from Laurence Scott and Royal Pride, where there is a strike, led a demonstration in Manchester backing industrial action to save jobs and win union rights.

Messages of support and donations to: G Fryer, Laurence Scott Workers' Appeal, 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire.

JOBS, SACK EDWARDS

Summer

The SD1 means fighting Ed-

Transport and Engineering officials made the usual best noise when the closures were announced, but they show signs of organising any

stance. Grenville Hawley, national secretary of the Transport and Engineering group, has been bothered to come to the plant, still less to convene a meeting of the affected plants. As the campaign is stepped up now, the cuts will go



Birmingham greets the People's March

People's March for Jobs.'

We have the best attended shop stewards meeting for a year but it is quiet and subdued. The convenor introduces and asks for estimates of the reaction of the members. His introduction covers all possible arguments for saving the plant, from our efficiency to humanitarianism.

The reaction from the shop stewards is mixed. Bring the Jaguar here ... Tell Datsun they don't need to build a new plant ... Get Solihull council to reduce the rates ...

We argue for militant struggle, occupation, and a fight against the Edwardes plan. Fear of losing redundancy pay is raised. We reply that we must ignore these threats — if we hold the plant the company will have to talk to us.

JUNE GREENLEY and SHEILA CASEY are both in the transport union and have worked at SD1 plant for four years. June is in the minor rectification section and Sheila works on the Trimline track: 'We got leaflets telling us about the closure on Tuesday. We were completely shocked. Since the third line shut down around last Christmas, we have taken on all the extra work. We've had hardly any time for even decent tea breaks. We're supposed to be the most efficient plant in Leyland. This is the thanks we get for it. The stewards and officials are seeing MPs and councillors and we're backing them all the way.'

The assessment is that the shopfloor is not ready for an all out — or all in! — fight. The resolution is an 'enabling' one allowing us to open the campaign. We agree to recommend the two resolutions to the mass meeting at 11.30.

It is also agreed to pro-

duce a bulletin and a badge with 'Save Jobs, Sack Edwards' as the slogan. Shop stewards leave the meeting heartened by the discussion.

11.30am. The mass meeting assembles. From going around the plant organising the meeting it is



clear that the majority of the members have little faith in a successful fight. They are concerned not to lose the extra redundancy money.

I chair the meeting. Mick Clarke, the convenor, presents the resolution. Swayed by the assessment of the mood of the shopfloor he bends the stick toward a 'political' campaign. But he does say that we may need to physically prevent the company moving equipment.

One speaker against, pointing to Speke, Canley, and Abingdon and saying we should ask for £4,000 redundancy. I reply. There are two other speakers for the motions. Both are carried overwhelmingly. A reconvened shop stewards meeting is pleased with the result. We had expected the vote to be 50-50.

Then Grenville Hawley, national secretary of

the TGWU automotive group, cancels the Monday meeting, so there is no lobby.

Thursday, 8.30am A shop stewards meeting agrees to cancel the day of action. Instead a delegation is to be sent to the People's march, consisting of shop stewards and members, and £1 a head is to be raised to finance the campaign.

Along with the works committee, five shop stewards are elected to form a broader committee to organise the campaign.

Badge

Friday: The badges arrive and are given away to those who have paid the £1; others pay for the badge. The fightback is developing, partly because the shop stewards are providing a perspective, and because the reality of the

dole queue is sinking in.

We meet the TGWU district secretary, Sam Robinson. He has seen all this before. The ball is back in our court. We've got to nail Hawley.

In the afternoon we meet Gordon Morgan, leader of the Labour group on the West Midlands county council, and his cabinet. Promises of support, but no clear line of march. They avoid the question of confronting the Edwardes plan.

Saturday. In the afternoon we meet Labour MPs Geoff Rooker, Sheila Wright, Julian Silberman, John Lever, and Terry Davis. They reject any idea of confronting the Edwardes plan. They say we must argue a 'parochial' case for saving the SD1.

They will see BL on Tuesday but they are only going through the motions.

We must get the plant committee clear on opposition to the Edwardes plan. We must also organise a meeting of all affected plants. But everything depends on the SD1 taking action.

Messages of support to Shop stewards rooms, SD1, Lode Lane Solihull.

UNEMPLOYMENT:

A 35 HOUR WEEK NOW!

BY PAT HICKEY

20p

UNEMPLOYMENT: a 35 hour week now! New Socialist Challenge pamphlet by Pat Hickey. Only 20p. Order from Birmingham's Other Bookshop, 137 Digbeth, Birmingham B5 6DR.

1930's - How US workers fought back



Local 574 strikers place a memorial wreath outside strike headquarters for pickets murdered by police

by Mike Barr, AUEW and Hayes LPYS
 THE UNITED STATES in the 1930s was wracked by the depression. In 1933 unemployment reached nearly 18 millions and the bosses launched a policy of wage cutting to preserve their profits.

But US workers couldn't afford to lie back and suffer. The 1930s saw a huge labour upsurge, culminating in the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organisations in 1938.

Many strikes stand out as a proud record as workers fought to unionise mass production industries like steel and cars. Some of the major battles were fought in Minneapolis by the Teamsters (transport workers).

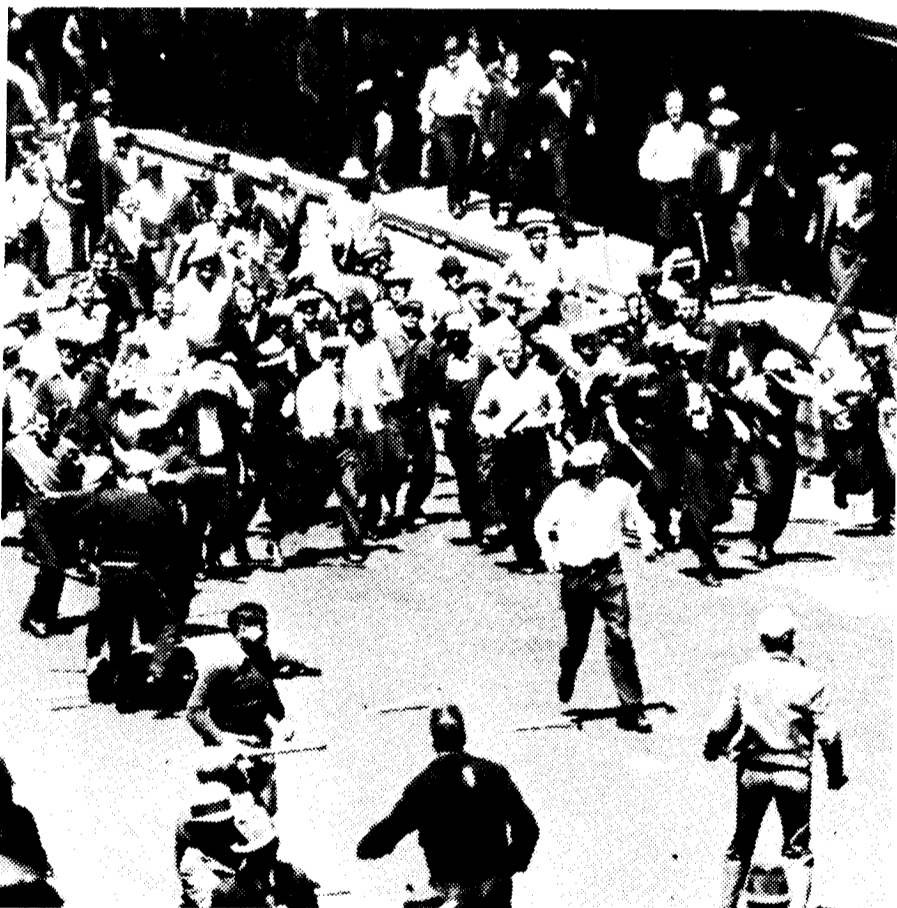
In 1933, there was only one union movement in Minneapolis. By the end of 1934, it had become a town, due to the organisation campaign led by Minneapolis Trotskyists through the strikers' local (branch).

