

Socialist Challenge

GUILTY!



Our name is only kept in the news by gangs of bully boys who rampage through the East End of London beating up Asians. Despite our hatred of multi-racialism, such disgraceful acts of illegality and brutality cannot be tolerated.

The mindless morons must be brought to book and in default of a statement of condemnation by the party leadership and expulsion of lawless elements, we shall unilaterally turn over a list of troublemakers to the police and inform the newspapers of our intentions.

— NF internal document — see P.3

Activists have told me they wouldn't repatriate immigrants because it would be cheaper to kill them here, like Hitler killed the Jews.

Above the desk of one party official I spoke to was a map covered with crosses which he said were the sites of proposed concentration camps.

— Special Branch informer, Granada TV's World in Action



In Germany they didn't talk about the camps HEARD ABOUT H BLOCK LONG KESH?

'The walls, ceiling and door are all practically covered with decaying food, piles of it around the wall and heaped against the door and all black with live moss over it. We have to eat away from the door because that's where the majority of maggots gather. There is that many of them that they are crawling under the doors, some drop from the walls. I'm bouncing at times because of the heat and the stench of urine, excrement and decaying food.

'All Northern Ireland calls for (political) status yet we rot until we are no more, for there can be no return for us. It is victory or death.'

— Letter from H Block (See pages 8 and 9)

All Out for the Irish Prisoners:
London 9 July. Assemble,
Marble Arch 2pm. Called by
the Prisoners Aid Committee



Photo: G. M. COOKSON [Socialist Challenge]

Photo: G. M. COOKSON [Socialist Challenge]

Photo: JOHN SMITHSON [Socialist Challenge]

EDITORIAL

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ANL in action

THE PROGRAMME screened by Granada's 'World in Action' last Monday couldn't have come at a better time. It detailed the crimes committed by the British Nazis and interviewed the black, white and Jewish victims of fascist terror. Using the sworn testimony of a Special Branch informer active in the National Front, it indicted the fascist leaders of instigating and co-ordinating a campaign of harassment. The informer stated: 'Activists have told me that they would not repatriate immigrants because it would be cheaper to kill them here like Hitler killed the Jews.'

None of these revelations will come as a surprise to readers of the left press. Their importance lies in the fact that what we have been saying for many years is now being accepted by a broad range of people. Few who watched the 'World in Action' programme would be left in any doubt that the NF is a Nazi front.

This makes the campaign conference of the Anti Nazi League this weekend even more important. For if there was one thing which the TV programme demonstrated, it was the need for the broadest possible opposition to the NF. This already exists in the form of the ANL. What we have to map out at this conference is how to build on the excellent work already done by the League.

For if the ANL is to be built as a long-term rather than an 'emergency' operation, it will need local and national structures which can effectively service such a campaign. The growing attacks on black people in the ghettos have already seen the ANL responding with demonstrations and pickets of support. Activities on this front will have to be further developed in the coming period.

With an autumn general election in the offing, the next major activity of the ANL must be to organise meetings and actions in all the major industrial centres of Britain. The NF are standing 318 candidates and their propaganda will have to be combatted in an audacious way. If, however, the elections are postponed until next spring, the ANL should plan a massive intervention at the Labour Party Conference. An Anti Nazi Camp should be organised outside and a massive rally, carnival and demonstration should be set in motion.

The ANL has both to maintain its broad character and adopt a perspective of mass actions against fascism and racist attacks. There might on occasion be some tension between the two, but they are not fundamentally counterposed. For the success of the ANL has been due to its ability to mobilise tens of thousands of young people. This must continue. However, for building in the labour movement, an equally important task is to cement the alliance with members of the Labour Party. A combination of both is vital for the ANL's future.

Chile's 'disappeared'

THE PROBLEM of Chile's disappeared prisoners is boring. That's official — it's what the president of the Chilean Supreme Court told a delegation of visiting West German MPs. He also took the occasion to lecture them about democracy: 'Don't come and tell us about democratic standards. You have a lot to learn from us. Chile has more than 160 years of democratic history behind her and you have only 32 years.'

