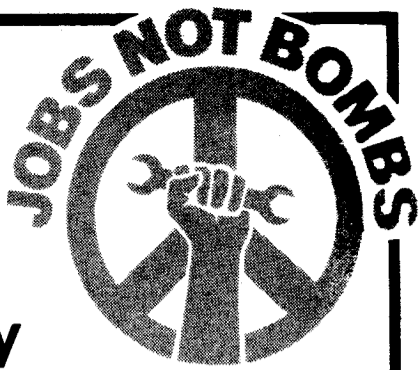


Socialist Challenge

March with YCND from Manchester to the Labour Party conference 24 September



Tory health cuts kill children

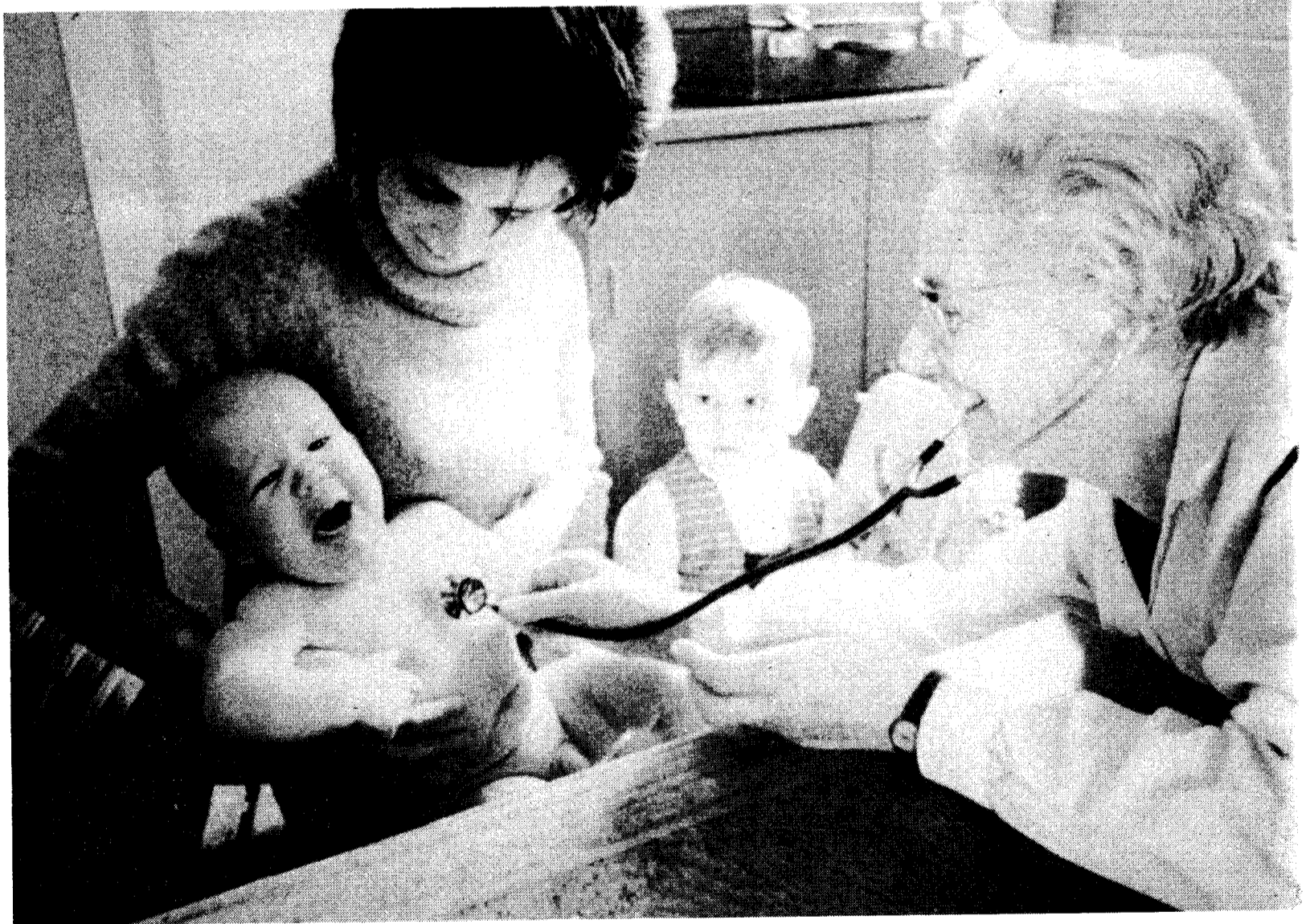
THIS YEAR 34 dying children, many suffering from burns, congenital heart disease, meningitis, and lung disorders, were turned away from Guys Hospital in London.

These unfortunate children were sent away to die, because of government spending cuts. For the Falklands war there was an unlimited supply of cash. Billions of pounds are being spent on cruise and trident, but Guys has had to close the Rothschild ward in the children's department, because the department has a measly £12,000 a month deficit!

It is a scandal that children are turned away to die. It is a scandal that life and limb is put in jeopardy because this decadent government prefers spending money on weapons of death and destruction, rather than on our under-equipped and underpaid health service.

The intentions of the Tories are obvious. They intend to run down the NHS — Britain already spends less on health care than nearly every other 'developed' country — and they intend to run what is left of the health service with a staff paid bare subsistence wages.

The labour movement cannot afford to stand by and see this happen. In their fight for the 12 per cent the health workers are in the front line of the battle to defend the NHS. That is a battle on all our behalf, and this is why they need all our support.



DEFEND OUR HEALTH SERVICE ALL OUT 9-13 AUGUST

Editorial

PO Box 50, London N1 2XP

Phone 359 8180 (Newsdesk), 359 8371 (distribution)

After the rail betrayal

DESPITE the succession of victories for the Tory government over the last few months the Falkland spirit is crumbling. One of its first casualties has been the unity of the Tory party.

Over battle cries of 'Traitors' and 'God save the Queen' Thatcher is trying to maintain the undisputed sway over the party she enjoyed throughout the South Atlantic war. 'Wets' like Whitelaw are the target.

Her purpose is clear. In a speech to Tory backbenchers last week Thatcher told them that there would be no snap general election. Her motives in this are not the honourable ones claimed for her by the press leader writers; 'hatred of gimmicks', standing by manifesto commitments' etc.

The brutal fact of the matter is that the Falklands factor would not last the first week of an election campaign. Thatcher has not fulfilled the basic perspective for which she got near-unanimous support from the bosses at the time of the last general election; restoration of the failing fortunes of British capitalism through cracking up the organised resistance of the trade union movement.

The bosses were willing to make considerable 'sacrifices' for this eventual goal. They were prepared to see whole sections of British industry going out of business in order to create the necessary mass unemployment to enforce this defeat. But now they are getting nervous again.

The Confederation of British Industry has once again started to talk in terms of a 'bare knuckle' fight with the government unless the economy begins to recover.

Of course Thatcher has not completely let them down in the last months. The betrayal of the rail workers by the TUC and the Labour Party leaders was a serious blow to the whole labour movement.

But the growing strength of the strike at that the rail workers received from other powerful sections of the labour movement has demonstrated the willingness of the rank and file to take on the Tories when they are given a lead.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the experiences of the healthworkers strike.

The three days of strike action were a success. They demonstrated that rank and file trade union organisation has been growing apace in the hospitals. Now is the time to give that new confidence national expression in the moves towards all-out action.

A national demonstration accompanied by a one day strike by the whole labour movement would be a giant step towards the healthworkers leading a new wave of resistance against the Tories.

The healthworkers are now carrying the torch of resistance against the Tories. Support for them must be the top priority for the whole left in the next month.

The TUC and Labour Party conferences will provide the opportunity to put forward an alternative strategy for the labour movement. So far that provided by Michael Foot and Len Murray has been a policy for retreat.

The left wing of the labour movement has to organise to stop the retreat by rallying the labour movement around the current struggles and against the betrayals of the right wing.

Under the slogan of 'Fight the Tories not the left' united action must be planned between the Labour Party and the trade unions in the way that it started to emerge in the dozens of meetings held up and down the country by Labour Parties to support the rail workers.

The only way that the Labour Party can credibly plan to win the next election is by tapping the enthusiasm and combativity that lies in the ranks of the working class and amongst the youth marching behind the banners of CND.

During the past months Benn and Scargill have spoken forcefully in favour of such a policy. But now that policy must be translated into the building of left tendencies in the unions committed both to reform of the unions to turn them into vehicles of battle and the reorganisation of the left in the Labour Party against the witchhunt and for an alliance with the rank and file in the unions.

It is this that Thatcher fears above all. Both for the left and her it is a race against time. The Tories must inflict a decisive blow against the whole labour movement that can sufficiently demoralise the masses if the way is to be opened for another five years of Tory rule.

For the labour movement a response must be built that can stop the Tory offensive in its tracks and pave the way for their removal and replacement by a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

Trade Unions

Train drivers - the next round

By Pat Hickey
ASLEF has been given yet another ultimatum on flexible rostering. Even before ASLEF's upcoming conference, the British Rail Board is using the TUC sell-out to push forward its attack on rail workers

If the conference does not agree to conclude 'negotiations' on the rosters by 2 August the Board will impose them. This gives exactly five days for negotiations.

The Board believes that the TUC decision means that they can push anything they like at the drivers; but the real crunch on flexible rostering has yet to come.

When the new timetables are introduced in October the Board will try to take maximum advantage of flexible rostering, which they cannot do on existing time tables; this will have an equally disastrous effect on guards. Rail workers should start now to build joint committees to prepare united action against this.

Unity

Railworkers' unity will soon be vital on other issues. The Board has now withdrawn its 3.5 per cent offer for this year's wage rise, because of the NUR and ASLEF strikes. This has now been referred to McCarthy, who reports next week. The eventual offer will probably be even lower, and tied to the Board's other productivity demands. In particular the Board is pressing for faster introduction of one person operated trains.

It aims to start this on the Bedford - St Pancras line, where 60 guards' jobs will disappear as a result. But there is no doubt that it will press rapidly

for the extension of this on a national basis.

Noise

Sid Weighell will make a lot of noise about this in the next few weeks. But he will no more fight this attack than he did the others. Indeed, there are good reasons to believe that he has already agreed to the Bedford - St Pancras 'experiment'.

NUR members have to bring Weighell to account for his role in the

ASLEF dispute, and for his refusal to defend jobs and living standards. The maximum pressure should be brought to bear on the left on the National Executive to take the fight against Weighell's leadership to the rank and file, and warn them of the dangers ahead. But it is in the depots, among the workers who have to pay for Weighell's treachery, that the preparations for unity in action against these attacks have the greatest importance.



Photo: GM COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Support ASLEF Smash Tebbit

ASLEF No 1 is calling on all labour movement bodies to send the following resolution to the TUC:

Along with the Manchester ASLEF members we condemn the decisions of the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TUC in not giving full support to the ASLEF strike. With support of other TUC unions ASLEF could have won, and thereby help defeat Tebbit's anti-union law.

We also condemn the Labour Party shadow cabinet for not expressing unequivocal support for ASLEF workers defending their rights and working conditions against the Tory government.

As the ASLEF members state: 'The Tories were out to smash the union and the TUC helped them on their way.'

Please send copies of the resolution to TUC, Labour Party NEC and to Manchester ASLEF No1 c/o Oxford Road depot.

JOIN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

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

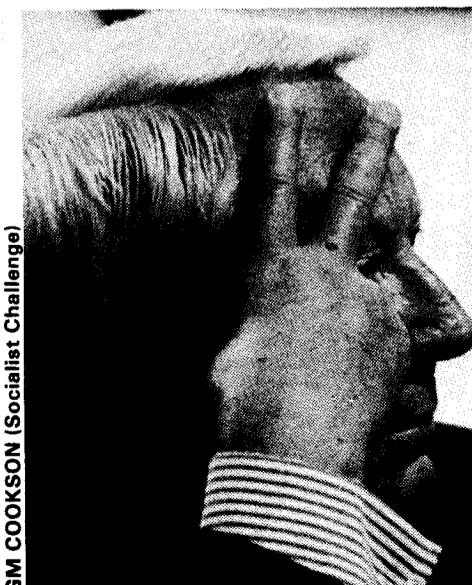
Name.....

Address.....

Age.....

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

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



GM COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Thatcher has not finished the job for which she was elected

Thatcher's hypocrisy

THE SICKENING hypocrisy of the Tories and their press knows no bounds. The two bombs attributed to the IRA that went off in London killing 10 British servicemen was greeted with the usual hysteria. Accusations of 'IRA cowardice', of being 'bereft of humanism' and 'evil' abounded. Dozens of page of print were dedicated by Thatcher's Fleet St scribblers to gush about injured horses.

When the Argentine cruiser, *General Belgrano* was sunk with the loss of 250 Argentine lives by the British task force in the South Atlantic, the *Sun* summed up Tory feeling by its screaming headline 'Gotcha'. The decision to sink this ship — well outside the British imposed 200 mile 'exclusion zone' — knowing it was carrying nearly 1000 men, was taken by Thatcher's 'war cabinet'. Thatcher pressed the button. One week after the London bombs, Thatcher was reported to be 'very angry' that her South Atlantic bloodbath was not eulogised by Archbishop Runcie in the memorial service.

The difference between Thatcher's action and that attributed to the IRA is that Thatcher's action was in aid of maintaining sordid colonial possessions. The IRA's action is part of the Irish people's struggle for freedom from domination, oppression and exploitation by Britain.

Ten years ago this week we were witness to one of the myriads of episodes in the history of Britain's efforts to

snuff out the dream of Irish people. On 31 July 1972, Willie Whitelaw, Home Secretary in Edward Heath's Tory administration, sent in troops to destroy 'Free Derry'. 'Operation Motorman', as they called it, brought to an end the self-government that Derry had been enjoying. The people there had put up the barricades not only against marauding Orangemen, who had terrorised the Catholic community for decade after decade, but also put the barricades up against the British army. A new name had been invented: 'no-go area'.

This time of the year is full of such anniversaries for the Irish people. Internment, Bloody Sunday and Orange pogroms all have their anniversaries about now.

It is against the memory of those black days that the Irish people fight and against which the IRA plants its bombs. Socialist Challenge fully identifies with the aspirations of the Irish people. We will not join in the hypocritical chorus of the Tory press and their Labour friends. The violence of an oppressed people is not on the same scale as the violence of the Thatchers of this world.