Won

In February 1934 the truck drivers went on strike and won union recognition. From this modest organising drive a campaign was launched. By the end of August nearly all the large-scale trucking industry was organised. The campaign saw two massive strikes, two workers shot by the police, with the entire local labour movement actively involved.

From here local 574 went on to bigger battles. 'No action' became a byword for militant action and was actively involved in organising truck drivers in the states. The movement was to represent a broad, fighting alternative to the leadership of the Teamsters: a class-struggle strategy.

Looking back, it's amazing how often the Minneapolis Teamsters paved the way for later movements. One of the things they pioneered was the flying picket, which became common in struggles to organise the car industry. It's a tactic that we use today in Britain, with the miners and more



Heavy fighting between Teamster pickets and the police in 1936

recently the steel-strikers.

Another first was the daily strike bulletin. Again it's something that many militants think of today when they're on strike.

Other tactics were developed by the Teamsters. These included the creation of a Women's Auxiliary to involve the wives and girl-friends of strikers. Another was an unemployed workers section of the branch.

All this was possible because the leadership of the organising drive and the strike was in firm hands. Through the struggles the Trotskyists of the Communist League of America had become the union leadership.

The advantages of such a revolutionary leadership

were apparent when it came to dealing with the complex problems they faced.

For example the State Governor, Olson, was a Farmer-Labourite, like a Labour Party politician in Britain. He was elected by the working class and poor farmers to serve them. But big business was his master.

Polls

This put him in a quandary when the Teamsters went on strike. With one eye on the polls, he couldn't afford to upset the workers. But he had no intention of supporting their struggle.

He declared martial law in an attempt to push through a strike settle-

ment, but the strike leaders understood his double role. Several times he was either forced to put his name down in support of their aims or back away from attempted attacks on the strike.

The Trotskyist leadership also paid close attention to union democracy and actively involving the whole union membership in their struggles.

What occurred in Minneapolis was also happening all over the US. A new generation of young workers, many of whom were unskilled, were fighting for union recognition and to maintain their living standards.

Their battles and ex-

periences led to the formation of the CIO which was a major departure from the traditional craft unionism. At times the workers' upsurge threatened the unions' traditional class collaboration. But the union bureaucrats succeeded in turning it back.

Lead

But the Minneapolis Teamsters were special. The old leadership was replaced by a Trotskyist leadership.

This wasn't done by chasing after posts in the union. Nor by setting up a party dominated union front.

Neither of these mistaken tactics appeared in the arsenal of the Minneapolis Trotskyists. They were able to lead the union through massive struggles, drawing out the lessons for the union ranks.

Today quite closely parallels the years of the depression. The Tory government and the bosses are on the attack. But there's also a resistance movement. The steel strike and the miners showed it. Lee Jeans today and the support for Benn and Scargill in their election campaigns show it.

Chance

Union leaders are under a lot of pressure to come up with the goods as the AUEW decision to go for a massive wage claim shows.

Just as in the 1930s there's a lot of movement in the unions, especially the industrial unions. There's a door open for revolutionary socialists for this movement. We need to accept the chance and fight to build a new fighting left wing: a class-struggle left wing.

Socialist Challenge is part of that fight. However, like the Minneapolis Teamsters, we need to draw the lessons of our fight. The Industrial Workers Conference that Socialist Challenge is hosting will be a step towards this. Whatever you do, you can't afford to miss it.

Fund Drive '81 marches on

'SOCIALIST Challenge has been a great help in getting out news about our occupation. The more people that read it the better!' That was the comment from Ellen Monaghan, senior shop steward at Lee Jeans, about our paper.

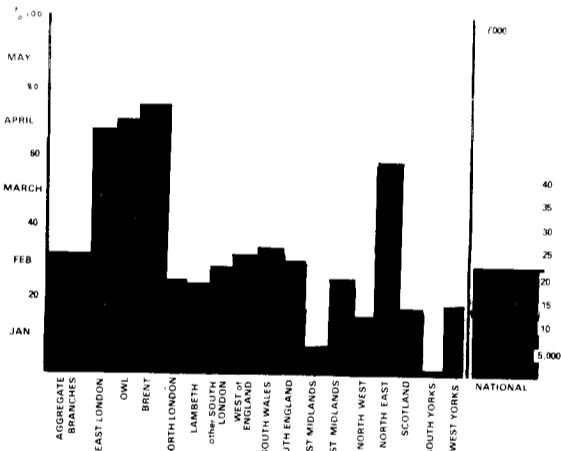
Socialist Challenge supporters have played a central role in organising successful tours for the Lee Jeans occupiers in South Wales, London and elsewhere.

Our supporters have also been marching on the People's March for Jobs as it heads for London on 31 May, to bring you on-the-spot coverage of the fight against unemployment.

But to organise all these activities costs money. Last month our local supporters sent us £9039.12, including an anonymous donation of £7,500. Three London areas — Brent, Outer West and East London — are now within a few hundred pounds of reaching their target.

Now's the time to pull out all the stops. The fight against the Tories is stepping up every day. We urgently need cash to bring you your fighting socialist paper. Rush it to us now and help us smash Thatcher and her friends for good!

Our thanks this week to:	
Glasgow	£5.00
Oxford	5.00
Bristol	7.81
Newport	33.00
Southwark	29.00
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Brighton	11.06
Standing orders	115.50
C Gardner	2.50
Andy Robinson	0.50
JF McDonagh	3.00
MB	20.00
Cathy Tooley	3.00
Harry	2.00
Ed Mahood	10.00
J Smith	18.00
Andrew Laing	24.00
Paul Bellis	10.00
Anon	7500.00
Total	£9039.12
Grand total	£28,496.15



Socialist Challenge/Revolution conference

The fight for socialist policies in industry

June 27/28

Entry by ticket only from: PO Box 50, London N1

Books about the Teamsters

Teamster Rebellion, Teamster Power, Teamster Politics and Teamster Bureaucracy — all by Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the Minneapolis Teamsters and US Trotskyists

All these can be obtained from: The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1.

Women's Rights

Abortion, contraception, and sterilisation

United States and China go for womb control

By Joan Twelves

GOVERNMENTS around the world are seeking to impose their control over women's wombs.

Attacks on women's rights to determine their own fertility, together with the worldwide resistance to such measures, were the subject of a day of action on abortion, contraception, and sterilisation in several countries last weekend.

In London 400 people met to hear reports, and for an evening's entertainment to raise funds for the National Abortion Campaign.

In the first session, speakers from developed countries — Ireland, Holland, Spain, and the United States — described attacks on abortion rights.

Marge Berer explained what is happening in the US, where the gains of the early 1970s — when the Supreme Court ruled that women had a constitutional right to abortion — have been under fire ever since.