The arrogance of government spokespeople goes even further. The Interior Minister last week denied that the disappeared prisoners existed: 'The Government has carried out all relevant investigations and established that these disappeared persons do not exist as such'. The relatives of the disappeared have replied to this rubbish in the only way fit: they have accused the security services of responsibility for the disappearances, and it now seems probable that the hunger strikes — postponed pending a government 'investigation' — will be resumed.

Government responsibility for these human rights violations is not in question. What is less publicised is imperialist complicity in maintaining the military regime. Look at any catastrophe for the Chilean working class and you will find the sticky fingers of the US state somewhere nearby. From the coup itself to the murder of Orlando Letelier.

Recent token diplomatic protests cannot compensate for this complicity. Jimmy Carter has a notoriously uneven approach to human rights. A sermon on the evils of the Soviet Union is likely to be followed by a Cold War onslaught. If the topic is Iran or Chile it is just as likely to be the prelude for a multi-million dollar arms deal.

Only international solidarity by the workers movement will locate the disappeared. In Britain Merlyn Rees has refused to step up visa programmes for Latin American refugees. If the solidarity movement can reverse that decision, that would be an important step towards finding the disappeared.

INTERNATIONAL

'The socialism which Marx and Engels foresaw, and which Lenin and his comrades undoubtedly hoped for also in Russia, will come. It must be the goal of our struggle, as it is more than ever the sole alternative to a

global catastrophe for civilisation. But it is evident enough that Soviet and East European society is incompatible with the goals set by Marxism.'

RUDOLF BAHRO.

Bahro is in prison for 8 years For thoughts like these

After the uprising of 17th June
The Secretary of the Writers' Union
Had leaflets distributed in the Stalinalee
Stating that the people had forfeited the confidence of the government
And could win it back only
By redoubled efforts. Would it not be easier
In that case for the government
To dissolve the people
And elect another?

BERTOLT BRECHT: The Solution (1953)

ON Saturday 1 July, The Times told its readers that Rudolf Bahro had been sentenced to eight years' imprisonment by 'an East German court'. Under the headline 'Economist jailed' the tiny news item was tucked away at the bottom of a column on an inside page.

Most of the newspaper's readers must have missed the report (though no other daily paper even reported the sentence). And why not? What possible interest could 'top people' have in Rudolf Bahro?

He is neither an anti-Marxist ideologue nor a religious freak. He certainly does not wish to emigrate to Israel.

SALVATION

Nor, for that matter, does he insist that the road to salvation for the East German workers lies through a restoration of junker militarism.

He is a communist, an anti-Stalinist and a left critic of the Honecker regime. His sympathies lie with the 'Eurocommunist' trend within the world communist movement. And it was the development of this current which encouraged him to write his book *The Alternative* and submit it for publication.

Bahro is a direct reflection of Eurocommunism inside Eastern Europe. The next few months will show whether the Eurocommunists wage a campaign to defend him. We shall continue to argue that they should, so that the impact is felt inside the 'German Democratic Republic'.

NO MENTION

Bahro remains a Marxist. There are therefore no screaming headlines in the Daily Mail, no mention on television, no column from Levin, no questions from Thatcher in the House, no statement from the Foreign Office.

Possibly in a few weeks time *The Guardian* will publish an article or John Pilger will write something in the Mirror. Till then the large majority of people will not know who

Bahro is or why he has been jailed.

East German dissidents are not popular in the West. Increasingly they remain loyal to the ideas of Marxism, while attacking the powers and privileges of the bureaucracy.

DILEMMA

The latest issue of *Encounter* sums up the dilemma of the cold warriors. An 18-year-old escapee from East Berlin writes that a significant section of youth in East Germany are attracted by the ideas of Havemann and Biermann.

The first is a veteran communist and now a leading dissident. The second is East Germany's Bob Dylan, whose outspoken lyrics are a Marxist critique of the bureaucracy.