We share a common aim with the IRA: to get British troops out of Ireland and allow Irish people to manage their own affairs. Yet we do not think that the bombs that were planted help this common endeavour. We think they can only set back the task of building a movement in Britain which mobilises the strength of the working class against Thatcher and her ruling class friends.



One of the 14 innocent protesters shot by British troops on 'Bloody Sunday'

BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND!

By Martin Collins

DURING the Malvinas war, the Thatcher government claimed that the use of violence was justified in the defense of democracy and defense against invasion by a foreign power — something the Irish have been saying for years. The government's stance during the Malvinas war highlights its hypocrisy over the recent Irish Republican Army bombings in London.

The nationalist movement has been fighting for freedom against a foreign power for decades. Nationalist forces liberated half their country in 1921 creating Eire and have been struggling to achieve the re-unification of Ireland ever since.

As part of this struggle the IRA has stated many times that it considers military targets in Britain to be at risk. Thatcher gave no such warning before the murder of several hundred Argentinians in the General Belgrano which was sunk outside the war zone around the Malvinas.

But what is the political value of such bombings — do they help the cause of Irish freedom from Britain? In a recent article in *Republican News* — the Irish newspaper which supports the IRA — Peter Dowling looks at the lessons that republicans could learn from the Malvinas War.

Notion

He argues that the massive military show of strength in the South Atlantic must lay to rest any notion that the British can be driven out of Ireland by military might alone. No war of national liberation can ever be won without changing the political balance of forces in Ireland and Britain.

There are important military differences between the two wars — that the Argentinians were beaten in a conventional war within 13 weeks, but

the IRA are unbeaten after 13 years.

The main difference, Dowling says, is the political context. What, for example, stops the British Army driving up Falls Rd in Belfast and blowing to smithereens the Republican Press Centre?

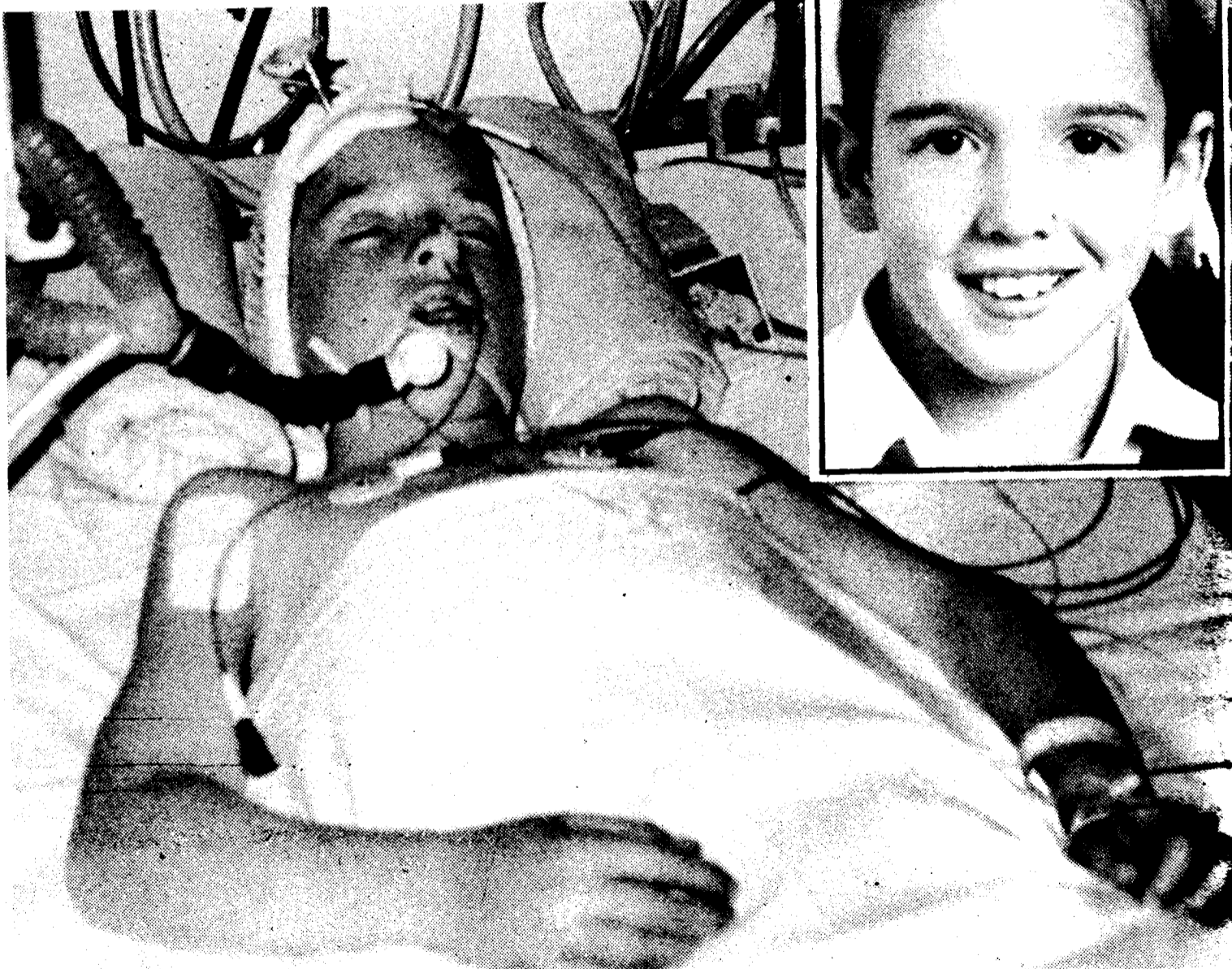
Restraints

Why don't they do to the nationalist areas of Belfast what the Israelis have done to Beirut? Its not, he says, because the IRA could stop them or because of the British tradition of 'liberalism', but because of the political restraints. That level of state violence is considered counter productive.

Peter Dowling goes on to say that because the Task Force was launched in a wave of 'popular support' the large losses could be brushed aside. The only real question was whether the Argentine Air Force could inflict sufficient casualties to split British public opinion and bring about a premature ceasefire.

Whereas in the South Atlantic £1,500 was spent and at least 250 lives lost, it didn't damage the credibility of the Tories in carrying through their objective to the end. But in Ireland where British forces have incurred much smaller losses and financial cost people ask 'is it worth it? How much longer must we stay in Ireland?'

Dowling concludes that IRA tactics must take account of the political



Stephen McConomy — killed by a plastic bullet by the British army — one of many

restraint of the British and turn the physical impact of their military campaign to political ends.

He looks at Vietnam, saying that once a certain military competence of the Vietnamese had been attained, the conflict changed to being a battle for the hearts and minds of the people not just of Vietnam, but decisively in America.

The United States was no longer able to stay in Vietnam because home public opinion had turned against the war.

Socialist Challenge and its sister paper in Ireland *Socialist Republic* have argued for just such a political approach to the building of an anti-imperialist movement in Ireland and Britain.

By subordinating the political struggle to the military the IRA has excluded thousands of workers and youth in both countries from helping to get Britain out.

The biggest impact in Britain, Ireland and around the world was achieved by the political campaign around the hunger strikers and the

election of Bobby Sands to the British parliament — not by the IRA's military successes.

Such a political campaign makes it more difficult for Thatcher and the labour movement leaders in Britain to whip up chauvinist reaction. Bombs in Britain will not answer the Southern Irish government which backs

the British and jails Gerry Tuite; bombs will not explain to the British or Irish workers how to oppose Prior's plans which support Unionist power in Ireland; they will not lead the thousands of youth who opposed the Malvinas war as part of the struggle against Cruise missiles to take up wholeheartedly the cause of Irish freedom in the same way.

Stop the witch-hunt - organise!

By Tessa van Gelderen

THE SUMMER break will not be a break for the witch-hunters in the Labour Party. They will be seeking to extract every last drop of blood from their campaign against *Militant* and the rest of the left in the Labour Party.

But the immediate response from hundreds of constituency parties to the register has been an indication of the growing opposition to the purge. Over 30 resolutions on the witch-hunt have gone to Labour Party conference — the vast majority in utter opposition to the NEC. More importantly, it is being recognised that those who sold ASLEF down the river — the Weighells, Chapples, and, yes, Foots of this world — are the very same 'leaders' of our movement who want to reverse all the gains the left have made in the Labour Party over the last period.

But the left cannot be complacent. Between now and conference at the end of September a lot of work has to be done. Conference delegates have to be mandated to oppose all resolutions that even smack of a witch-hunt.

If the fight is to succeed, we have to be clear as to the principles involved. Socialist Challenge supports the position proposed by Hackney North Constituency Party, which is calling a conference in late October to co-ordinate resistance to the register, whether or not passed by the Labour Party. A preparatory meeting has been called on 4 September in County Hall. The same position is embodied, in our view, in the declaration sponsored by *Tribune*, calling for non-cooperation with the register.

The implication of these positions is clear: we are saying that we will not tolerate expulsions and will refuse to implement them *even if passed by conference*. Such a view has met some resistance because the left has always argued that conference decisions should be binding.

But accountability does not extend to a right to suspend democratic guarantee for minorities. This is an inalienable right: any organisation which does not respect it can never be democratic. It would mean that the leadership could always impose its will by preventing oppositions from forming, organising, and winning a majority.

For this reason we also reject the position taken by *Militant*, who argue that constituency Labour parties should accept expulsions rather than face suspensions.

On the contrary, we say that these bodies facing suspension must join together, to act in concert instead of being picked off one by one. It is for this reason that the conference called by Hackney North is so important.

It is not defeatist to prepare now for such eventualities. To do otherwise will be to 'go naked into the conference chamber'. A boycott campaign is *the best way to*

win. If the party leadership and the trade union bureaucrats are faced with an opposition which already declares at conference that it will openly defy expulsions and suspensions, we will be that much stronger.

This does not mean that the Labour movement conference on 11 September, initiated by *Militant*, should not be supported. *Any* and *every* action against the register should be backed.

That is why we think that *Militant*, in their 16 July issue, have damaged the movement and their own cause with a divisive attack on the September preparatory meeting called by Hackney North. Characterising it as a 'rival conference', *Militant* argue it is a diversion from their own, yet Hackney North's circular, which we published last week, says that the 11 September conference should be supported.

The rivalry exists only in the minds of *Militant's* editorial board.



Photo: PETE GRANT (Socialist Challenge)

The left has to ally itself with those workers in struggle if it is going to defeat the witch-hunt

The left has to set its sights beyond the constituencies. If a local party faces suspension it will need union backing; moreover, if a local party accepts the expulsion of a union delegate, it will be interfering with the union's right to choose its own representative.

Union delegates to General Committees and Labour Party members in the unions as a whole should propose resolutions insisting that their union will not recognise any expulsions, and will continue to affiliate to any CLP expelled

for refusal to comply with the register.

Similarly CLPs who take a boycott stand should circulate affiliated organisations to ask their support, and call special actions and rallies to mobilise their backing.

The connection to be made is a simple one: the witch-hunt is an attack on all trade unions in struggle — a capitulation in advance to the Tories.

Now the best friends of the left in the Labour Party are the train drivers who have been sold out by the

TUC and party leaders, are the other rail workers who have their livelihoods threatened by chief witch-hunter Sidney Weighell, are the healthworkers facing Thatcher's onslaught.

It is these forces that the left has to base its campaign on. The train drivers dispute showed that what Foot and Co fear most is the working class taking action for itself. That is why they want a purge and that is why it is these forces who will finally settle accounts with our misleaders once and for all.

Tribune rally: 'No witch-hunt'

TUESDAY last week saw the first major public response to the proposed Labour Party purge. *Tribune*, under its new editor, Chris Mullin, organised a rally with Pat Wall, Tony Benn, Jo Richardson and Arthur Scargill.

Ray Buckton and Derek Fullick, president of ASLEF received a tremendous reception for the stand their union had taken, only to be sold out by the TUC. More than anything their presence stressed the vital necessity of supporting workers in struggle as the best way to stop the witch-hunt.

Socialist Challenge prints extracts from the meeting.

ty so that I can argue with them, and perhaps change their opinions.

It's well known that *Militant* has a strong power base in the LPYS. Are you going to expel all those young people? Or are you going to, which I have a suspicion that some members of the NEC would like, close down the LPYS? It won't be the first time that our youth section has been closed down.

Accountability means leaders are accountable to the membership. The register means that the membership is subordinate to the leadership. And that is not an acceptable solution for any governmental party. Do not think that you can use discipline against ideas.

It is a tragedy that between now and October we shall have to spend so much time on the question of the register. It is dangerous, irrelevant, unworkable, constituencies won't expel people, they'll suspend constituency parties, they'll find it unworkable. But why waste time, when above all the left in Britain and the trade union movement needs to be together.

those who betrayed the train drivers are those who have led the witch-hunt against the *Militant* and the witch-hunt against the changes in policy fought for by the left, and won at a succession of Labour Party conferences.

If they come for the *Militant* today, tomorrow they'll be coming for the LCC, tomorrow they'll be coming for *Tribune*, and the rest of the left.

This attack has been overwhelmingly rejected by the rank and file of our party. Nearly 400 Constituencies have now declared their opposition to witch-hunts, to bans, to a return to the proscribed list, and to the attack on the *Militant* newspaper.

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Labour Co-ordinating Committee opposes Register

GENERAL secretary of the Labour Party Jim Mortimer has received a letter he wasn't expecting. The Labour Co-ordinating Committee, to everyone's surprise, has informed Mr Mortimer that it will not join the proposed register — even though it first suggested the idea.

It feels that it should first consult its members and the best time to do that is at the annual general meeting. That isn't to be held till November, which is slightly unfortunate for the NEC since it will be after party conference. The LCC's letter also expresses doubts about a register, suggesting that there is a confusion between political and constitutional issues.

The LCC's decision will be a blow against the witch-hunters and will stiffen resolve against the register among those who have not fully committed themselves to outright opposition.

Hemel Labour Party — right fight back

By M Richardson, Hemel

THE ELECTION of Paul Boateng as parliamentary candidate for Hemel has launched the right on a witch-hunt. A press campaign conducted by supporters of the defeated candidate, Robin Corbett, has been condemned overwhelmingly by the General Committee of the local party.