War

The threat to women, she said, has 'escalated beyond belief' in the last few years. 'It is clear that there is a war going on in the United States.'

'A war,' she added, 'which is being waged against women having control over their bodies and sexuality. Women are reacting against feminist ideas, and they are organising against them.'

This was shown by the growth of the Moral Majority and the National Right to Life Convention, which had helped Reagan — a confirmed anti-abortionist — to power.

During the presidential election, pro-abortion politicians were the target of smear campaigns.

Humanity

Anti-abortionists in the United States now want to amend the constitution, with a 'human life' clause, which would confer humanity on the foetus from the moment of conception. This could make devices such as the coil illegal.

It is anticipated that this legislation will be enacted.

Marge Berer gave the example of California, where since last January doctors are required to report any indication of sexual activity by single women under 18.

She concluded by saying that women in Holland, Ireland, Spain, and the United States are asking for international solidarity.

The other session of speakers dealt with the Third World. Ginny Cook, who had recently returned from China, explained the new population policy there.

Penalties

It is based on a one-child family and is being implemented through incentives and penalties. Those who commit themselves to having only one child receive a cash bonus, additional living space, and other incentives.

If their commitment weakens and they have more than one child, the benefits have to be returned. They also have to pay for the education and health provision of their children.

This policy is resulting in an increase in infanticide of girl children — there are still pressures to have boys.

Liberation

Contraceptive and abortion, Ginny Cook said, are still freely available on demand in China, but this is because of government regulations based on economic need, not on women's rights. They are therefore subject to withdrawal with changes in government policy.

A representative from the women's section of the African National Congress spoke on the position in South Africa. 'We don't see our priority to be in the area of abortion or con-



These Chinese women will be well rewarded by their workers' state if they have one child — and penalised if they have more. The bureaucratic leadership has little time for women's rights

traception,' she explained, 'because in the society we are trying to achieve these rights will be embodied in the constitution.'

'We see our immediate task to be in the struggle for national liberation.'

She called for support from the International Contraception, Abortion, and Sterilisation Campaign for their struggle. A speaker from SWAPO, the liberation movement in Namibia, made a similar appeal.

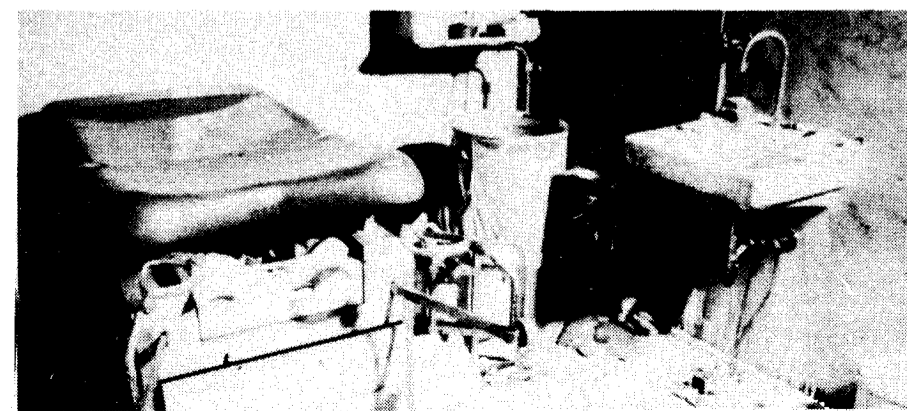
Along with speakers from Latin America, she emphasised the way in which women were being used as guinea pigs for testing contraception

methods before they are introduced in the West, sometimes with dire results.

Methods such as Depo-Provera, which are considered unsafe in the West, are widely used in the Third World.

After these international attacks on women's rights were discussed, we settled down to an evening's entertainment by Steel 'n' Skin, the Chilean group Mayapi, Mary Duffly from Ireland, Isabel from Spain, and African Dawn.

For further information contact ICASC, 374 Grays Inn Rd, London WC1.



An indication of what the right in the USA thinks of women's rights. This concerned women's clinic in Cleveland was destroyed by a fire-bomb



A young wedding... Some 150,000 marriages in Britain will end in divorce this year, and Tories want to put an end to that

Divorce 1980s style

Everybody's doing it!

By Yvonne Taylor

ENGLAND and Wales now have the highest divorce rate of any West European country.

And while it's true that many divorcees are keen to have another go, it's estimated that 40 per cent of second marriages end up the same way.

'The enormous increase in the rate of divorce amounts to a social revolution which affects the whole of society,' says a report just published by the Society of Conservative Lawyers.

Easier

Social revolution was definitely the last thing on parliament's mind when it agreed to the 1969 Divorce Reform Act.

'Divorce became far easier than parliament had intended or realised when passing that Act and such safeguards as were provided were provided by the courts,' claims the report.

The argument will strike a familiar note with all those who have been involved in the long — and so far successful fight — to preserve the gains of the 1967 Abortion Act.

We've been hearing a similar version from the anti-abortionists in relation to the liberalisation of the abortion law for years.

Make no mistake, the aims of the Tory lawyers are on a par with those of anti-abortionist groups like SPUC and Life.

According to these lawyers, it's time to call a halt. They want parliament to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate marriage, divorce and the family.

From their report, it's clear that they wish to abolish divorce by consent and re-introduce a requirement to establish 'some important objective fact not created by consent' in order to obtain a divorce.

Why should the Society of Conservative Lawyers be so concerned to strengthen and preserve marriage?

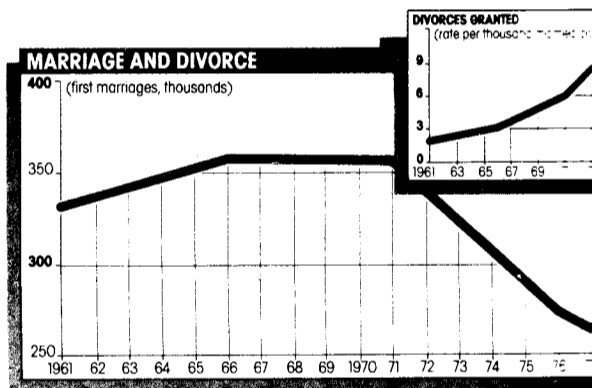
It's because, as they spell out in their report, the family as a social unit

— or more accurately, as feminists have explained, the women in the family unit — can be relied upon to perform many services which otherwise must be provided and paid for by the state.

The lawyers estimate these services currently cost more than a billion pounds a year.

why socialists are a hundred per cent behind each of them, however inadequate!

For women in particular, the reforms of the late '60s, as well as the Equal Pay Act which was won in 1970, reflected real advances and provided a



The family unit is not only cheaper, it's also more efficient at reproducing properly moulded members of the community.

Whatever the problems of nuclear family life, most people — even divorcees — see it as a haven and a comfort. Socialisation by the cold hand of the state machine will always be less acceptable and less effective.

More and more, reactionaries are arguing that the liberalising laws of the late '60s — on abortion, divorce, homosexuality, prostitution, hanging — were a huge miscalculation.

Flood

Instead of merely relaxing the harsh penalties meted out to social 'misfits' — which was all that the laws intended to achieve — they opened the floodgates to many thousands of 'ordinary' people who turned out to be as keen as the 'deviants' to get abortions and divorces and form homosexual relationships!