Havemann is still in the East though under constant surveillance. Biermann is in exile in the West.

Our young contributor to *Encounter* is upset by the popularity of both these men. And he explains the reason for this: they are the only ones who

are actively opposing the regime.

Encounter is no longer subsidised by the CIA, but this has not affected its ideological stance. It remains the unofficial voice of an intelligentsia much loved by the British Foreign Office and the State Department in Washington. So its agony columns reflect the anxieties of officialdom in the West.

Naturally we can only rejoice that Havemann and Biermann are popular among East German youth. A third figure can now be added to the list: Rudolf Bahro.

A member of the East German establishment recently told a French journalist (off the record) that East Germany had expelled its Mayakovsky (Biermann) and imprisoned its Marx (Bahro).

For Biermann and Bahro have been communists since their youth. Both are staunch opponents of capitalism. As a youth Biermann chose to move to the East rather than live in capitalist West Germany.

INTELLIGENCE

Rudolf Bahro is accused of being a 'spy' in the pay of Western intelligence. This charge is not intended seriously.

No-one believes it in East Germany and even loyal party hacks know it is a barefaced lie.

It is possible that the East German state intends to deport

Bahro forcibly or even propose that he is exchanged for some East German spy in the West.

In any event, a vigorous defence campaign is needed.

Bahro's arrest, imprisonment, secret trial and sentence is a slap in the face of the Eurocommunists in the West and a warning to other imitators in the East.

SENTENCE

Bahro's sentence coincided with the complete rehabilitation of the late Stalinist boss Walter Ulbricht, the anniversary of whose death was recently commemorated by the bureaucratic establishment and its press.

The Communist Parties in Western Europe must answer Honecker's challenge. For if they are not capable of defending 'their own' in Eastern Europe their credibility will be seriously affected on their own home ground.

Many CP intellectuals have associated themselves with appeals being circulated throughout Western Europe, but no Communist Party has officially taken up such a campaign.

A number of actions are being planned in Britain. *Socialist Challenge* has initiated the 'Open Letter to Honecker' which is still circulating within the labour movement. We will present it to the East German Embassy when Bahro's book is published in this country in October.

At the same time the Rudolf Bahro Defence Committee has been planning a number of more active and immediate protests.

The Committee is supported by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, the National Organisation of Labour Students and various well-known socialists.

They have called Bahro's arrest a 'crime against socialism'. They are calling on supporters to shower the East German embassy with telegrams and resolutions.

All protests should be sent to the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, 34 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8QB. Copies to the Defence Committee c/o Minnerup, 14 Folkestone Road, Copnor, Portsmouth, Hants. The 'Open Letter' is available from Bahro Defence c/o Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1.



If you agree with these principles and want to be involved in activities by Socialist Challenge supporters in your area, fill in the form below and send it to us.

- + I am interested in more information about activities in my area.
- + I would like additional literature and enclose 50p to cover costs.
- [Delete if not applicable]

NAME
ADDRESS

Send to Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper St, London N1.

OUR POLICIES

Capitalism is in crisis. The leaders of the Labour Party and the trades unions offer solutions that are in the interests, not of the workers, but of the capitalist class.

Socialist Challenge believes that the two vital tasks confronting revolutionary socialists are:

- * To build broad-based class struggle tendencies in opposition to class-collaborationism in the labour movement. These should be non-exclusive in character grouping together militants holding a wide range of political views.
- * To begin to fight for the creation of a unified and democratic revolutionary socialist organisation which can, through an application of united front tactics, begin to be seen as an alternative by thousands of workers engaged in struggles. Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

1 The struggle for socialism seeks to unite the fight of the workers against the bosses with that of other oppressed layers of society — women, black people, gays — struggling for their liberation. This socialism can only be achieved by creating new organs of power and defeating with all necessary means the power of the capitalist state.