Black GLC councillor Paul Boateng still has to be ratified at an extraordinary National Executive meeting called by Eric Heffer. The right in the meantime is removing delegates from the GE and has been attempting to put resolutions witch-hunting the left. So far, despite support from the likes of Richard Evans of the *Times*, the right has not been very successful in its efforts.

Now the left has to build on that success by turning the party outwards and showing rank and file members in the party and the unions that the fight in the party is to commit the party to socialist policies.



Jo Richardson
I would prefer to spend my time fighting the Tories. But we have to understand that if we're not very vigilant, then we shall be returning to the terrible days of the Tories in the Labour Party.

If we start on a witch-hunt beginning with *Militant* or whoever, then we're going to go back down that track to those

... when we were full of suspicions of each other instead of standing together to beat the common enemy.

Comrades, you cannot get rid of opinions by taking disciplinary action against people.

There are many things I disagree with in *Militant*, such as their attitude to women's rights, but I want them to remain in the par-



Tony Benn

THIS is a meeting about unity. It is about a united trade union and labour movement coming together because we know that everything we believe in is under the most violent attack since the beginning of this century.

So *Militant* means that one trade union supports another trade union. It means that the miners support the nurses and that, god they have, it means that the nurses picket with the ASLEF strikers. And so they did. It means the TUC supports workers in struggle. And alas over this weekend we have not seen that support forthcoming.



Pat Wall

COMRADES, what the TUC did last Sunday to the ASLEF strike undid in one stroke every meeting, every demo, every day of action, every leaflet, every school, every seminar that the TUC held on the Tebbitt Bill. Because that betrayal gives the green light to the government's union-bashing.

It's no accident that



NEW BADGE OUT

'Unregistered Socialist'

Black and white on red background 25p plus p&p: orders over 50, 15p post free. Send your orders in now to PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Cheques and POs to Brent Readers Group.

LABOUR'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Tribune calls for non-co-operation with register

Tribune, under new editorship, has taken an important new initiative against the witch-hunt. It is circulating an appeal, reprinted below, for signatories to a full page advertisement in its own pages which will call for non co-operation with the register. We urge all our readers to support this call, and seek labour movement affiliations and signatories for it.

Fight the Tories not the Party

Dear Comrade

I AM writing to seek your support for *Tribune's* campaign against the recent decision of the Labour Party National Executive Committee to establish a register of non-affiliated organisations which in our view will inevitably lead to expulsions.

We propose to place a full-page advertisement in *Tribune* signed by individuals and organisations opposed to the proposed register. The text will read as follows:

'We wish to record our dismay at the unwillingness of the Labour Party leadership to come to grips with the Tories and the SDP who are the real enemies of the party.'

'We wish to state our unequivocal opposition to the proposed register of non-affiliated organisations which we regard as an attempt to establish a new proscribed list and which we believe to be a recipe for an unending civil war.'

'We support the right of Labour Party members to form groups to advocate their views more effectively. We support the decision of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy and other organisations to refuse to register, and urge Constituency Labour Parties not to cooperate with the proposed register.'

'We call instead upon the parliamentary leadership of the Labour Party to cease their attacks upon party members and concentrate instead on fighting the Tories and the SDP.'

Please demonstrate your opposition to the purge by filling in the form below and enclosing £3.

fraternally

Chris Mullin, Editor of *Tribune*

Return to *Tribune*, 308 Grays Inn Rd, London WC1X 8DY by Friday 27 August at the latest.

I would like my name to be included in the 'Stop the Purge' Ad. I enclose £3 plus a donation of £.....
NAME ADDRESS
ORGANISATION



Arthur Scargill on the witch-hunt

THE SAME advocates of bans and proscriptions are the very same characters who are arguing that there should be no action in real terms against the Tories' anti-union legislation or for a wage claim or a claim for better conditions.

The language being used by the Roy Hattersleys, the Sidney Weighells and the Terry Duffys is reminiscent of the terminology used by Roy Jenkins, Shirley Williams, Bill Rogers. And I notice one of our leading trade union officials has said that unless we bring to heel the militants in the party there's a good chance that they will cut off finance. Well, that can work both ways.

We're one of the biggest subscribers to the party and we're not prepared to tolerate the expulsion of Militant or anybody else from the Labour Party.

But if anyone wants to examine closely the credentials of some members of the party, then I'm only too pleased to assist them. And the first question I would ask of any member of our party is this: do you support Clause IV? If not, the quicker they join the SDP the better for them.

This party has been through this witch-hunt once before. In the 1950s and in the '60s, the right wing of our party destroyed the chance of an effective socialist alternative policy. And for those historians who

want to look back and wonder why our party has gone downhill, I'll tell them why: because ever since 1945 our party has tried to practise capitalism better than the Tories.

It's not the left that divides our Party. I'm sick and tired of hearing this charge. It's the right wing who does so with the full support of the media.

I want to make my position perfectly clear. I am opposed to bans and proscriptions. I hope that one of the things that will emerge from this meeting is the reaffirmation that our party is not only opposed to a witch-hunt but firm in its commitment to change our party even further.

From the Tribune rally against the witch-hunt 20 July

A LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFERENCE 11 SEPTEMBER 1982 "Fight the Tories, not the Socialists"

Sponsors include:
Wavertree CLP; Brighton Kemptown CLP; Bradford North CLP; Isle of Wight CLP; Coventry South East CLP; Bradford District LP; Bakery, Food and Allied Workers Union Executive; Labour Party Young Socialists National Committee
and in personal capacity:
Bob Wright (AUEW); Les Huckfield MP (NEC); Joan Maynard MP (Vice-Chair, Labour Party); Jo Richardson MP (NEC); Ernie Roberts MP; Ken Livingstone (GLC Leader); Kevin Roddy (CPSA President); Rod Fitch (PPC, Brighton Kemptown); Terry Fields (PPC, Kirkdale); Derek Hutton (PPC, Wavertree); Tony Mulhearn (PPC Toxteth); Dave Nellist (PPC, Coventry South East); Terry Harrison (PPC, Edge Hill); Cathy Wilson (PPC, Isle of Wight).

23 Ironside House
Homerton Road
London E9 5PW

Dear Comrade

As you are no doubt aware a massive campaign of abuse, lies and distortion has been undertaken by the Tory media against the Militant Tendency. Unfortunately, Labour's NEC has responded to this red-baiting by establishing a register of all groups in the Labour Party, excluding 'Militant'.

This is nothing short of a witch-hunt. An attempt to suppress socialist ideas and instigate a purge of the Labour Party. It is clear that this is not just an attack upon the 'Militant'. Should it succeed, all those campaigning for radical and socialist policies will be threatened.

This witch-hunt is against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of both Labour Party members and trade unionists. Already well over 200 CLPs have opposed such measures, along with hundreds of trade union branches and shop stewards' committees. Those who have supported it are detracting from the real tasks of our movement.

The main job of the labour movement should be to fight the Tories and their SDP shadows with bold, socialist policies, supporting workers in their struggles to improve living standards and defend jobs and services. To ensure this is done, the real voice of the entire labour movement must now be heard. We must reject a McCarthyite purge and fight the class enemy with a socialist alternative.

Your CLP/LP branch/trade union branch/shop stewards' committee/LPYS branch/tenants' association, is invited to send delegates to a Conference called on 11 September at the Central Hall, Westminster.

The Conference is being convened to oppose the witch-hunt and launch a campaign to "Fight the Tories not the Socialists".

All bona fide labour movement organisations are entitled to send delegates, and are invited to sponsor the conference. Speakers will include: Ken Livingstone (Leader of the GLC); Les Huckfield MP; Pat Wall (twice selected Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Bradford North); Terry O'Neill (President of the Bakers Union and Candidate for the NEC); Peter Taaffe (Editor of Militant) and other leading figures from the labour movement.

Further details will be forwarded later. Organisations agreeing to send delegates should complete the form below and return it to the address above. Should your organisation require a speaker, please send requests to me at the same address.

On behalf of the sponsors I look forward to your organisation's support in the fight to defeat this witch-hunt, and to struggle against the Tory government, securing the election of a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

Yours fraternally,

Tony Saunio

Tony Saunio
Conference Organising Secretary

Please send credentials for delegates (maximum 5 per organisation) on behalf of (name of organisation)
I enclose a cheque/PO for (£1 for each credential)
My organisation agrees to become a sponsor of the conference (tick if applicable)
We would like a speaker (tick if applicable)
Name
Address
Cheques etc. to be made payable to "Labour Movement Conference Fund"

Brum Trade Unionists against witch-hunt

The following motion was passed by Birmingham City Branch Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff (541) on 7 July 1982

THIS BRANCH condemns the witch-hunt currently being waged by the leadership of the Party against left-wing activists within the Party's ranks.

It is ironic that such a step should be taken under the leadership of Michael Foot, who was himself subjected to a witch-hunt years ago.

The witch-hunt has no other purpose than to try and halt the successes of the left within the Party which have taken place over the last twelve months. It occurs at a time when clear socialist arguments need to be posed by the Labour Party to the mass of ordinary people and when the policies of the other parties are held in such contempt by growing numbers of Trades Unionists.

We therefore agree to:—
(a) Raise this issue with our Divisional Council and ask for support.
(b) Call on all the branch Labour Party delegates to oppose the witch-hunt in their Labour Parties and jointly sponsor the meeting in (c) below.

(c) Organise a Public Meeting under the banner of 'No to the Witch-hunt — Fight the Tories' as soon as possible.

That a known national speaker be invited to address the meeting (eg Tony Benn) and that a place be reserved for a speaker from a trade union in struggle (such as the NHS).

(d) Write a letter expressing the above to the ASTMS National Executive Committee and other appropriate leadership bodies.

(e) Defend the right of all socialists to express their views within the Party.

(f) Seek support from other

Labour Movement Bodies for the above.

TONY BENN has been invited to attend the meeting planned provisionally for September 13 at 7.30pm at Digbeth Civic Hall.

Further enquiries to Stephen Faulkner (Chairperson ASTMS City Branch) 95 Douglas Road, Acoccks Green, Birmingham B2 6HH.

A date will be announced for a planning meeting for the Public Meeting and delegates will be welcome from Labour Movement Bodies supporting the above.

Lewis Davies

Lewis Davies died in a climbing accident in the French Alps on 22 July. Lewis was a leading Socialist Challenge supporter in the North-East. He was secretary of Middlesborough trades council and a delegate to the GMC of Teeside Middlesborough CLP. He was former president of Teeside Polytechnic students' union. He served on the national executive of the NUS in 1977/78 as a member of the Socialist Students' Alliance, for whom he helped organise a delegation to Ireland in 1977.

His death is a devastating loss to the labour movement on Teeside. His comrades in CND, NALGO, the Labour Party and the trades council will never forget his dedication and devotion to the cause of international socialism.

Bob Pennington reviews BBC 2's *Man Alive* programme on private health

Profits or people?

MOST PEOPLE work in the health service because they care; they are motivated by the most ennobling of sentiments, concern for fellow humans. Helping the infirm and the dying contrasts with speculation and the exploitation of others.

To some of the medical profession, pain and suffering are commodities that can be cashed in on. A long time ago they took the Hippocratic Oath. Personally, I doubt whether anyone called Hippocrates ever sat under a tree on the Greek island of Kos, and set forth the basic laws which should guide doctors. But the legendary ideas he allegedly propounded — that doctors visit the sick wherever they may be, on

the basis of need alone — seem to me an excellent guide for all medics. The notion that medicine should be a social service is a right today as it was over two thousand years ago.

Fat

When I see doctors waxing fat on the pain and suffering of others, I know corruption is running riot. Last Wednesday, I watched BBC 2's *Man Alive* debate private medicine. It

was a vivid reminder of what health care should be, and how some see it as a business just like any other.

Two doctors, one with the unfortunate name of Martin Webster, and his friend Dr Stanley Balfour-Lyn, who is chairman of American Medical International, argued for a private health service. They were opposed by a panel of Scottish health workers.

The doctors were in a candid mood. They made no bones about the fact that private medicine could '... not offer a service as good as the NHS.' Yes, they admitted that 'private hospitals had

waiting lists sometimes longer than the NHS.' Without shame or embarrassment they conceded that the 'private sector could not provide better medicine than the NHS.'

Point

So what's the point of building private hospitals? According to the two advocates of private practice, for 'people's right to choose.' Of course they never said that what permits you to choose, in the private sector, is the size of your bank roll. If you can not grease the palm of some avaricious consultant, you have no choice.

Dr Balfour-Lyn did, in a burst of candour, admit that his company had to get a 'return on the money' their shareholders had invested. The Hippocratic oath is okay in its place, but Mammon comes first.

It is a sad state of affairs when doctors can plead guilty to wanting to charge money for an inferior service. Martin Webster actually replied 'no' when asked if he would go into the private Nuffield MacAlpine Hospital for a major operation. What is good for some geese is obviously not good for certain gander!

By this time my faith in the medical profession had

begun to reach an all-time low. But it got a real boost when the opposing panel of doctors, nurses and other health workers got to grips with the issues. In their near unanimous opinion private medicine was a parasite on the NHS. Dr Sam Galbraith succinctly described it as 'morally dubious'.

Sweet

For stating the obvious fact that patients matter more than money, Dr Caroline Shack was patronisingly told by Balfour-Lyn that this was a sweet sentiment. As we know, sentiment never paid the wages of those in

the super-tax bracket!

Cash

Man Alive brought home the difference between a socialist view of medicine and a Tory view. To the cash conscious and the profit seekers, every disease has its price. The patients get what they pay for, and the health workers will be paid as little as possible for their labours. Socialists have a different view. We want to harness the skills and the compassion of the great majority of health workers for the medical advancement of everybody. We want to turn the legend of Hippocrates into a reality.

Demonstrate and strike for health workers' victory

National demo needed

By Janet Maguire

THE HEALTH workers' dispute is to be stepped up. Starting on Monday 9 August, the TUC has called for a 5-day strike, although in that period emergency services will be provided.

This is a step forward, but it is still not enough. The government is determined to stand firm. Bolstered by its victory over ASLEF, it now intends to inflict another blow on the trade unions. Government reasoning is that the trade unions must be taught that they cannot win. The Tories also intend to hack chunks out of NHS, some services are to disappear altogether, while other services are to be handed over to private contractors. The government has a vested interest in defeating the health workers.