The Tory lawyers have begun to realise what every socialist knows. Liberal reforming laws don't just reflect changes in popular attitudes and aspirations, they help to encourage them! That's one reason

basis from which women have fought against the assumption that their place was at home.

Home

Now that the labour shortage of the '60s has been replaced by chronic unemployment, Tory ministers are clear about the need to return women to the home, and we can expect to see them prepared to consider seriously any measures which would help to tie women once more to traditional ideas of family life.

But they can be in no doubt about the sort of reception any proposals to tighten up the divorce law would receive.

The massive support to defend the 1967 Abortion Act achieved by the National Abortion Campaign would be rallied once more, and at a time when support for the government is at its lowest ebb.

Support

The women's movement has gained a lot of experience and much support since the late sixties. One thing is certain, that however the Tories weigh up the pros and cons of tightening up the divorce laws, the women's movement will loom large in their calculations.

Where you can buy Socialist Challenge

Scotland

ABERDEEN: SC available at Boomtown books, King St. For more info ring Bill 896 284.
DUNDEE: SC available from Dundee City Square outside Boots, every Thursday 4-5.30pm, Friday 4-5.30pm, Saturday 11-4pm.
EDINBURGH: SC sales every Thursday 4.15-5.15pm Bus Station, St. Andrew's Square and bottom of Waverly steps 4.30-5.30; Saturday 11.30-2pm East End, Princes St. Also available from 1st May Books or Better Books, Forrest Rd. More info on local activity from SC c/o Box 6, 1st May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row.
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YORK: Community Books, Walmgate.

SC Events

BRINGEY: Public meeting, 'Can we and unfree ever be at peace?', Tues 21 May, 7.30pm TU Centre (Old Brewery), Brabant Rd, Wood Green, N22. Speakers from TOM and Geoff Bell (Socialist Challenge).

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Revolution Youth notices

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Box 50, London N1 2XP. Cheques payable to: 'The Week'. Bulk order prices on request.

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International

Communists and Socialists in the government

FRANCE 1944-7

By Pierre Reme

IN THE next few weeks a general election will take place in France. There is every likelihood that the government formed afterward will include not only Socialists, but also Communist ministers.

This happened before: between 1944 and 1947, Communists and Socialists participated in De Gaulle's government.

In the *Morning Star* last week Sam Russell argued that during this period the French Communist Party (PCF) became the leading party of the French working class because 'the Socialist Party deserted the working class and formed a series of unprincipled governments in alliance with the right'.

But was it just the socialists who formed unprincipled governments with the right? Here we look at the French CP in government.

After the liberation of France, the real power was in the hands of the militias of the resistance, in which the Communist Party had played a leading role.

The French bourgeoisie was deeply discredited by collaboration with the Nazis during the war. But Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the Communist Party (PCF), when he returned from exile in Moscow, imposed the dissolution of the militias.

On 24 November 1944, the Communist Party held a huge public meeting in Paris to oppose disarming the resistance — a measure being demanded by De Gaulle. But by 30 November the line had changed.

Nationalise

The Communist Party then demanded 'one army, one police force, one government', and argued that 'the guiding line must be the reconstruction of France'.

In order to ensure this 'reconstruction of France' — on a capitalist basis — it was necessary for the bourgeoisie, ruined by the war, to carry through several nationalisations.

These nationalisations had been planned by the National Council of the Resistance created in 1943, with the participation of

the Communists alongside the Gaullists and Christian Democrats.

Thorez explained in 1946: 'Nationalisations are a progress towards socialism'. But Jean Mollet, a leading bourgeois politician, gave a very different interpretation:

Production

'The money placed at the disposal of the nationalised industries won't just go to them, but via orders for equipment and work, will in fact be redistributed to the private industries.'

In other words, these nationalisations were an indispensable part of reconstructing French capitalism — a way of channelling Marshall Aid from the United States to private industry.

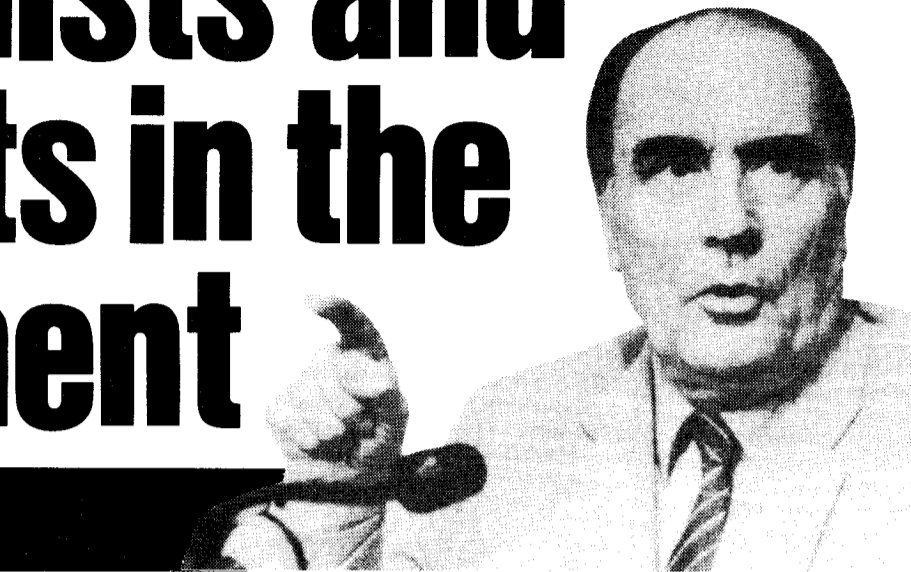
In its explanations today, the French Communist Party insists that the betrayals of the 1944-7 period were those of the Socialist Party. But this obscures the role played by the Communists. Successive governments chose CP ministers to be in charge of labour policy and production.

Sacrifice

While Socialist ministers were responsible for the reconstruction of the police and planning departments; the Communists were getting capitalist construction accepted — including increased hours of work and speed up — under the slogans of 'freely given sacrifice' and 'strikes are the weapon of the trusts'.

Against this consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie, the Trotskyists proposed an alternative political line, despite their weak forces.

They demanded that the workers parties break their alliance with the bourgeoisie and form a



Georges Marchais

government of Socialists and Communists. They argued against the dissolution of the resistance militias, and threw their forces into the creation of factory committees.

Trotskyists were in the leadership of the factory committees in Argenteuil-Colombes and in various other districts in Paris.

They wrote at the time: 'Inter-factory committees, with the aid of the CGT

(CP-led union federation) can give rise to a plan for the reconstruction of the economy on the basis of the needs of the population.'

The CP put its enormous resources into a battle to disperse the factory committees, just as it did with the resistance militias. In doing so, it benefitted from the fact that following the libera-

tion after four years of Nazi occupation, the workers lowered their guard.

They also directly supported repression: several militants of the PCF were denounced and handed over to the police as saboteurs, for organising a strike at a factory considered by the CP to be 'decisive' for the economy.

01-836 3028
accidental death of an anarchist
 Wyndham's Theatre
 "a big hit" (Newsweek)

Spanish MPs still on their knees

By Frank McBride

Civil liberties and workers' rights are under severe attack in Spain. Assassinations by the Basque nationalist group ETA are providing the right wing with the

opportunity to step up its offensive.

Although the right-wing military coup d'état on 23 February failed, many of its objectives have already been realised.