2 Our socialism will be infinitely more democratic than what exists in Britain today, with full rights for all political parties and currents that do not take up arms against the socialist state. The Stalinist models of 'socialism' in the USSR and Eastern Europe have discredited socialism in the eyes of the millions of workers throughout the world. We are opposed to them and will offer full support to all those fighting for socialist democracy.

3 The interests of workers and capitalists are irreconcilable on a world scale. Capitalism has not only created a world market, it has created world politics. Thus we fight for working class unity on an international scale. This unity will in the long run be decisive in defeating both the imperialist regimes in the West and the brutal dictatorships they sustain in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

In Britain it implies demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and letting the Irish people determine their own future.

4 The Communist Parties in Europe are in crisis. Neither the 'Euro-communist' nor the pro-Moscow wings have any meaningful strategy for the overthrow of the capitalist state. New revolutionary socialist parties are more necessary than ever before. Conditions today are more favourable than over the preceding three decades. But such parties can only be built by rejecting sectarianism and seeing internal democracy not as a luxury but as a vital necessity. This means the right to organise factions and tendencies.



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Socialist Challenge Trade Union Conference

No Phase 4 - lobby the TUC

OF THE 202 people who registered for the conference, 241 were trade unionists. They included:

Thirty-six from the NUT, 23 Transport Union, 23 ASTMS, 20 NATFHE, 18 Engineering Union, 23 NALGO, 12 Public Employees, 13 CPGA, 5 UCATT, 5 SOGAT, and 3 National Union of Mineworkers. And others.

Where they came from: 75 London, 27 Birmingham, 20 Manchester, 22 Liverpool, 21 W. Yorks, 15 E. Midlands, 13 W. Midlands, 11 Scotland — including 4 from Aberdeen, a mere 400 miles from the Birmingham conference. And other places.

THE SOCIALIST CHALLENGE Trade Union Conference in Birmingham on Saturday voted overwhelmingly to support a lobby the TUC when it meets in Brighton in September. And the main demand trade unionists want to raise with TUC leaders is for a resounding No to Phase Four!

'Socialist Challenge' supporter Viv Lacey, an executive member of the Civil and Public Services Association, successfully moved an amendment at an executive meeting a few days prior to Saturday's

conference calling for such action.

The resolution adopted at Birmingham also raised demands for the right to work, particularly that for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay. The resolution was moved by Chris Collins of the Post Office Engineering Union, which is presently taking industrial action for a 35-hour week.

Here we publish extracts from speeches at the conference, attended by 241 trade unionists.



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

DENNY FITZPATRICK, National Union Teachers, Westminster:

Although there have been big political defeats, these defeats have not been organisational. In education we've seen very large numbers involved in campaigns against cuts and closures.

To build this campaign in Westminster we had to put forward a political alternative to the authority's policies — for a class size of 25, keeping schools open, maintaining staffing levels with fewer pupils.

Then we had to fight for these policies, which meant setting up an inter-union action committee, a joint parent-teacher body, and getting trades council backing.

We've also directed the fight at the union leadership, which has been sitting on its ass. The campaign for an alternative leadership is the main idea behind the Socialist Teachers Alliance.

It's vital that the STA is an open organisation, because the fight must involve broad forces. We've campaigned against racism, and next weekend we have a women's conference with a wide political spectrum involved.

STEPHEN MARKS, National Union of Journalists, Mags-

zines:

The conference resolution is too schematic in putting the Broad Left and Rank and File on the same footing — both equally to be written off.

Comrades must be very sensitive and not write off organisations which in some areas still have an important role to play. Some R&F groups do not operate as a Socialist Workers Party front and different political groups work together, for example in Journalists Charter.

Dominic Costa was right when he distinguished between regrouping socialist militants and building shop stewards committees.

But very often the only people who will have a consistent orientation towards rank and file organisation are those with a consistent socialist perspective.

As far as SWP comrades are concerned, the best comrades in the best groups know that, despite fine speeches, when it comes down to it all the hard work will be done by members of political groups.



PHIL GILLAT, Sandersons strike committee:

We have 36 people who have been on strike for 14 months over reinstatement and union recognition. Our strike pay is £6 a week.