This is therefore a struggle which the working class can ill afford to lose.

Both the defence of the general trade union movement and the NHS is at stake.

Need

Inside the NHS, more effective and biting action is needed. Continuous, selective strikes must be introduced on a national scale. In some hospitals this is already the case. Workers in the stores, the central sterile supply unit and so on, have via a levy paid by their fellow workers been on strike every day. These actions have a devastating effect on the running of the hospitals, reducing them

to accident and emergency levels only.

This type of action must be taken up right across the country. Money to finance these workers can be got from the national health unions and by collections among all workers organised by the TUC, as well as a levy on all health workers.

Of course this action is not a substitute for, or an alternative to the 5-day action called for on 9 August. It must be a prelude to the 5 days of action and if need be this action must continue following the 5-day strike.

The support given to the health workers by miners, dockers, steelworkers and other militants, has been excellent. But it has not been coordinated by the TUC, who have restricted

themselves to 'encouraging' sympathetic action. All the forces of the labour movement must be brought behind the 12 per cent claim. A start to this would be a national demonstration called by the health unions and the TUC. This should be held on Friday 13 August and the TUC should call on all its affiliated unions to down tools on that day and march with the health workers.

Step

Only the tardiness of the national health unions and the failure of the TUC to organise action behind the health workers can hand victory to the Tory government.

Step up the action: All out on 13 August.



Southampton health demonstration

In the regions

SHEFFIELD HEALTH workers made sure that COHSE general secretary Albert Spanswick was made aware of their dissatisfaction with his leadership of the 12 per cent dispute. Angry workers brought to a halt a meeting in Sheffield City Hall demanding the right to speak.

The rally was disrupted for ten minutes when a group of workers marched up to the line-up of speakers and union officials, demanding the right to speak. After massive protests, NUPE shop steward Moira Lashy of Middlewood Hospital was allowed to take the platform.

Moira's spontaneous speech demanding that the union leaders stop putting forward the arguments for the case and get on with 'what is going to happen from here' received a standing ovation. She told Spanswick that the 'majority of hospital workers felt that an all-out indefinite strike was the only way to win the claim'.

When Spanswick got up to speak he was heckled and the hall

which previously held 2000 people almost emptied as people turned their backs on him and walked out.

In Bath during the three-day action, secondary picketing by health workers brought refuse collectors out in sympathy. This has driven the local Tory city council into a frenzy and its personnel committee discussed prosecuting both sets of workers.

The Bath Tories are seeking government advice about whether or not they should do this, and to see if government cash would be available to take the case to court.

Brian Fooks, NUPE chairperson, said the trade union movement did not recognise a law that outlawed secondary picketing.

Moves are now underway to get Bath Labour Party and trades council support for the workers, and for even bigger action in the five-day strike in August.

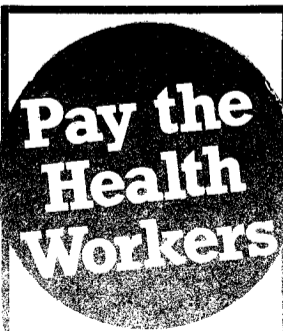
In Southampton, key workers at the General Hospital took strike action over five days in the sterile surgical supplies unit, thus reducing the

hospital to emergency services only.

The Southampton Labour Party has been leafleting door-to-door urging support for the strike and is also raising finance.



South Wales NHS strikers clap miners giving solidarity



Pay the Health workers badges available at 25p each

Orders for 10 or more badges — 20p each
Orders for 100 or more — 15p each

Cheques payable to 'Cardinal Enterprises' and send to 'Badges' PO Box 50 London N1. Why not get your trade union or Labour Party branch to order some?

'Much more democratic'

PAUL O'SULLIVAN from Trelewis Drift pit in South Wales was at the recent NUM annual conference. He spoke to Barry Wilkins about it.

AFTER the TUC betrayal of ASLEF, eyes are now turned to the National Union of Miners to take on the Tories. The recent NUM conference at Inverness confirms the determination of the miners to do just that, and with added confidence now that they have rid themselves of the Tories' friend, Sir Joe Gormley. With their new leader, Arthur Scargill, they are committed to strengthening the hand of the left in the labour movement.

Conference decisions to extend union democracy, like the pledge to elect full time officers every five years, is a beacon to every trade unionist whose determination to fight is sabotaged by the TUC scabs of Weighell, Sirs, Chapple and Duffy. This mafia are accountable to no-one but themselves and their Tory friends.

This week we print three contributions from miners. They explain to Socialist Challenge how they view the NUM conference and what will happen now to carry out its decisions.

'It all comes down to leadership'

Bob Moody, Nottingham Area Executive, NUM talked to Andy Miller.

THIS conference was the most significant for a number of years. It remains to be seen when we put the issues to the membership whether we get the right leadership to enable us to carry them through. With ASLEF, the health workers and all public sector workers under attack from the Tories, it is time now for the miners to take a stand.

A number of other issues came through from the conference. Protection of earnings has been made a priority. This is a sore point in all the coal fields and it is long overdue. I am sure we can win the support of the membership on these issues of protected earnings, increased pensions, a four day week and improved holidays.

Pit closures is another issue that effects all the areas. It is

not a parochial issue. Nobody can trust the Tories as far as they can throw them and no pit is safe. There is also the question of job losses. In the last year we've lost 220 jobs. North Notts is a profitable area, which just goes to prove that no pit is safe.

We also have to fight to develop new pits. I'm thinking of the Vale of Belvoir where millions of tons of coal are waiting to be developed. We had a situation where a Tory controlled County Council and its vanguard can dictate whether we exploit the energy resources of the country and create thousands of jobs.

Again it all comes down to leadership, I'm not just talking about the leadership at area and national level. We've got to put it across to the membership that so long as a hit list exists, so long as we are getting only limited investment, no job is safe.

Strike for healthworkers



Arthur Scargill

AS ARTHUR Scargill said in his final address as Yorkshire Area President, the miners are looked to for a lead by the whole labour movement.

JOHN CHAMBERS, Markham Main NUM, explains how his pit is trying to live up to that challenge.

A special union meeting was called to decide what support should be given to the health workers' Days of Action on 19-21 July. Although a resolution had been passed at area level to support the nurses, both financially and on the picket lines, it was left to individual branches to take the initiative.

The well attended meeting opened with a report on the current wages of health workers, and how little they would be changed by the government's latest pay offer.

The branch president then stated his support for the nurses' struggle, and asked for us to take strike action in solidarity.

In the discussion from the floor, it was pointed out that in 1972 the miners enjoyed a great deal of support from other workers during the seven week strike. It would be criminal not to return this support to the health workers. This was more than just a fight for a decent living wage. It is a fight to protect the health service as a whole from being whittled away by the Tories.

To loud applause, Tebbit's Employment Bill was condemned as a vicious attack on the unions. The best way to fight it was through mass support for the nurses, the ASLEF train drivers, and any other group of workers under attack. This meant taking solidarity onto the picket lines.

One member said that if the branch did not take action to support the health workers his conscience would not allow him to work on Monday anyway. This was echoed by many other miners.

Although there were some men who complained about losing a day's pay in what they thought was a token gesture, there was no valid argument against the resolution. When it came to a show of hands we voted to strike, by an overwhelming majority leaving minimum safety cover on for the shafts, fans and boilers.

THIS conference inspired me. It was a breath of fresh air after Gormley. It marked the dawning of a new era of militant trade unionism.

First our union is going to become much more democratic. Changes will be made in the National Executive Committee to give full weight to the left wing areas which have been under-represented for so long. Conference also supported the principle that all full time officials of the NUM should be elected every five years.

The details will now be worked out and decided at next year's conference. These two changes will give much more dynamic and democratic leadership in the union. The right wing realise this.

Sid Vincent, leader of the Lancashire area implied that he was having nightmares about what democracy will do in the union!

Second, conference decided to demand £115 minimum for surface workers, with across the board increases for other grades. If the Coal Board does not settle with the union by the first of November, there will be a ballot for industrial action. This will be linked to the demand for investment recruitment in the pits to create more jobs — it will be a package deal which the union will fight for. There was a very strong feeling that the union needs to go much more on to the offensive against pit closures and to win more recruitment.

The National Executive Committee will wage a massive campaign throughout the ranks of the union to organise to win this package. National Executive Committee members will tour pits, not just in their own areas but in other areas too. This has not happened since 1974 and will have a big impact.

Also the union newspaper, *The Miner*, will be used to the full. Scargill will make it a campaigning paper like the *Yorkshire Miner*. There will be a lot at stake in this campaign. As Des Dutfield, Vice President of the South Wales miners said, 'If the NEC is not given support by the rank and file this

time, it will be given the green light to the government and the Board to shut pits and attack the miners.'

There was strong emphasis on the need for trade union solidarity. An emergency resolution was passed overwhelmingly in support of the train driver's strike.

Peter Heathfield, the secretary of the Derbyshire miners pointed out that the train drivers were fighting for the survival of their union ASLEF. Miners were asked to join ASLEF picket lines.

The TUC was called upon to give support, but instead they stabbed the train drivers in the back.

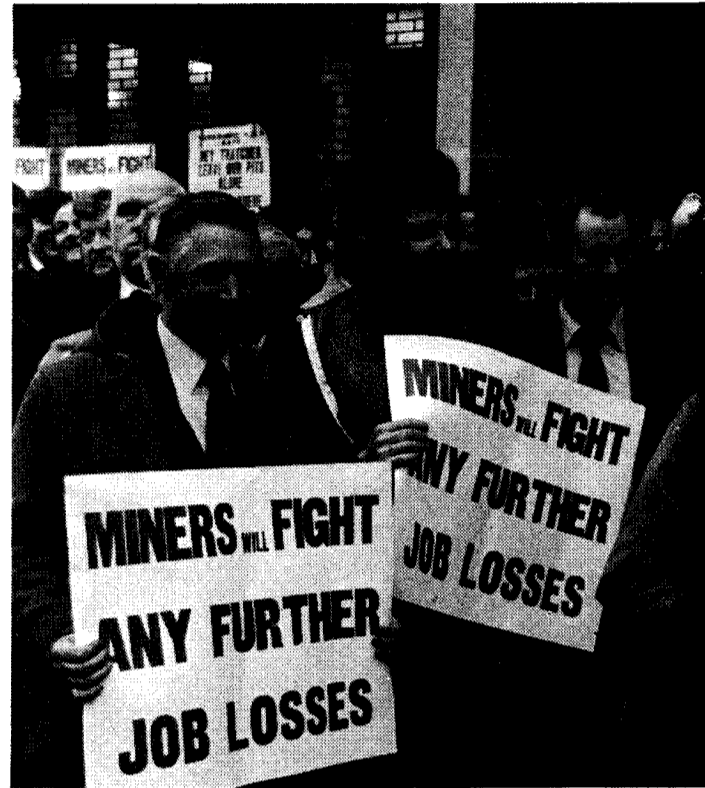
Emlyn Williams, President of the South Wales miners moved our resolution against the Tebbit bill. This calls for trade union solidarity against Tebbit and demands that the TUC should organise a real opposition in 'deed not words'. It will take industrial action to defeat this legislation.

There was also discussion about international politics. A very good resolution from Scotland opposed the US intervention in El Salvador and any American attacks or threats in Nicaragua or Cuba. It also gave support to liberation struggles in Latin America. Emlyn moved an emergency resolution demanding the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Lebanon and condemning the repression of Palestinians and the attempt to annihilate their liberation organisations.

He argued that the miners must stand up for the solidarity on an international level. Eric Clarke, Scottish miners secretary explained that the NUM is not anti-semitic but must be anti-Zionist.

Finally Mike Griffin from Penrhwi-ceiber pit in South Wales raise a question about the NUM's stance on military repression in Poland. Lawrence Daly, NUM National Secretary replied that the NEC is still trying to send a delegation to Poland to meet rank and file Polish miners and find out the situation first hand.

All in all it was a positive and inspiring conference.



South Wales miners section of lobby of NUM Executive against pit closures

NUM calls for action on El Salvador

THIS conference of the National Union of Mineworkers demands that the trade union and labour movement demonstrate its opposition, by collective action if necessary, to the intervention of the United States and its cohorts in El Salvador and Cuba.

CONFERENCE further demands that the British government dissociates itself from the US policy in Latin America which is determined in the interests of the multi-nationals, whose only interest is to exploit the wealth of the Latin American countries, and refuses to cooperate as observers at any elections conducted in El Salvador under the present regime with its brutal suppression of the democratic forces.

CONFERENCE declares its solidarity with all people in Latin America struggling for freedom and democratic rights and calls upon the labour and trade union movement in Britain to campaign on behalf of the suppressed people of Latin America.



Miners from Tower lodge picket hospitals in solidarity with health workers, Tyrone O'Sullivan is explaining

1972 - A YEAR OF



Arthur Scargill in 1972. His flying pickets won the day



The battle of Saltley Gate was an inspiration to all workers



The fight against 'containerisation' in the docks was a fight for the right to organise. It was the dockers who confronted the Industrial Relations Act head on.

1972 WAS a year of mass struggles. The working class fought against incomes policy and anti-union legislation; national strikes and occupations were used against job loss; Manchester engineers occupied over 30 plants to pursue a national wage claim; there was the first ever national building strike. And of course there were the miners and the flying pickets and the dockers and the freeing of the Pentonville 5.

PAT HICKEY looks at different components of the struggle in 1972 and at the crucial role of leadership — and lack of it — during that time. In the wake of the horrendous sell-out by the TUC over the train drivers' strike last week, there are both parallels and the roots of today's crisis to be found in the events of a decade ago.

Miners: Scargill and the flying picket

THE PACE for 1972 was set at the beginning of the year by the miners' strike. Prime Minister Ted Heath had introduced 'Phase One' of a legally binding incomes policy. The Tories had prepared for a confrontation with the miners. The previous year the power workers and the postal workers had been defeated. Stocks of coal were high and the right wing leadership of the miners' union had no stomach for a fight.

But the government's offer of £1.90 was seen as an insult by the rank and file. A new left leadership had begun to develop around a little known official called Arthur Scargill from Yorkshire.

From the beginning of the strike on 9 January both the TUC and the NUM tried to limit it. 'The men are being a damn sight more militant than we would want them to be..' said NUM President Joe Gormley.