A law which enables more rapid implementation of a 'state of emergency' has just been passed,

and its implementation in the Basque country is expected at any moment.

Another law, in defence of the constitution, has also been passed. This enables judges to close newspapers which give any publicity to actions 'against the constitution'.

It is feared that this will be used to close *Egin*, a paper unique in Europe for its mass sales and far left stance.

Another new law makes it an offence for Spain's autonomous parliaments — in Catalonia and the Basque countries — to call their

countries 'nations'. Only Spain is supposed to be a nation.

There are rumours that yet more legislation will soon be introduced to cut down minority representation in the Cortes (parliament) in order to eliminate the Basque nationalist deputies.

Loyalty

All the measures have been taken with the support of the Communist and Socialist parties, which both want a coalition government with the conservatives. Santiago Carrillo of the CP and Felipe Gonzales of the Socialist Party have been stressing their loyalty to the monarchy and the unity of Spain.

'There is no greater patriot than me,' Gonzalez recently declared.

Carrillo has gone further, and declared his support for the banning of Herri Batasuna (Basque Fatherland and Freedom), a far left and nationalist group which supports ETA's armed struggle. Even the conservatives have not yet proposed such a measure.

As an HB leader said: 'After Tejero ordered all the congress members to the floor, it seems that some of them haven't got up yet.'

Fascists

After his attempted coup, Tejero is passing his time in a military prison, where he watches colour TV, writes his memoirs, eats restaurant food, and receives an endless stream of young fascists on a 'meet-a-hero' holiday. Meanwhile, Basque detainees are held incommunicado with a meagre diet augmented by beatings.

Herri Batasuna councillors and leaders have recently been arrested, as have ETA members. The illegalisation of HB has virtually been achieved. May Day and Bobby Sands solidarity marches were broken up by the police — the unwritten law appears to be that no far left or radical nationalist march is permitted.

Troops now occupy the border with France and police road blocks have increased. Spain's far right may not appear to need a coup, but the population is being psychologically prepared to its imminent possibility.

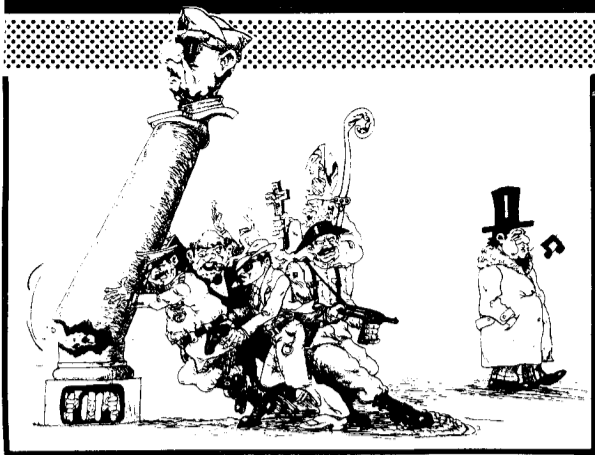
Armed

Neither the Communists nor the Socialists are prepared to state that the armed forces are riddled with fascists.

ETA's continued assassinations of police and military personnel — including an attempt on a general in the King's own guard — creates a climate which makes it almost impossible to argue and mobilise in defence of civil liberties.

Although a two-minute silence in solidarity with the victims of 'terrorism' was almost ignored in Euskadi, it received massive support elsewhere.

The Spanish working class is demoralised by a lack of fight from its traditional leadership, with unemployment running at more than 12 per cent. The military may well feel confident about another coup attempt, and the next one might not be so farcal.



War clouds over Arab East

By Charlie van Gelderen

THE turmoil which has been endemic in Lebanon since Syrian forces entered that country at the invitation of sections of the Christian community in 1976 to 'protect' them from Muslim extremists and the Palestinians, is now threatening to boil over into full scale war between Syria and Israel.

Although both Israel and the US gave grudging support to the Syrian invasion, the Israeli Zionist regime never gave up its 'right' to invade Lebanon.

The United States and the Zionists were quite prepared to stand by and allow Syrian president Hafez al-Hassad to do some of their dirty work for them, but they were well aware that this move was deeply resented by the working people of Lebanon and the Palestinians.

A general strike in Beirut to protest against the Syrian invasion was 100 per cent effective in the Moslem districts of the city.

Israel used the Syrian move as a pretext for taking over southern Lebanon where it established a 'Christian enclave' under the command of the Phalangist Major Saad Haddad. The Phalangists took their name from Franco's fascists.

Protect

Despite Israel's claim that its actions were principally motivated to protect the Christians, not all Lebanese Christians were anxious for this 'protection'.

The military correspondent of the *Jerusalem Post* reported on 11 May that there 'are sectors of the Christian community who feel closer to the Syrians and Palestine Liberation

Organisation than they do to Israel'.

Since the 1976 Arab-Israeli war, the Israelis have kept up a series of constant raids into Lebanese territory, while still holding on to the Golan heights which they seized from Syria.

Attack

Thousands of people, mainly civilians, have died in Israeli air, sea and land attacks on what the Zionists describe as 'terrorist' camps and strongholds in Lebanon.

One of the most brutal attacks came last Easter Sunday when Haddad's Israeli-supported Christian militia shelled the port of Sidon, a predominantly Muslim and Palestinian city. The targets were houses, restaurants, banks and cinemas on the main streets.

At the same time, Israeli fighter bombers were strafing Palestinian positions five miles across the Lebanese border in what were called 'pre-emptive' strikes, having by now completely abandoned the pretext that they were 'retaliatory raids'.

The targets were Lebanese towns and villages, and refugee camps, not PLO bases. While the Syrian entry into Lebanon in 1976 had the mixed blessing of US imperialism and its Israeli cop, the situation has since changed.

'We do not want war with Syria,' declared Menachim Begin on 29 April, 'but we will not allow the Syrians to take over Lebanon and annihilate the Christians.'

Some of Begin's military men were more honest: 'We are on the offensive,' Brigadier General Yaakov Even told the *New York Times* on 18 April. 'We are the aggressors.'

'We are penetrating the so-called border of the so-called sovereign state of Lebanon, and we go after them wherever they hide.'

Begin's latest outburst of intransigence is over the siting of Russian-built SAM-6 ground-to-air missiles in Lebanon. These weapons will make it harder for Israeli spy-plans to fly over Lebanese territories, something the Israelis regard as their god-given right.

Polls

Begin is in a mood for war. He has an election coming up and until recently seemed certain of defeat the polls. Now, by stoking the war embers, his stock is rising. 'Fortress Israel' is in danger; ranks must be closed in its defence.

While Washington would undoubtedly like to see Syria weakened and its Israeli-Egyptian allies strengthened, it is not yet ready for a full-scale war in the Arab East. An Arab-Syrian war cannot be confined to the two countries.

Already Iraq has announced that despite its differences with Damascus it would fight alongside neighbouring Arabs against the Zionist foe. Libyan leader Gaddafi has pledged his country's resources to defeat Israeli aggression.

Defuse

The Egyptian masses, too, will not stand idly by despite Sadat's friendship with Israel. America is doing its best to temporarily defuse the situation. It is too full of imponderables and could lead to a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Whether Washington will be able to restrain the impetuous Begin is another matter. Even the best trained dog has been known to turn savage.

He could take the plunge knowing full well that US imperialist interests dare not let him go down to ignominious defeat.

The international labour movement should come out clearly on the side of Syria and Lebanon and against US-Israeli aggression.



The streets of Beirut are filled with gunfire again





3. Paul Gilroy

DESPITE the fact that his militant music has inspired many a stuffy social find its feet and start dancing, there will be many on the left who will balk at considering Bob Marley as more than a 'pop star'.

Any socialist who fails to see the relevance of the autonomous black politics of which Marley was part should be warned by the media coverage of his death.

This went to ridiculous lengths to prove that his aims and purposes were limited to politics and nothing to do with revolution.

Radio 4 informed us that 'Get up, stand up' was a 'national plea', while the BBC's tribute explained that 'Crazy Baldhead' carried a 'mystic message of peace and reconciliation'.

These views were a predictable insult to a man whose political influence continues to guide the political struggles of a generation reared on his recordings, 'Don't forget your history, control your destiny'.

Bob Marley was not a 'best singer' who drew attention to struggles of which he was not part. He was a committed artist whose works were indivisible from the struggles they addressed.

His powerful words are a source of his political influence, and their effects elevated him above the shallow pop music which he evaded, but which has attempted to claim him in

When Island Records released The Wailers' 'Catch a Fire' in a cigarette pack cover in 1973, they provided a political and cultural revolution, whose effects were felt throughout Africa, West Europe and the Americas.

Marley preached a fearless anti-imperialist message. Built on Dread, Pan-Africanism and black communalism, but unswerving from a commitment to the righteousness of the oppressed whatever the system sucked the life out of the sufferers, Marley's understanding of

Babylon was to prove all-too powerful, and far more materialist than metaphysical.

Direct intervention in Jamaican politics on behalf of Michael Manley's Peoples National Party got Marley shot for his pains, and he left Jamaica.

Symbol

His commitment and priorities can be gauged from the fact that the *Survival* album, which marked his return to music, was more resolutely outspoken than ever, turning his own experience at the hands of the assassins into a symbol for the divide-and-rule tactics of the capitalism that he despised.

Millions of black people in the world who feel capitalist domination through racial oppression have taken up Marley's new Garveyism and used it in their struggles.

But they were not his only constituency. He had a knack of presenting a black experience undiluted in such a way that universal, general and class-based interpretations were also possible.

Impact

He invited anti-racism while servicing black liberation. The calculated ambiguities of a song about political violence in Jamaica made it relevant to England in a different way:

*'They don't want to see us live together,
All they want us to do is keep killing one another'*

The impact of Afro-Caribbean culture in general and reggae in particular on the lives and politics of white working

'If you are the big tree-we are the axe...'

Bob Marley 1945-1981



class youth in this country is too often overlooked.

Rather than abandon white youth forever to the swelling ranks of the British Movement, we must realise how many young people found something of their own in the language and symbols of Rastafari which Marley made famous.

White young people

flocked to see him perform and bayed 'stand up for your rights' back at the stage in their cup final atmosphere.

This relationship flowered briefly in the co-operation of black and white which marked the early days of Rock Against Racism and prepared the ground for the short-lived but important 'two-tone'

craze. Marley's influence powered over all this and the connections he fought to reveal will be harder to uncover the next time anti-racism becomes fashionable.

Of course, his rise to international stardom was only possible once the leisure industry woke up to

the vast profits to be made from reggae. Third World markets for records in Africa and Latin America demanded new products and the domestic 'rock scene' had grown stale under the deadweight of the Eric Claptons.

The image of the primitive and licentious herbsman was to prove a novel selling point to the

rock fans who gasped over *No Woman, No Cry*. In this period many people were tempted to think that Marley had abandoned our cause in the cynical pursuit of fame and fortune.

He accepted the constraints of commodity stardom as the price of access to larger numbers of people who could make his vision of the internationalisation of Rastafari a reality.

The move away from root reggae towards pop, which started with *Natty Dread* — his first album after the original Wailers broke up — should be understood as a strategic ploy to open up black America to the political culture of reggae and Rastafari.

Mystic

It is a sad irony that he should have fallen ill just as Stevie Wonder's *Master Blaster* seemed to have made this conquest likely.

Don't be fooled into thinking that Bob Marley was a mystic just because he spoke a language of class struggle which you find difficult to translate.

He spanned political and cultural traditions, and the differential effects of his political intervention in the metropolis and third world present a precise picture of the configurations of imperialism.

His music and political achievements are the best obituary. Listen to *Burning and Looting* and remember him serenading Zimbabwe into independence.

Womens' place in the penalty box

By Dave Carter

THE captain of one of Britain's most successful soccer teams spoke to Socialist Challenge this week.

The team is currently second in the league; it has won through to the Cup Final, and it played at Wembley last year. But the team's captain is not happy with the recognition given to her side's success.

Sue Anderson plays in midfield and captains Cleveland Spartans, a leading women's soccer team.

She's a community worker, and plays alongside a bank clerk, a postal worker, a teacher and other women in a branch of soccer where professionalism isn't allowed — unlike other European countries.

In Italy, Sue explains, 'crowds of 6-7,000 watch women's soccer games, but in Britain we get little press coverage and we are discriminated against by the Football Association.

'When we wanted to play a fund-raising match at Ayresome Park, we got a letter from FA secretary Ted Croker saying we couldn't play on a professional pitch.'

Several professional players are more helpful, including Mark Proctor, Middlesbrough's England under-21 international, who coaches the Spartans at training sessions.

'I used to play against Mark at school,' Sue points out, 'so he knows what we can do and he takes us seriously. Sometimes



Sue Anderson, captain of the Cleveland Spartans, with her cup-winning team

men come out of a pub to watch us for a laugh — but they quickly shut up when they see the level of skill in the women's game.'

There are some 300 women's teams in Britain. Cleveland Spartans plays in the Nottingham league because of the lack of competition in the North-east.

Sue considers that this lack of interest is partly due to the 'Andy Capp' attitude towards women in the area; a woman's place is in the kitchen, not in the

penalty box.

What effect has being an accomplished soccer player had on Sue: 'At work, the lads take me more seriously because I've shown I'm as good as them. I'm setting up an under-16 team for the kids in the community centre', Sue adds.

She reckons that the main interest in women's soccer is coming from youth clubs, where new teams are forming all the time. Sue ran a session on football at the recent Cleveland

women's festival.

The Spartans played at Wembley Pool last year as a reward for winning the outdoor British 5-a-side competition. But they were only there as the entertainment during the interval in the Daily Express national 5-a-side championship (for men).

Hopefully, women's football will eventually be allowed to play at Wembley in its own right — and on every other ground in the country.

Selective action is taxing civil servants' patience

By Keith Legg, IRSF Stockton taxes branch

WITH hundreds of tax collectors on strike, the Inland Revenue Staff Federation is in the forefront of the selective strike action being taken by civil servants.

Computer centres at Shipley and Cumbernauld have been forced to close. The limits of the selective action are now apparent, however.

At the IRSF annual conference on 9-11 May there was little discussion about

escalating the dispute.

The only emergency motion accepted for debate was one from the executive, which merely pledged the federation to support any action decided by the national council of civil service unions.

Tony Christopher, the IRSF general secretary, thus has a free hand to oppose all-out action at the national council meetings.

Among the members there is little enthusiasm for a limited strike of a few

days, which the government could ride out.