The feeling in the labour movement was the reverse. Dockers refused to unload coal and most lorry drivers refused to cross picket lines. Scabs had to be paid £20 a day (worth £60 today) to break the pickets.

There were arrests throughout the strike and one miner was killed — crushed by a scab lorry. But it was the flying pickets and the shutting down of the fuel depot at Saltley in Birmingham that was the turning point in the strike. Saltley became a symbol both for the miners and the government. 130,000 tons of coal were

stockpiled at Saltley.

Picketing by the miners began on Friday 4 February. Large numbers of police were mobilised, at times outnumbering the miners. Scab lorry drivers drove at the picket lines at high speed waving iron bars.

Monday saw the first day of solidarity action when workers from SU Carburettors and from building sites joined the miners. Throughout that week the police kept the depot open by the sheer use of force.

But on the Thursday, 10,000 Birmingham engineers converged on Saltley. The police were swamped. The lorries stopped. By 11am the officer in charge closed the gates 'in the interests of public safety'. The miners had won the battle of Saltley Gates.

After that the government had to find some way of getting off the hook. It set up the Wilberforce Inquiry. The result was a big setback for Heath's income policy. Once again it was the actions of the rank and file going far beyond what the leadership wanted that had won the day.

When Saltley Gates were closed Arthur Scargill said, 'The events of today will go down in the history of the British working class movement as a historic day, when not just individual unions but British trade unionists decided that they had had enough of police brutality. They had had enough of intimidation by police in obtaining passage through the picket lines for scab labour, and they decided to do something about it.'

'We had a lesson in workers control. For the first time in many years the workers of this land decided that the nation would be defied: that the state system would be defied and the gates of Saltley would be closed. It is a situation like this, I suppose, in the future which will bring about the kind of unity in the trade union movement that is necessary to combine the whole forces of the labour movement to bring about a socialist revolution.'

These words of Arthur Scargill echoed the sentiments of many militants. After Saltley, there was a huge wave of militancy. Millions took action against the Industrial Relations Act. The well-organised engineers went into a national pay fight. The poorly organised building workers pulled off the first truly national strike. The totally unorganised women cleaners in Whitehall under May Hobbs organised and won wage rises.

To many militants it seemed that deepening militancy and ever growing solidarity would indeed usher in the British Revolution. But it was not that simple.

Freeing the Pentonville 5

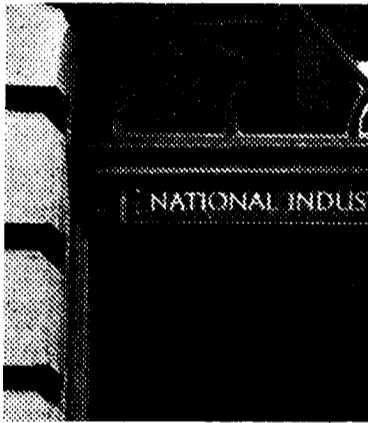
'THE ISSUE is far greater than good industrial relations. The public at large, through a properly elected parliament, has set up the industrial court... Our whole way of life is based on acceptance of the rule of law.' It was Friday 21 July 1972. Sir John Donaldson, President of the National

Industrial Relations Court (now newly appointed Masters of the Rolls place of Lord Denning) was making an order committing five dockers to prison.

The five, Vic Turner, Bernard Steer, Anthony Merrick, Derek Watkins and Cornelius Clancy, had refused to obey a court order to stop picketing the Midland Cold Storage depot in East London.

At the heart of the dispute lay the hated Industrial Relations Act. The Act attempted to make the trade union leaders police their own members by making unions responsible for the action of its shop stewards. Hence the transport union was fined £55,000 because lorries were blacked at Heaton's Transport, St Helens, and at other firms.

The line of the TUC on the Industrial Relations Act was to engage in protest actions and in a policy of non-cooperation. It had refused to confront the Act head on. Instead TUC leaders had engaged in talks with the government and the bosses.



Confederation of British Industry of 'solving' the country's economic problems.

An incomes policy was at the heart of these talks. The mood in the class was in stark contrast to the attitude of the TUC. 1971 had seen 13.5m days lost in strikes — the highest since the General Strike of 1926. By the first six months of 1972, 15.5m days had been lost with nearly 1 million workers involved.

The jailing of the Pentonville 5 was the first big test of the Industrial Relations Act which aimed to tackle the power of the shop floor organisation in British industry. The rank and file were not prepared to see five of its comrades jailed. In this growing mood of militancy the TUC was forced to call a one day general strike for 31 July. Within hours of that decision taken on 26 July — a decision which was opposed among others by David Bassnet and Frank Chapple — the dockers were freed.

The working class hadn't waited for the one day general strike. The docks were at a standstill; there were no national newspapers; nearly all the London buses were off the road; the train drivers were preparing to take strike action. And so on around the country.

This great wave of industrial action culminated in a huge demonstration that moved from the Industrial Relations Court to Pentonville prison to greet the five dockers. 'Ee Ay Adio, we've got the dockers out' was the cheer that resounded over and over again that fateful Wednesday afternoon ten years ago. It was a magnificent victory.

It was a victory for the rank and file despite the trade union leadership. But they were unable to take the struggle forward to remove the Act from the statute book. On the day that the dockers were released, the Lords upheld a fine of £55,000 on the TGWU for failing to control its shop stewards on Liverpool docks.

MASS STRUGGLES

More importantly, the rank and file were unable to develop a national movement to organise the left in the unions and settle accounts with the Tory leaders like Feather and Len Murray who continued to seek a deal with the Tories, or like Reg Prentice who had attacked the dockers and declared that 'the law should be obeyed'.

The 'Free the Five' struggle had forced unions such as the EEUPTU, STC, ASTMS and USDAW to abandon their support for the Act and come off the register. But the trade union bureaucracy was determined to avoid a fight with the Tories, and the Act remained in force, much weakened, until the Tories fell.

The need for a national alternative capable of fighting the leadership, and leading independent actions soon became clear on the docks. Jack Jones, transport union leader, still living on a reputation as a left, was preparing a sell-out deal on the docks dispute, which had been behind the confrontation with the IR Act.

dockers had not been sufficient to withstand the sell-outs of the leadership. Industrial militancy alone was not enough to deal with the right wing bureaucracy. The rank and file leadership had no effective counter to Jones. Tens of thousands of jobs were lost.

Only a fight to fully nationalise the ports and major sections of road transport could have stopped the disastrous effects of modernisation on jobs and living standards. What was lacking was a nationally co-ordinated left wing. The right wing lived to sell out another day.

Leadership, the old, old story

JACK JONES scabbing on the dock strike was not the only instance of the trade union leadership acting against the militancy of the membership. Throughout the massive struggles of that year the positions of the leadership were in marked contrast to the actions of the class.

No army ever went into battle with a more reluctant leadership. Hugh Scanlon, president of the engineering union — who obtained his left credentials by opposing the incomes policy of the '64-'69 Labour government — refused to initiate national action over the 1971 engineering claim.

The claim was defeated despite over 30 plants in Manchester being occupied. The Communist Party dominated Broad Left in the AUEW, which had organised Scanlon's victory against the old right wing leadership, refused to campaign against Scanlon's position.

This defeat undermined the position of the left and laid the basis for a resurgence of the right, taking Scanlon with it.

There was a similarly high level of militancy in the building industry in pursuit of the national claim: £30 for 35 hours. The rank and file organisation led by the Communist Party was mainly responsible for the development of the strike and the energetic use of flying pickets. But its paper, *Building Workers' Charter*, failed to appear at all during the strike.

After 14 weeks, the building workers' union, UCATT, sold out the strike. More than that, when two pickets, Des Warren and Ricky Tomlinson, were later jailed for five years and three years respectively for alleged intimidation during the strike, no mass mobilisations released them from prison.

UCATT refused to defend the pickets because the union could not be seen to endorse 'criminal' activities. By using the criminal law instead of the industrial relations law, the Tories succeeded in regaining some of the ground they had lost on the picketing issue with the Pentonville 5.

The most glaring example of the role of the trade union leaders was the deal they cooked up with the Labour Party. On the very day the TUC called a one day general strike to free the Pentonville 5, the trade union leaders agreed to a voluntary incomes policy under a Labour government in return for the repeal of

the Industrial Relations Act.

This was Harold Wilson's 'Social Contract' which was to lead to the fastest fall in living standards and the most rapid rise in unemployment since the second world war.

The depth and breadth of the anti-Tory struggles on the part of the rank and file so alarmed the TUC that they began to make preparations for a Labour government equally committed to policies for saving capitalism. In fact the TUC couldn't even wait for a Labour government.

At the TUC Congress in September, wage controls were decisively rejected. One month later, the TUC General Council was engaged in tripartite talks with government and CBI on incomes policy.

But it was the Industrial Relations Act that dominated this whole period. The TUC had opposed action against the Act. General Secretary Vic Feather said that such action was unconstitutional and contrary to the traditions of the movement to take action against an elected government.

But the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, based on the shop stewards organisations and led by the Communist Party, called for action. Hundreds of thousands of workers struck in two days of action. The TUC was forced to move but it channelled the action into protest demonstrations.

Scanlon, under pressure from his shop stewards, called a number of one day actions which had the support of over 1.5m workers. But the trade union leaders were not prepared to fundamentally challenge the government.

The LCDTU, and the broad left in the engineering and building unions, abdicated leadership of the struggle to the bureaucrats. The enormous potential of those struggles to bring down the Tories and replace them with a Labour government tied to defending the interests of the working class was lost.

Had the LCDTU and the broad left, which quickly lost support, fought both to win the officials to action and to organise as a consistent opposition at the base of the unions, the recent history of our labour movement could have been very different.

The labour movement, despite its massive organisational strength and fighting spirit, had a deadly weakness. It had a leadership which refused to build on the strength of the class to defeat the anti-working class policies of the government.

The Tories' policies were eventually defeated by the gut militancy of the working class. They fell in 1974 with the final blow being delivered by the miners. But the failure of the left to organise an effective opposition to the right during the struggles against the Tories, allowed the Labour right to take up the initiative.

The deal that had been approved on Wednesday 26 July 1972 was put into operation. The Social Contract led to the fastest fall in the living standards of the working class since the second world war.



Bernie Steer



Derek Watkins



Cornelius Clancy



Anthony Merrick



Vic Turner

The Pentonville 5. Their imprisonment led to widespread national strike action. It forced the TUC to call a one day general strike. But the mass of trade unionists weren't prepared to wait.

Sir John Donaldson was president of the hated National Industrial Relations Court. As he jailed the dockers he said, 'The purpose of this court is to promote good industrial relations'. The issue was, he claimed, 'whether these men are to be allowed to opt out of the rule of law.' This man, now Lord Donaldson, is a fitting successor to Lord Denning as Master of the Rolls.



Dockers contained: the morning after

THURSDAY 27 JULY: it was the morning after the Pentonville 5 had been released. Dockers were lobbying Transport House waiting to hear the recommendations of the Jones-Aldington Report.

Jack Jones was general secretary of the transport union and Lord Aldington was a former Tory MP and chairperson of the Port of London Authority. Together they had formed a joint union/employer committee which had been established to deal with the jobs crisis in the docks.

This had been caused by the massive introduction of container freight. The off-port container depots were a threat to thousands of dockers' jobs. It was the picketing of these container depots that had led to the jailing of the five dockers.

The Jones-Aldington report did nothing to save jobs. Instead it offered improved redundancy terms. The delegates rejected it, and the dockers launched an immediate all-out strike.

After the freeing of the five the mood was militant. Flying pickets and clashes with the police were the order of the day. A state of emergency was threatened.

Jones-Aldington hastily produced a new report. Although only slightly changed, Jones packed the delegates' meeting with representatives from the smaller and weaker ports. The dockers lost the fight to control the container depots. Over the next few years the docks were decimated.

The tremendous militancy of the



Welsh miners were only part of tremendous demonstration that marched from the Industrial Relations Court to greet the 5 on their release from Pentonville Prison.



Bernie Steer addresses the jubilant crowd outside the prison: 'We were put in prison by political court and it was the trade union movement that got us out.'

Letters **letters** Letters
Letters **LETTERS**

Dismissing alternatives to arms production

WHILE Brian Heron's overall analysis in 'Rearming the disarmament movement' (SC 9 July) is correct, and shows some actual knowledge of what he is talking about, I must pick him up on one particular point.

While the CP may well be interested in alternative production for arms industries it is not solely their property as he seems to suggest and criticise.

It is a popular and integral part of CND's overall strategy. It is one attempt to answer the question 'how' when you shout 'Jobs not Bombs'.

It is a practical and straightforward tactic which can link disarmament to those sections of the labour movement who have advanced to working on alternative production techniques.

For those of us trying hard to integrate unilateralism with the labour movement we must work with as many sections of the movement as we can.

In order to stop spent nuclear fuel and missiles going through cities on the railways we try to get

ASLEF and NUR support. Given their current problems it is not easy but you might say this is 'forcing workers in the (rail) industries to shoulder the burden and responsibility for a labour movement response to the missiles'.

Let's be realistic, alternative production, demos of a quarter of a million, or pressuring the PLP are not going to achieve anything on their own.

We have to do them all, and to do them with the maximum of support from, and organisation by, the labour movement.

CND has a policy of support and encouragement to the setting up of work place and trade union CND groups. Surely looking at alternative ways of working is a positive step forward.

GL YOULDON
Vice-Chair London CND

I MUST object to the glib way that Brian Heron simply dismisses the issue of alternatives to arms production in his article 'Rearming the disarmament movement' (SC 9 July).

Building CND on a 'mass action labour movement orientation' obviously means demonstrations, conferences and work in the workplaces and insofar as the Communist Party obstructs this, it is at fault.

But if we are to move beyond mass protest, to labour movement action, then we are talking about paving the way and preparing the climate for political industrial action.

Industrial action, either direct or in solidarity, inevitably involves either bases or the arms industry.

In West London, this question is brought to the fore by the sheer number of arms factories. It has become an issue now, as shop stewards at one of the Hayes EMI factories, in conjunction with the TGWU district office, struggle to develop a strategy to mobilise the workforce against redundancies. This is exactly the opportunity that CND needs to develop a labour movement orientation.

Any CND group that calls for action against the war drive and war industry, without considering the issue of jobs and alternative products, will, with justification, be ignored by most trade unionists.