The fear now is that the leadership will accept any slight increase on the 7 per cent offer if there is a vague promise about future pay negotiations.

Yet IRSF members have been engaged in strike action for the first time in the federation's history, and the co-operation with other unions represents a unity which has to be translated into all-out action.

Gas workers plan to stop hive-off

By Bob Struther, Chairperson, Edinburgh district NALGO gas branch

THE Monopolies Commission wants the nationalised gas industry to stop selling gas appliances, giving free reign to the private sector.

At risk are nearly 30,000 manual and white-collar jobs in the British Gas Corporation. Not only are marketing and maintenance work would be ended, and there would be a substantial reduction in administrative jobs.

Safety

Also at risk is the safety of the consumer. It is unlikely that the corporation would be responsible for gas in the home once it leaves the meter, and private profiteers cannot be expected to worry over much about gas leaks. Prices will go up, too.

The government is due to take a decision on the commission's recommendation in

June. Little short of a complete shut-down of the industry will stop the Tories handing over the business to their pals.

The GMWU is already pledged to strike if Thatcher adopts the hive-off plan. A conference of NALGO gas branches held last month, representing the majority of white-collar staff in the corporation, called for industrial action — including strike action — if the government attacks the industry.

Yes

There were only three votes against the proposal, but the union executive has decided to hold a ballot on the issue.

We need a massive Yes vote to ensure that the executive authorises industrial action, otherwise we will be forced to take unofficial action to save our jobs and keep the industry out of the hands of the profiteers.

A lot of work has to be done at branch and shop steward level to ensure that there is effective opposition to any hive off.

This article is written in a personal capacity.

Songs for Anwar

By Jenny Flintoft

ELEVEN of Britain's most talented folk singers and musicians performed at Imperial College London on Tuesday of last week at a concert organised by the Campaign against Racist Laws.

It was held to raise money for Anwar Ditta.

The performers — Flowers and Frolics and Bob Davenport, from London's most political folk club, the *Empress of Russia*, in Islington; Frankie Armstrong, Leon Rosselson, Julie Carter and June Younger — all gave their services free.

The concert raised £86 and the audience enjoyed an evening of exceptionally good and unusually political music, with songs like Leon Rosselson's anti-immigration law 'It's all a question of numbers'.

Send donations and messages of support to: 127 Crawford St, Rochdale.

I was sacked for not saluting, says fire fighter

By Roland Steven, Blackpool Central FBU

I WAS sacked by Lancashire County Fire Brigade on 6 April and I believe that a miscarriage of justice has been carried out.

I was not sacked for gross misconduct or for failing to do my job properly, but for failing to salute an officer who wasn't wearing a cap.

I have stood up for my rights and followed union dictates, for example during the 9-week strike. Because I do not fit the fire brigade image, I am now out of work on what seems to be a most frivolous charge.

It is unthinkable that management should be able to get rid of anyone on some trumped up charge, which in my case was prejudged before the hearing, while witnesses were discounted.

I would like to know how many other fire brigade personnel have been sacked for not saluting officers who did not wear caps or indeed did wear them.

It is unbelievable the lengths to which the senior officers will go in pursuit of their vendettas against firefighters they do not like.

Recently an FBU member who was a branch rep found himself in the middle of one of these campaigns. He was accused of making malicious calls and suffered many months of distress before finally being taken to court where it was proved that there was no case to answer.

Arguing against costs, the prosecution said: 'It would be wrong to hold the police responsible for malicious and unreliable witnesses (three of whom were senior officers) and also a man who is biased and bearing a grudge.'

The case against me is not one of not saluting but is purely and simply that of the management wanting to be rid of me.

Step

The sequel to the event is that a visiting officer made this statement to those on my watch: 'We seem to have got rid of the nigger in the woodpile.' (sic).

'Now he has been charged and found guilty it leaves the door open for anything and you will all have to watch your step.'

I ask readers to petition Lancashire County Council, which upheld my sacking and is now Labour-controlled, for a rehearing into my case. The FBU has frequently called for inquiries into the mismanagement of Lancashire County Fire Brigade.

Maurice Ludmer dies at 54

MAURICE LUDMER, president of Birmingham Trades Council, died in the night of 14-15 May of a heart attack.

Our immediate sympathy must be with Maurice's wife and family. They will mourn in the knowledge that Maurice was loved and respected by thousands of socialists and trade unionists not only in Birmingham but throughout the country.

Maurice was a man of great principles, a socialist and a dedicated campaigner for a multi-racial society. However, no one who knew him would call him solemn, there was always a twinkle of humour in his eyes.

Searchlight, the monthly paper which Maurice edited, was responsible for exposing the fascist nature of many political organisations such as the National Front when they sought to present a 'respectable' image.

Maurice Ludmer won the respect of many black and Asian workers by his tireless campaigning for their rights and provided a bridge of understanding between the trade union movement and the ethnic minority communities.

Maurice drove himself on and in the end gave his life fighting for a just and humane society. His wish would surely be that we continue that fight.

PAUL MACKNEY, vice-president, Birmingham Trades Council

Sparticists' methods exposed — again

By Steve Potter, IMG national secretary

THE leadership of the International Marxist Group has discovered a secret plot by the international Spartacist tendency to smash the IMG as a 'counter-revolutionary organisation'.

The IMG Political Committee on 16 May expelled from the organisation the so-called 'Communist Faction'. A majority of this faction's membership were secret members of the Spartacists.

The faction was unanimously expelled for disloyalty after refusing to characterise the IMG and the Fourth International as revolutionary

organisations, implying that it was necessary to build a separate party to the IMG and the FI.

From investigations undertaken by the IMG leadership incontestable evidence was presented to the Political Committee that at least nine members of the 'Communist Faction' had joined the Spartacists, some as early as the summer of 1975.

They had joined by signing a secret contract describing the IMG/FI as a 'counter-revolutionary organisation' that had to be smashed and the Spartacists as 'the only revolutionary organisation in the world.'

The national committee of Revolution Youth took similar action last weekend and expelled three Spartacist infiltrators.

Once again the real nature of the Spartacist group has been revealed. This insignificant sect is a weapon designed solely to smash up left-wing organisations.

It has nothing to do with socialism or Trotskyism.



The pay claim now waiting on platform one

By Martin Eady, NUR

THE rail unions have demobilised their members' struggle for a pay rise in line with the rate of inflation, and derailed the fightback against cuts and closures.

Having turned down British Rail's derisory 7 per cent pay offer, the unions have referred the claim to the Railway Staff National Tribunal, the top level of the industry's labyrinthine machinery of negotiation.

Its decision will not be binding, but the tribunal will not meet until the beginning of June. Thus efforts to mobilise for the inevitable struggle against management and the government have been shunted into a siding for at least a month.

The delay will make it more difficult to mobilise a membership that is running scared over job losses being passively accepted by the rail union leaders.

The withdrawal from collection and delivery of parcels, agreed to by the unions, is decimating the workforce; for example 138 jobs are to go at Paddington, and 150 at Euston.

That there is a willingness to fight back is indicated by the successful unofficial action taken by guards in Edinburgh against increased ticket collecting duties, which would have led to redundancies among platform staff.

Yet the proposed closure of the Manchester-Sheffield-Wath electrified line, where workers started a militant fightback, has been referred to a commission of inquiry. What a contrast with the miners and water-workers!