Socialist Challenge's

World is divided into two classes

ON THE one hand Davy Jones and Geoff Bell give the Spanish state a positive role to play in dealing with chauvinism in the British working class (SC 24 June).

On the other hand Mary Alice Waters (SC 11 June) gave Costa Mendes and the Argentinian junta a positive role to play in the struggle against US imperialism. Apparently, recognising Cuba as 'socialist' virtually constitutes a change in class 'camp' for the military junta.

I am very definitely a defeatist in relation to England, not only in imperialist wars but also in the World Cup. The world is divided into two classes.

WRITE TO US!

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Marx: front line fighter on Ireland

FOR KARL MARX the greatest happiness was to fight, submission was the greatest misery and servility the vice he detested most, writes John Ross (SC 9 July).

That is so for every revolutionary and Karl Marx was the greatest revolutionary. Time and again Marx put himself on the front line for the oppressed Irish people. Through the International Working Men's Association, Marx relentlessly attacked the servile trade union leaders for whom happiness meant turning their backs on the sufferings of the Irish people.

The whole Marx household laboured tirelessly to expose Britain's horrible treatment of the Fenian prisoners.

Marx organised demonstrations to demand their amnesty. Engels rejoiced that the Fenians' liberation war could arouse violent and anti-English sentiments amongst the lower orders of the English working class. This is the fighting communist tradition on Ireland.

Today, children like 11 year old Steven McCoomy are being murdered with the anti-civilian plastic bullets. There are repeated army raids on homes, with a conveyor belt of police beatings, torture and imprisonment in the six counties. There is vicious police intimidation and frame ups of Irish immigrants in England.

The Labour Party shows no shame for having



prosecuted a terrorist war against the working class, and the trade unions refuse to defend their Irish brothers and sisters. The Irish Republican Army has the support and the resilience to mount a permanent challenge to the stability of the British state.

With all this, if Marx were alive today would he not again be on the front line making propaganda, agitating, organising to get Britain out of Ireland?

Would Karl Marx be happy on the mock battlefields of Labour candidate selection meetings or would he be happy on the streets building anew fighting organisations for the British working class? John Ross and every single reader of 'Socialist Challenge' know the answer to this question.

Are they happy to face its consequences? If not, then they could be described as followers of many historical figures, but not, in truth, as followers of Karl Marx.

Victory to the Irish people!
ANDY GODDARD

pamphlet 'CND - Lessons of the first wave' makes this point: 'Industrial action has to be understood as a tactic in the broader campaign to win the whole working class to reject the bomb... this requires an explanation of the possibility of replacing war production by production for social

need.' Brian should read the pamphlet, stop sloganising and give some thought to what a 'mass action, labour movement orientation' looks like in practice.

LEWIS EMERY
Hounslow, W. London

Postal points

J WOODWARD
Manchester

Gay rights

I WAS pleased to see your article on Gay Rights and the labour movement (SC 9 July). You could have left out gay rights and put rights for gays. As your article says we have no rights. It's discrimination all the time (unlike say Norway where there are laws against gay discrimination).

You also forgot to mention discrimination in

one's family. I came from Nottingham to London because I just could not face my family asking about marriage when my gayness came out. I soon found out who my nearest and dearest were and they did not include my own parents, which is not unusual.

RG MARLOW
SE London

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EL SALVADOR Solidarity Campaign meeting Thursday 12 August, 7.30pm, Star Pub, Glossop, Derbyshire

BIRMINGHAM rally in solidarity with the Palestinians. Saturday 4 August 7.30pm Digbeth Civic Hall. Speakers: Ernie Ross MP, Dr Uri Davies and PLO speaker. Organised by Ad-Hoc Committee in Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

LONDON TRANSPORT Fraction Sunday 8 August 11am-3pm SC office.

Socialist Challenge Events

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LONDON TRANSPORT Fraction Sunday 8 August 11am-3pm SC office.



Photo: PILE (RANI) (Socialist Challenge)



CND has to look for alternatives to arms production

Nicaragua: three years of revolution

JULY is a month of revolution: on 14 July the starving people of France stormed the grim Bastille prison; on 4 July thirteen American states won formal independence from the British empire.

Since World War II, another two dates have been added to the calendar of revolution. On 26 July 1953, the year of Stalin's death, 120 people led by an unknown ex-student called Fidel Castro stormed the Moncada barracks

in Santiago de Cuba. The attack failed, but the movement formed from it — the July 26 Movement — inspired and then led the Cuban revolution. And on 19 July 1979 the Nicaraguan revolution deposed the hated president Somoza.

These revolutions are now under daily threat: our eye-witness report from **ANDY DE LA TOUR** in Masaya, Nicaragua, tells how the people are facing this threat as they celebrate their third year of revolution.

AT 5.30 in the morning, Monday 19 July, the day of the third anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, a twin-engined plane fired two rockets at a fuel depot at Corinto, northern Nicaragua. Both rockets missed.

So reported Commandante Daniel Ortega, Coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction and member of the directorate of the FSLN a few hours later to the crowd of 40,000 assembled in Masaya to celebrate three years of the revolution. The plane attack is further reminder, if reminder is needed, of the state of war that exists in Nicaragua today. Armed attacks on Nicaraguan militia and installations occur daily, mainly from across the Honduran border.

But as the counter-revolutionaries, financed and armed from Washington, grow bolder in their military actions, so their support inside the country diminishes. The Nicaraguan people are on a war-footing and this third anniversary celebration was no passive commemoration. The slogan appears everywhere: 'We defend the revolution by building socialism'.

The official slogan of the day — 'Without counting the cost we will fulfill our duty to the country' — signifies 'no retreat'. No retreat from the military tasks of defending the country and the revolution, no retreat from extending the 'power of the people' over the land they work; no retreat from the ambitious economic and social programmes planned and begun in health, education, housing.

As Corinto was attacked we were boarding a bus to take us the 20 miles from the capital, Managua, to Masaya. Over here demonstrations begin at 8.30 in the morning!

The young Sandinista militia guard was marched over us as we boarded the bus told me that he was a maths teacher by trade but was thoroughly enjoying his military duties. He parted his ex-US army issue sub-machine gun with pride, smiled, and wished us a good day at the celebration.

He had to stay behind and finish his guard duty at the hotel; every public building throughout the capital is guarded. By 9 o'clock up to 30,000 had assembled in the plaza in Masaya, mainly local inhabitants but also contingents and represen-

tatives from all the mass organisations — the Sandinista Workers' Federation, the peasant organisations, the agricultural workers' union, the Sandinista Youth, the national women's organisation and the Sandinista Defence Committees — local community organisations that sprang up during the insurrection and now form the basis of 'people's power' in Nicaragua.

The crowd had swelled to 40,000, almost filling the streets of this small town, by the time the nine members of the national directorate of the FSLN took their places on the podium, beneath the hand-painted 30 foot mural of Augusto Sandino, Carlos Fonseca Amador and Rogoberto Lopez Perez.

This anniversary celebration was small compared to the 600,000 who filled the centre of Managua this time last year. But this followed a policy decision to locate the anniversary celebrations in different towns each year to honour the different roles they played in the revolutionary war.

At our demonstration there were only the local inhabitants plus the contingents from elsewhere, including 500 campesinos who had walked all the way from the coast. In any case, the problems of transport, especially in the context of the state of war that exists, just does not allow for the transporting of huge numbers of people to any one particular place.

The choice of Masaya for this year's celebration has deep significance. The founder of the Nicaraguan revolution, Augusto Cesar Sandino, was born in the region of Masaya.

More recently, the town of Masaya played a key role in the July 1979

insurrection and rightly deserves its title of 'heroic city'. It was one of the places from where the final assault on Managua was launched; it was the Masayan Indian community that lit the fuse of the insurrection in the previous year and the history of this town's militant struggle goes back centuries to the resistance against the brutal colonialism of the Spanish conquistadores.

The town shows its scars. The walls of the houses peppered with bullet holes, the bombed and gutted houses from the final murderous days of Somoza and the young Sandinista war-victims, crippled and limping towards the town centre. There are too many heroes to be named from this town alone but a short list of martyrs fallen in struggle is read out slowly to the crowd.

After each name the demonstration roars 'They're here!' The anniversary honours its dead not with sorrow but with the promise to complete the struggle to the end.

Guest of honour was the President of Venezuela, Luis Herrera Campins, who received a luke-warm reception from the crowd. His speech was continually interrupted with slogans of 'Socialism!' from the Sandinista Youth.

But Venezuela has, for whatever opportunistic reasons its government thinks fit, provided Nicaragua with desperately needed technology and oil. And with Washington nearing another Vietnam-type involvement in the

region, the Sandinista government has to maintain good relations with those Latin American governments that are compelled to pay lip service to the Nicaraguan revolution, whether they be Venezuela or Argentina.

But the crowd roared to greet Ortega when he rose to speak. At a reference made to the destabilisation campaign of the Reagan administration the US ambassador left his seat on the podium and walked off in a huff.

The theme of the Commandante's speech was the consolidation of the revolution and the need to go forward. Detail by detail he went through the different areas of national reconstruction and defence — of the need to arm the entire people, of the need to extend the right of tenure to the peasants, of the need to extend the state sector and cooperatives into wider areas of the countryside, of the need to reach production targets of the staple crops, and of the need to extend the mass organisations that now encompass an incredible one half of the entire population.

'Production — Study — Defence'. Ortega left no room for anyone to think that Nicaragua might hold back because of the threat of imperialist intervention.

And when the crowd replied 'No Pasaran' — 'They shall not pass' — to each of the tasks that were spelled out, they were replying to Reagan, to the ex-Somozist counter-revolutionaries, to Robelo, to the ex-Sandinista renegade Eden



Pastora, to the reactionary 'La Prensa', and also to all the 'faint-hearts' and 'cry-babies' inside Nicaragua who do not love the revolution and who will not fight for its successful conclusion.

By a picture of Lenin near to our bus for the return journey to Managua we were again reminded 'We defend the revolution by building socialism'. The workers' movement throughout the world owes it to the Nicaraguan people to fight to stay the hand of US imperialism and to support wholeheartedly this still unfolding revolution.

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Solidarnosc — 2 years from Gdansk

By Pam Singer

Solidarnosc was born two years ago: a strike wave begun in July 1980 culminated in the historic signing of the Gdansk Agreement on 31 August which signified the beginning of the most formidable working class opposition we've ever seen to the bureaucracies in the East European states.

But it is more than just a trade union: it organised 95 per cent of the industrial working class, as well as students, intellectuals, and small farmers each with their own organisation. A model of proletarian democracy, it was an attempt to make a reality of the first line of the Polish constitution: 'Power belongs to working people of the town and countryside.' Here we go over the events which led to the formation of Solidarnosc.

The spark was rising food prices. On 1 July the authorities announced a price rise of factory-distributed meat. By the next day, tens of thousands of industrial workers stopped production in protest.

By 8 July a more radical strike wave was underway. Workers began demanding an improvement in working conditions in addition to higher wages and lower prices.

By mid-July, in the industrial centre of Lublin, the strike spread from factories to transport. Railworkers

demanding wage increases, new factory committee elections, work-free Saturdays, retirement at 55 and 1,000 per cent increase in family allowance. They guarded their depots from the police and army.

On 14 August workers reporting for the early morning shift at the Lenin shipyards were greeted by a poster reading: 'We demand a 1,000 zloty wage rise, a cost of living bonus and news on the sacking of Anna Walentynowicz' — a militant of some 30 years seniority. Soon

leaflets were distributed to all sections and workers made banners.

By 9am thousands gathered in the shipyard's central square. Amid roars of protest the director attempted to speak. Lech Walesa, who had been sacked for involvement in the 1976 strike and had climbed over the gates to get into the shipyard declared a strike and occupation.

200 delegates were elected to the strike committee mandated on 11 basic demands: the abolition of the communist party controlled 'official trade unions'; release of political prisoners, reinstatement of those victimised; family allowance parity with the militia and the building of a monument in front of the shipyard gates to commemorate the workers killed during the 1970 strikes.

A negotiating committee of 20 was elected, and a workers militia set up — there were going to be no more martyrs.

News of the occupation spread. Before long the Paris Commune shipyard in Gdynia was on total strike and communications were set up between all striking enter-

prises. After many sessions of negotiation, the committee accepted a management offer and Lech Walesa announced the end of the occupation. But the workers who had heard every word over the loudspeaker system wouldn't have it. They wanted to stay on strike in solidarity with the others who were still out. The strike committee revoked its decision.

It was clear that strike was not simply for wage rises it was a well organised political offensive.

That evening the 'Enterprise strike committee' was formed encompassing delegates from the three coastal towns of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot. Within a week it represented almost 400 enterprises.

It drew up the famous list of 21 demands of the Gdansk agreement of which the main one was for the acceptance by the state of independent trade union.

On 31 August, the agreement was signed signifying not the end of the struggle but a historic movement in a struggle that is by no means resolved.



Lech Walesa holding up pen that signed Gdansk agreement

Lebanon — the hour of decision

By Brian Heron

'WE HAVE only our lives to lose.' This is the bitter judgement on the siege of Beirut given to the world's press by a Palestine Liberation Organisation fighter last week. Arms in hand, fighting at the side of the PLO, comrades of the Fourth International in the Revolutionary Communist Group delivered their own view of the Israeli onslaught: 'They are making a massacre ... in a few hours there were more than two thousand victims. The systematic use of fragmentation bombs has been particularly murderous ...'

Since the latest drive by the Israelis began on Sunday 6 June, thousands have died, seven hundred thousand people have become refugees and ten thousand rot in army camps. Descriptions of torture are widespread, which have been confirmed recently by a British citizen who was taken prisoner by the Israeli army as a PLO sympathiser and tortured.

This is the bloody balance sheet of the fourth major drive since 1948 by the Zionist rulers of Israel, backed by US imperialism, to put an end to the Palestinian 'problem'.

The Palestinian problem, as the ruthless logic of war reveals, is nothing less than the key to the Middle East revolution. Four and a half million Palestinians are dispersed (often as a result of

massive military offensives) across the map of the Middle East.

One million two hundred thousand are in territories occupied by Israel since 1967, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, five hundred thousand live within the 1948 borders of the Israeli state. The other two and a half million are spread mainly across the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia, in Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon.

This dispossessed population has formed the bedrock of an armed struggle against the Zionist client of imperialism since 1964. Unlike most of the reactionary regimes of the region, the Palestinians cannot compromise with the imperialists or their clients, for they have nothing to barter.

Victims

As a result, the Palestinians are always the ultimate victims of any major imperialist offensive in the region. When Israeli tanks and planes delivered their stunning blow against Egypt in 1967, the final chapter of their offensive was not written until September 1970 with King Hussein's destruction of the Palestinian camps in Jordan.

For, as usual, it was the Palestinians who were prepared to continue the resistance to the Zionists through to the end, and who paid the price in blood.

Similar moves by president Franjeh were started against the PLO in 1973 in the Lebanon. Once again the Palestinians had to



Israeli troops overlooking Beirut — scene of genocide

fight for their existence. In the event, victory for the Palestinians in alliance with Lebanese peasants and workers against the rightist Christian and Falangist militias in the civil war of 1975/76 was only staved off by the intervention of the Syrians.

It should surprise no-one therefore, that before the ink was dry on the Camp David Accords, Israel invaded Southern Lebanon in 1978.

Pay

Today the Israelis seek yet one more decisive solution. But they will have to pay an enormous price to get it. For while imperialism, led by the US, can no more let its interests in the region co-exist with the armed Palestinian people than can the Zionist state, their Israeli allies are

becoming an embarrassment.

As the guns thunder across West Beirut, so Washington looks anxiously toward its new allies in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Can the reactionary Arab bloc, built so painfully by the US, survive the effects of the heroic resistance of the PLO? From this concern comes Reagan's proposal to land US marines in the Lebanon.

Begin and Sharon's war machine has been supplied and bolstered by the US up to the last bullet. But that machine may go too far, from the point of view of the stability of Arab reaction.

In such a situation imperialism can only trust those forces directly under its own control. And as every hour passes, so

solidarity builds with the PLO, so the peace movement in Israel undermines the morale of the Zionist war machine.

As always, war concentrates the strengths and weaknesses of the contenders. The clash of arms searches out any crack in the armour of the imperialists. It has created a great strain between components of the alliance which the US has spent so many dollars to create. At the same time the leadership of the PLO comes under the brutal searchlight of war.

Right

United Nations resolution 242 was passed in the aftermath of the '67 Arab-Israeli war. As the *Guardian* of 22 July puts it: 'Acceptance by the

Palestinians of such a resolution is tantamount to recognising the right to exist of the State of Israel ...'

PLO leaders, including chief spokesperson Zabadi, are now proposing an amended version of this resolution as the basis of a comprehensive peace settlement.

After the '67 war, PLO leaders received support from some Arab regimes on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of their respective countries. From this flowed a certain dependence by the PLO on the Syrians and others as the guardians of the Palestinian cause. At the same time the PLO retained armed resistance to the Zionists.

As a result, when sold out by the Syrian intervention into Lebanon in '76, the PLO retained its

autonomy, its armed organisations and its capacity to resist — as is now graphically shown in the suburbs of Beirut.

But the PLO's policy had the effect of cutting it off from sections of the Arab masses, who themselves struggled against the weight of their oppressors at home.

Today one or other of these lines will triumph. For it is no longer possible for them both to co-exist. The PLO will win diplomatic and political triumphs because of its resistance to imperialism and its allies in the streets of West Beirut.

Dismantling the armed struggle and recognition of Israel will set back the Palestinian cause twenty years.

All mobilisations in aid of the Palestinian cause should be supported.

Youth CND condemns Israeli invasion

By Jim Coutts

Youth CND has declared its support for the peace movement in Israel, which campaigns for an ending of hostilities in the Lebanon.

Youth CND condemns the Israeli invasion, its National Committee says, 'in which massive numbers of men, women and children have been killed. We believe this war illustrates the way in which nuclear war can be triggered off by a conflict in the Middle East.'

What is Trotskyism?

Great bourgeois revolutionaries

By John Ross

IN THE last article of this series, I stressed that Marxists had 'no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole.' Marxists always unite with anyone who is fighting oppression, exploitation and injustice.

This then raises the questions: Who can be relied upon to lead such struggles? Will their leaders stop once they have achieved some minimal reforms, and then give their support to the ruling class on all other issues? Who are the people who will carry through the struggle right to the bitter end? These are the questions Marxists must ask, because the answers tell us which type of alliances can be made, and who can be supported.

Action

The history of the capitalist revolutions shows why Marxists support the actions of people at certain times, despite the fact these people were not in any sense connected with socialism, nor were they consistently progressive.

The British revolutionary, Oliver Cromwell, illustrates this point. Cromwell, is remembered by the Irish people with deep hatred and correctly so. He conquered Ireland carrying out dreadful massacres of the population.

In England he suppressed the movements that wanted to divide the

land and bring in more democracy. At critical times in the struggle against the monarchy he vacillated. His rule was through the army.

Despite this, Cromwell is the greatest and the most progressive person in England's capitalist history. At the time of the civil war in mid-17th century England, there was no possibility of working class rule. Only the feudal landowners, represented by the king, or the capitalist class, organised through parliament, were powerful enough to take power. Anything else was utopian. So war broke out between the forces of Charles I and parliament. At first the parliamentary forces vacillated and compromised, but Cromwell put a stop to this and organised the revolutionary 'shock troops' of capitalism, the new model army.

Even then, parliament hesitated to take the decision to execute the monarch. Cromwell's lieutenants, Ireton and Pride, purged the House of Commons, removing those who would not act against Charles. The king was beheaded and the absolutist power of the monarchy was destroyed. Cromwell had established the supremacy of parliament. For the next two centuries Britain was the richest, and in a relative sense, the most free country in the world. Given the limitations of the productive forces, these were the maximum gains that could have been made then. Despite his limitations and even recognising his crimes against the Irish and the

poor peasantry, Cromwell is recognised by Marxists as a great revolutionary leader.

The French revolution is an even better example of the revolutionary role played by capitalism in its early development. The French revolutionaries, overthrew the absolutist monarchy.

This was done by arming the populations of Paris and the provincial cities. The peasants seized the land. When the counter-revolutionary armies of Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia invaded they were beaten back by the revolutionary armies of France.



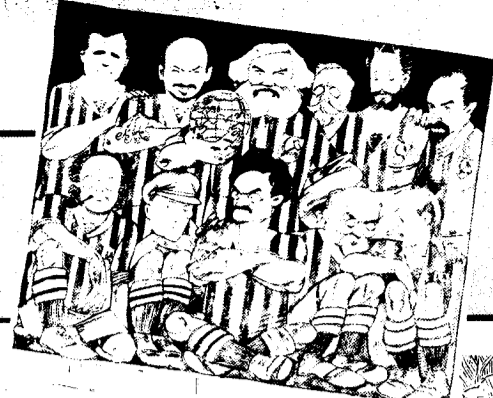
Robespierre

As in Britain the bourgeois forces initially hesitated fearing to deal with the monarchy and even more fatefully vacillating before the threat of invasion. But at the decisive moment the capitalist class acted. Inspired by Robespierre, and the Committee for Public Safety, the masses dragged the king from his palace at Versailles to his place of execution. Universal male conscription was introduced and the population of Paris was armed. The Austrian army — financed by Britain — was routed. The greatest and most far-reaching revolutionary upheaval ever seen in history until that time had taken place.

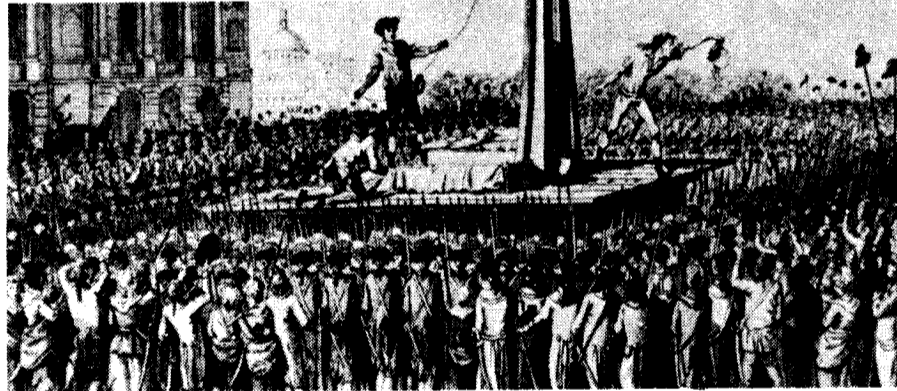
The last of the great capitalist revolutionary struggles was that fought by the armies of the Northern Union against the slave-owning Confederacy of the American southern states. Again at first Lincoln and his capitalist friends refused to abolish slavery and tried to hold back the revolutionary energies of the people. But faced with the deepening of the Civil War they had to crush the southern reactionaries by force. In 1862 — two years after the war started — Lincoln abolished slavery. General Grant's armies destroyed the slave owners as a social class and prepared the way for a massive expansion of the productive forces.

In all these struggles the attitude of Marxists would be to oppose all the vacillations and hesitations of the capitalists in the war against feudalism and reaction. Because the capitalists did take action against the old order and acted decisively then they would have to be supported to that degree. This is what determined Marx's attitude to the American civil war, and what would have determined the attitude of Marxists to all the early struggles of the capitalist revolutionaries.

However, the transformations which took place during the 19th century changed the character of the capitalist class and its role. Their historically progressive role became exhausted and therefore the working class and the Marxist movement had to take a different attitude to capitalist movements. This is what we will look at in the next part.



10 August '72: The French King taken prisoner



21 January '73 Louis XVI is executed

A strategy for black liberation

By Anil Sen, South London Revolution supporter

LAST SUMMER's youth rebellions gave a militant, uncompromising lead to all those fighting the Tories. A shaken Margaret Thatcher admitted she had experienced her worst days since coming to power.

But the Tories and their rotten system are still here. Despite the whitewash Scarman Report, police harassment of black youth goes on. The Tories have mounted new attacks on the black communities.

'From Rebellion to Revolution' is a new pamphlet produced by Revolution and Socialist Challenge, a weekly socialist paper. The pamphlet brings together the different experiences of the fight against racism, and maps out a road for the liberation of black people.

Are black people condemned to misery and harassment for ever? No! The pamphlet argues that precisely because they are so oppressed, black people will be in the leadership of

the struggle against this capitalist system, which by its very nature breeds racism.

To do this we need a policy of action based on the struggles of black people and workers. The ideas of the great black revolutionary Malcolm X are essential in working out a strategy for fighting black oppression. Malcolm rejected the idea that black struggle has nothing to do with the struggle of white workers against their oppressors. But he also argued that black people must first organise under their own leadership.

This will enable them to best win the support of white workers, while forcing them to examine their own attitudes towards black people. This will in-



Black people march against racist murders

evitably bring white workers into conflict with the misleaders in their mass organisations: the labour bureaucrats.

The struggle of Asian

women at Grunwicks in 1977, actions against the Tories' Nationality Act, the New Cross Massacre Campaign, and the Bradford 12 Defence Campaign

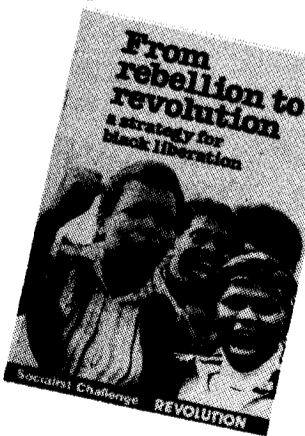
are the most recent example of the fightback led by black people, which were able to win sizeable support from the labour movement.

The struggle against the British ruling class is an international one. Around the world, black and other oppressed peoples are fighting to the death against British and American imperialism. The Caribbean revolutions of Grenada and Nicaragua are the high point of this fight, and are a living inspiration for us. It is up to the black and revolutionary movements in Britain to be in active solidarity with these struggles.

The fight against black oppression requires us to link up with industrial workers and all youth fighting the bosses' system.

But to fight against the bosses means we must challenge the inaction of the traditional leaders of the labour movement, who do everything possible to collaborate with the bosses, and fight for a new leadership of the workers' movement.

To finally destroy this rotten system, the working class needs a programme



which unites all the struggles of the oppressed, and links up with revolutionary struggles around the world.

Revolution and Socialist Challenge are fighting both for a new leadership and a programme of united action. We support independent black self-organisation, but explain to black youth and workers to join with us in fighting for the liberation of all the oppressed and exploited in society.

If you want a copy write to: East London Socialist Challenge, c/o PO Box 36, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8. Cost 20p plus 13 1/2p postage. Write for bulk rates.

YCND to march to Labour Party conference

By Jim Coutts, National Committee member Youth CND

YOUTH will be marching for jobs not bombs on 24 September. The march, organised by Greater Manchester CND leaves Manchester and arrives in Blackpool, two days later on 26 September.

We aim for the march to join up the Labour Party Young Socialists and the YCND under the slogan: Jobs not Bombs. On reaching Blackpool, the march will link up with the Labour CND demonstration which is marching on the Labour Party Conference. Labour CND will demand that the two-thirds majority which unilateralism got at the last conference be put into practice.

In Blackpool we hope that every possible section of the labour movement will swell the

ranks of CND, YCND and the LPYS. This can be a real example of unity in action and help to beat back the witch-hunt.

Youth CND has had a massive growth over the past few months. It is now the largest political youth organisation in the country, but it still has to face up to how to stop cruise and trident, because the YCND can not do this all on its own.

To stop missiles, you have to stop Thatcher, and to stop Thatcher you have to link up the fight against the war drive, with the struggle against unemployment. This means insisting that the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress takes the lead in the campaign against unemployment and that the Labour Party makes

the campaign for unilateral disarmament a main part of its manifesto.

Already local YCND groups are making this, along with the YCND festival, one of their big events in the next two months. In the Greater Manchester area we are trying to get sponsorship from the labour movement. We want organisations and the LPYS branches to sponsor their own

members so that when we arrive at Blackpool, the delegates will see that it is not just CND, but it is an action backed by the labour movement.