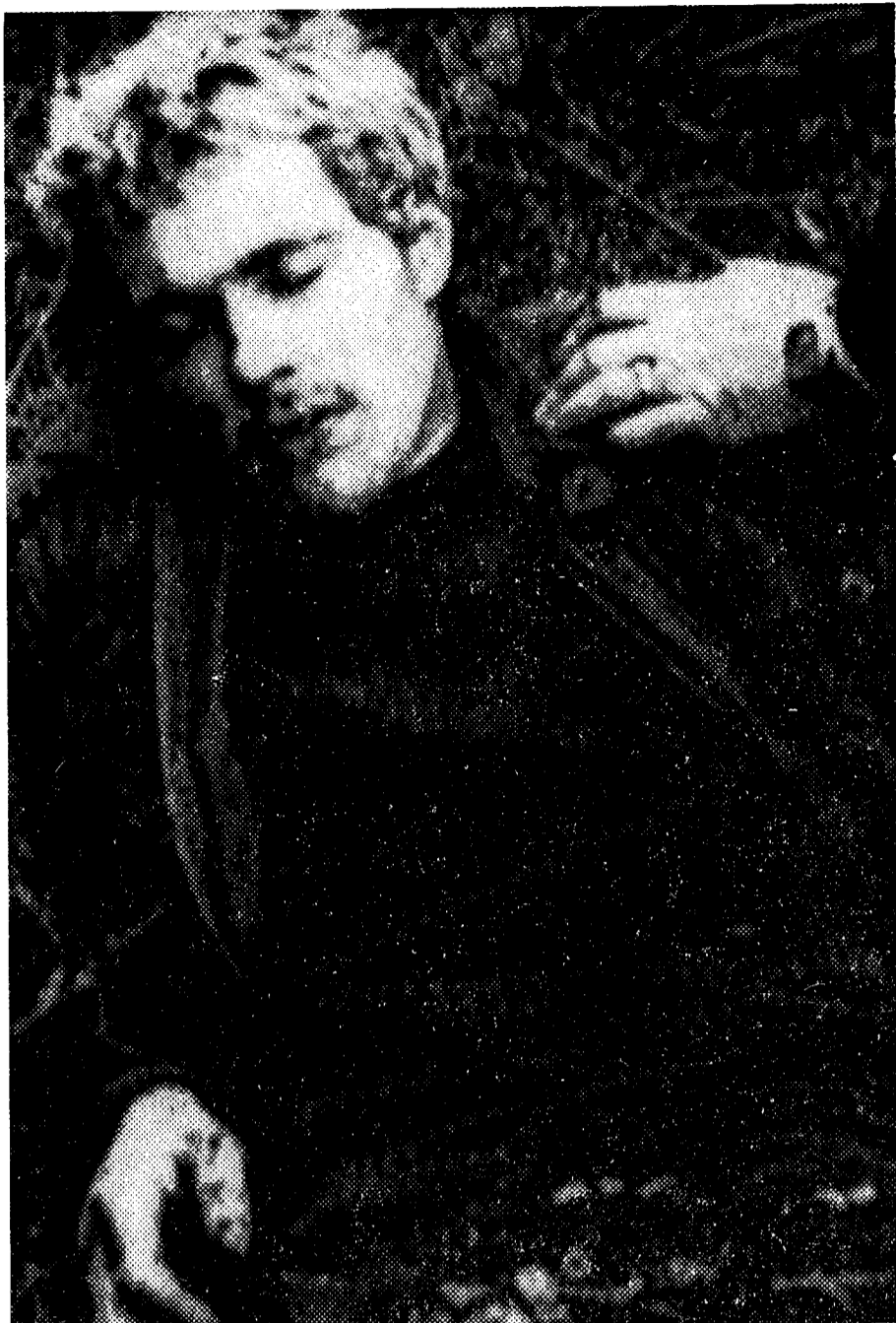
The union leaders claim that there is to be no productivity element attached to the current pay negotiations, but they are dividing the struggle against job loss from the fight for a living wage.

Management does not need to ask for a productivity deal when the unions are already allowing wholesale cut-backs and closures to take place without a fight. Socialists in the industry recognise that if the fight for jobs is abandoned, there is little likelihood of a successful conclusion to the pay negotiations.

Socialist Challenge



Brendan McLaughlin



Francis Hughes,

hunger strikers due to die soon. Or even quiz those who knew the five British

soldiers about their fear of a blood bath. It is a fair guess to say

that answers from all would be similar — end the war, troops out now.

IRELAND: OUT NOW!

ONCE again, in South Armagh on Tuesday, the truth about the Irish situation was starkly displayed. Five British soldiers were killed in the course of military duties.

In other words, they are killed in a war. They are killed because they are seen by those who view them up as foreign occupiers of their country. The war both sides are engaged in is about who should control that country — the Irish majority, or Britain. Socialist Challenge says it should be the former.

The fact of this war is that Margaret Thatcher, backed by Michael Foot, continues to deny. For the Tories and Labour's parli-

amentary leadership, Ireland is all about 'crime' or 'peace-keeping'.

And those who fight against them are 'criminals'.

That is why Thatcher insists the hunger-strikers in Long Kesh prison have to die — because they are 'mere criminals', and should be treated no differently than the ordinary run-of-the-mill bank robber or rapist.

When did bank-robbers blow up five British soldiers for no mercenary

gain? When did rapists starve themselves to death to prove a principle?

Recognising that what is happening in Ireland is a war is that first step to ending the conflict. It is to say that peace will only come to Ireland, not through a 'crime-busting' exercise, but through a political solution.

The first condition for finding that solution was spelt out by Tony Benn last week — the withdrawal of British troops, and the recognition that 'the partition of Ireland was a crime against the Irish people'.

But stating that princi-

ple does not go far enough. It needs to be implemented, and implemented now.

That means demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, and the ending of all British military and political presence in Ireland.

The apologists for British control of the six north-eastern counties of Ireland say such a withdrawal would lead to a blood bath.

Ask the relatives of Bobby Sands MP and Francis Hughes about 'blood baths'. Ask the relatives of the other

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Socialist Perspectives for Europe

Friday 22 May at 8pm

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The Hall opens at 6.30 with displays on the women's liberation movement; the anti-nuclear struggles; the Irish liberation struggle and the struggles of youth. Also featured are displays of Poland, El Salvador and Turkey. A buffet is available with rolls, cakes, tea and coffee.



AT THE beginning of May millions of British voters removed the Tories from control of the major metropolitan councils.

At the same time French voters removed their 'Tory' president and elected the Socialist Party candidate Mitterand.

The austerity programmes that have been enforced in virtually every European country including Britain are meeting with big opposition. Millions of people are on the streets protesting against unemployment, against nuclear weapons and other questions.

In Ireland the hunger strikers die one by one and Britain's name stinks throughout the world.

In celebration of its 200th issue *Socialist Challenge* has invited people from two different traditions of working class politics to discuss the way forward for Socialism in Europe.

Ken Livingstone is the newly elected leader of the Labour Greater London Council which has responsibility for transport, housing, education and the civil defence of eight million people.

Ernest Mandel is a Marxist economist and a leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International. He is the author of many books including *Marxist Economic Theory*, *Late Capitalism*, *The Second Slump*, *Introduction to Marxism* and *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism*.