Remember unemployment is climbing to the four million mark. Next year the cruise missiles arrive. Let's fight back against these evils and one way to do that is to be on the Manchester march.

model resolution

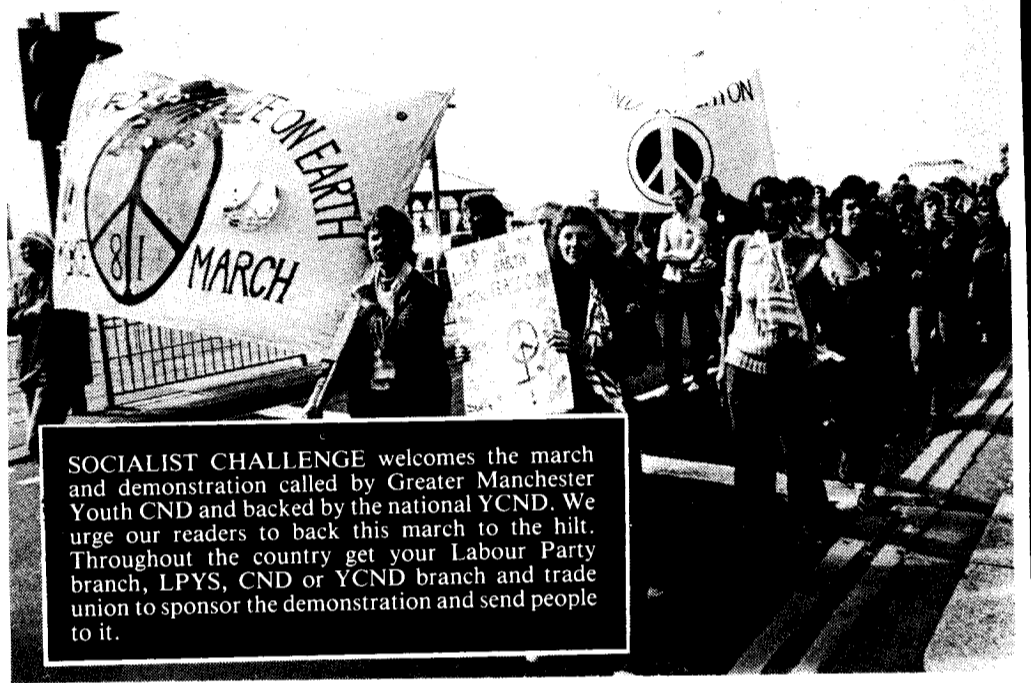
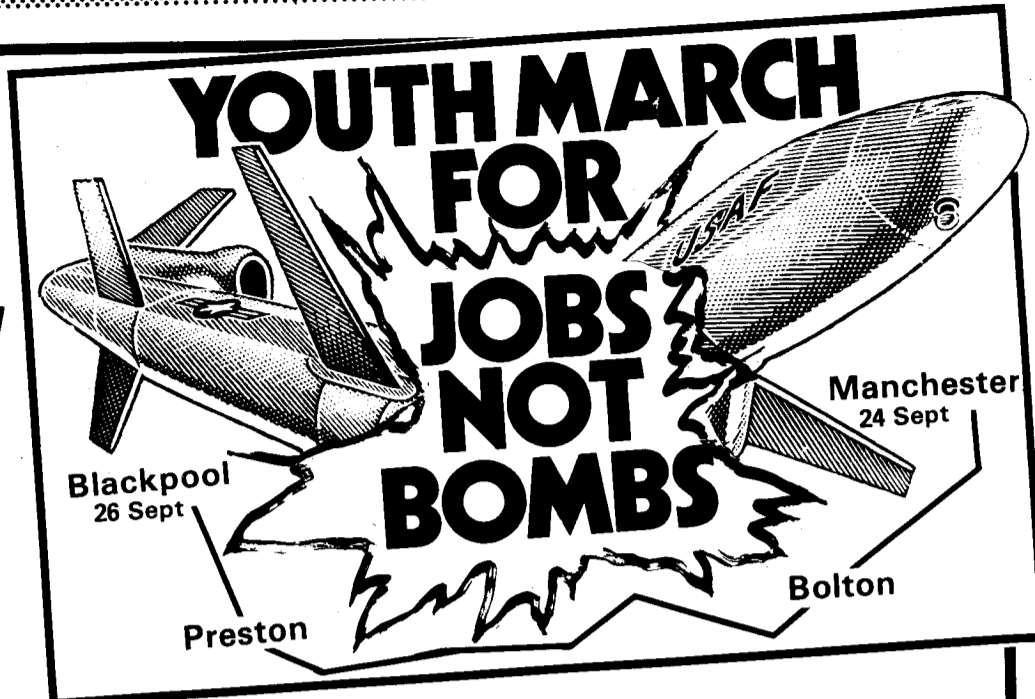
THIS BRANCH of the LPYS supports the Youth CND's Youth March for Jobs Not Bombs to the 1982 Labour Party Conference.

In line with the decision of the LPYS conference this year to support the activities of CND we call upon the LPYS National Committee to sponsor and support the march as the best way of showing its support for the CND and building the LPYS.

We call on other branches of the LPYS to support this appeal and to come on the march.

Notify: Youth March for Jobs not Bombs
48 Swindon Close
Gorton
Manchester.

or Tel. 061-236 4905
by 14 August if your LPYS supports this statement.



SOCIALIST CHALLENGE welcomes the march and demonstration called by Greater Manchester Youth CND and backed by the national YCND. We urge our readers to back this march to the hilt. Throughout the country get your Labour Party branch, LPYS, CND or YCND branch and trade union to sponsor the demonstration and send people to it.

Bonus schemes in the public sector

By Bob Pennington

THINGS ARE NOT what they used to be. People are climbing the walls of Buckingham Palace to nick the royal wine and borrow cigarettes — nobody pays their own way these days. The spirit of enterprise, the family and the community just do not seem to count any more.

But the Metropolitan police is a thin 'blue line' that is still trying to keep the old standards alive.

Because the Met has however tried to encourage enterprise and build closer links with the community it has been slandered and villified. A motley collection of professional knockers — headed by operation countryman — is after the blood of the coppers.

Charge after charge has been made against our police. Countryman took 209 complaints against individual officers and in order to find out what these charges were, police were forced to break into the city commissioner's office!

Countryman asked the Yard's Complaints Investigation Bureau to take charge of 187 enquiries into police corruption. If some one had not nicked 93 of these, large amounts of public money would have been wasted investigating wild charges against our police.

Because the police try to help people, they have been under suspicion. Brian Davies was a convicted fraud who intended to mend his ways. So he turned to the police for help. He entertained 10 police to booze and food.

He took one policeman to Paris so the lad could arrange his honeymoon. He hired a Rolls Royce to take detective constables to see Evita.

Then after these policeman had unselfishly given up their time to help him, he went and reported them to operation countryman. If some one at the Yard had not suppressed the photographs, receipts and witnesses' statements Davies gave to countryman, these police would probably have been jailed for trying to help Davies get back on the straight and narrow.

Unlike the majority of trade unionists in the public sector who rely on public money for all their earnings the police have been prepared to go out and start their own bonus schemes. 'Commander A: ... received money in respect of a major crime inquiry resulting in non appearance of a witness ... Commander B: received part of £40,000 paid to officers in respect of bank robbery inquiry ... Commander C: received money in respect of theft and Commander D: corruption, perjury and conspiracy ...'

This goes to prove that those who are in charge are prepared to get their hands

dirty with the rest of the workforce — if only the rest of our businesses had managers and directors like that.

All the Met works hard for its money. Right from the unnamed people who collected £300,000 reward money from the silver bullion job pulled in March 1980, to the humblest detective constable. The young constables are not allowed to sit on their arse. The force has its own YOPS scheme and so they are sent out to deal in drugs, flog the odd bit of porn, collect their protection money from the West End prostitutes and to take part in burglaries and stick ups. If the hospital cleaners showed that kind of enterprise they would not be moaning about being low paid.

Even when the police have tried to do social work they have been misunderstood. Countryman claimed that detectives extorted money from criminals for bail, for privileges and for weakening prosecution cases.

What countryman did not understand was that the police are only too well aware of the overcrowding of Britain's jails and that is why they have been prepared to help the bankrobbers and stick-up merchants keep out of the nick.

But they know that crime must not pay. So they have instituted their own system of fines, which saves the country the ex-



pense of trials, and keeps the jail population lower. After all you have to make sure that there is plenty of room in the nick for the blacks and the lefties.

Countryman was apparently taken aback when

they learned that a group of detectives had sent a telegram to the wedding of one of south London's most violent tearaways. The telegramme read: 'Best wishes from one good firm to another.' Cynics in

countryman were doubtful when a detective in the 'firm' explained that the police were just interested in the thief's future and thought family life might mend his ways.

The disclosures of

countryman could undermine our police force. If the Met feels that it can no longer run its own productivity schemes morale will be destroyed and then where would the country be?

Socialist Challenge

Make a mid-summer resolution

JOIN THE FIGHT



WHETHER baking on a beach in Majorca, tent-trekking in Tangiers or suffering through the repeats on telly in your own front room — summer is often a time for reflection...a time for planning...a time for decisions.

Your summer resolution this year we hope will be to financially support Socialist Challenge.

We want all our readers to think about the coming confrontation with the Tories and the fight for Labour to be reelected. We ask you to think about the healthworkers and their struggle for a decent wage rise and defence of our National Health Service

We want you to think of the hundreds of thousands dying in the Lebanon and El Salvador.

We know you care. So do we. Socialist Challenge is one of the few voices for working people in Britain that explains issues on behalf of working people the world over.

But more than this Socialist Challenge shows you what you can do to change the situation. It says how you can take action through your union, through your Labour Party, through CND, or as an individual.

If you're a railworker you know that Socialist Challenge was up front in defending ASLEF from the British Rail Board and the Tories; that it gave railworkers all over the country a way of talking to each other; that it helped raise money and organise solidarity actions and that it explained what's necessary to do in the future to stop another sellout by the TUC.

If you're in the Labour Party, you know that it gave total backing to the Benn fight for the deputy leadership and is part of the battle against the witch-hunt that is now going on.

Socialist Challenge was virtually alone in arguing against Thatcher's war in the South Atlantic and it helped build the demonstrations and public meetings against the war.

The New Cross Massacre, the Bradford 12, Newton Rose — all these cases and many more were defended by Socialist Challenge and their activities promoted.

It's absolutely clear. Socialist Challenge is vital to the fight against the Tory government and for socialism — only your money will keep it going.

Last week Des Stevens from Surrey sent us a donation saying: 'Your paper must go on — society needs it, including me!'

You need us and we need you. Make your mid-summer resolution. Support Socialist Challenge with a cheque or money-order payable to Socialist Challenge, c/o PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

We'll be taking a two-week break to give our staff a holiday and we'll be back on 20 August with a 12 page paper.

Our thanks this week to:

Bath	£22.50	Southwark	£70.00
Leamington	£19.00	Caerleon readers	£5.50
Stevens	£5.00	Birmingham	£300.00
Wolverhampton	£21.00	Lewisham	£80.00
Anon	£5.00	Nottingham	£57.00
Blanco-White	£40.00	York	£4.00
Swindon	£34.00	Sheffield	£80.00
Liverpool	£24.00		
Aberdeen	£60.00	Total	£937.00
Cardiff	£48.00		
Edinburgh	£40.00	TOTAL THIS	
Portsmouth	£22.00	QUARTER	£1837.69

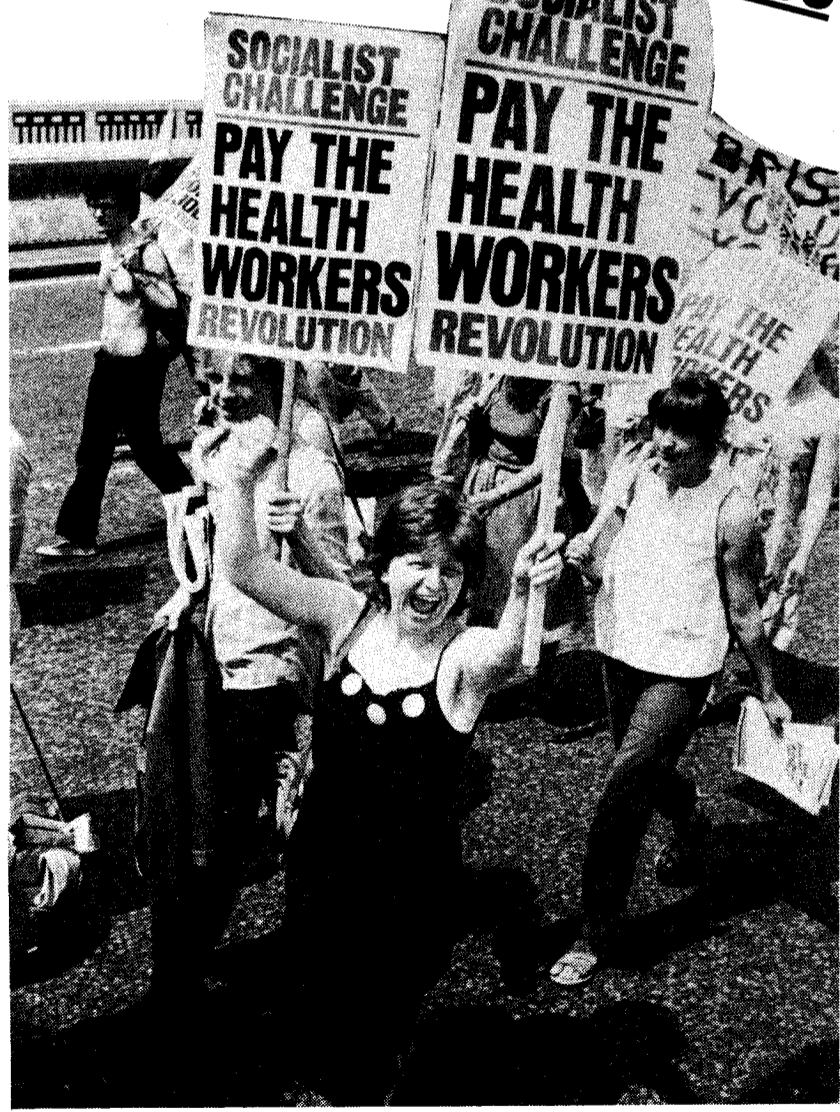


Photo: PETE GRANT

HANDS OFF THE PLO! ISRAEL OUT OF LEBANON!

National demonstration Saturday 31 July

Assemble Hyde Park, Speakers Corner 12.30pm. March to Trafalgar Sq for rally at 2.30.

Further information from Palestine Solidarity Liaison Committee c/o THIS, Oxford House, Derbyshire St, London E2.

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