There are too many competing groups. We need to unite against the common enemy of the right wing. There's 11 million in the trade union movement, yet we have to ask for financial help.

Take Sandersons with you when you go. At long last we are now doing what we should have done a long time ago. We won't be another Grimwick.

Thank you for your time and I would also like to thank you for your thoughts, which can help us build a real left wing.

DICK HALL, National Union of Mineworkers, Nottinghamshire:

This conference has been a step in the right direction. It set itself limited aims and by and large it's achieved them. That's always been the problem with Rank and File.

I've been to all their conferences, and they always set their sights ridiculously high — like calling one-day general strikes which no one responds to.

I see this conference as bringing together serious trade unionists to discuss different experiences of how they're trying to build a united socialist current in the unions.

There's no simple schema that will solve this problem. In Nottinghamshire we've set up a group around The Collier, the Rank and File paper, which involves members of the Socialist Workers Party, International Marxist Group, and Big Flame.

We are also able to have a working relationship with certain figures in the Labour Party, because the Broad Left really doesn't exist in our area.

We only set up the group a few months ago, but already we've done quite a lot of work around racism — helping to set up Anti Nazi League branches in Nottingham and Mansfield, for example. We'll also be taking up the proposed closure at Tappersall and so on.

In Yorkshire, it might be wrong to work in Rank and File and better to work round Yorkshire Forum with the Seagillites. In Scotland, the solid hold of the Broad Left might mean yet another approach.



JOHN BANGS, National Union of Teachers, East London:

The Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, and Rank and File are defunct. If you pose a political alternative, then you have to pose an organisational alternative as well.

I'm proposing that the National Policy Committee of Socialist Challenge should look at ways of bringing militants in different unions together on a more regular basis than conferences, to share experiences and take decisions.

If Socialist Challenge is supporting a trade union campaign for the 35-hour week, then it would be a good idea to establish that as a national campaign, which would need to be co-ordinated across the unions.

Truth about NF - official

THIS INTERNAL National Front memorandum was leaked to the anti-fascist newspaper CARF by an NF branch organiser. The comrades of CARF, whose next edition appears in September, decided to make the document available to Socialist Worker, Workers Action, and Socialist Challenge.

We have published it in full. Its content will come as no surprise to the anti-fascist movement.

The document confirms what we have long been saying and what the mass media are

starting to say too: that the National Front is a Nazi Front.

Thames TV's excellent World in Action programme on Monday and the 'dissident' NF authors of the memorandum confirm what the Front's national leadership have been at pains to deny: that those responsible for the vicious racist thuggery are NF members.

No doubt the NF will shortly indulge in its 'Night of the Long Knives'. Continued mass action and a hard offensive against all forms of racism can deal the fatal blow.

TO: Chairman of the National Front
FROM: Action Committee of London Branch Organisers

We represent a growing section of the National Front rank-and-file who are becoming seriously concerned at the lack of leadership prevailing at the top of the party this year. As organisers, ordinary party members look to us for explanations for the poor performance in the local council elections in May.

We believe that the factors which led to a disastrous drop in public support for us were many and varied but it is our conviction that they could have been overcome if a positive lead had been given during the campaign by the National Directorate.

It is true that we went into the election with a greater degree of opposition ranged against us than at any other time in our ten year history but it was a challenge we should have taken on successfully given the widespread public antipathy to coloured immigration in London.

However a dearth of election material, an appalling breakdown in communication between headquarters and the grassroots and abysmal relations with the Press for which we must take the lion's share of the blame meant that we were not equal to the task. We were quite simply driven on to the defensive and that is a poor position from which to fight any battle.

Many local newspapers did not have lists of candidates until five days before the poll and this deficiency can be put down to bureaucratic bumbledom at HQ. Then there were problems in hiring halls.

To some extent this was due to a more hardline attitude on the part of Labour-controlled local authorities. But this has been a constant obstacle which we have surmounted on previous occasions and we should not have let it defeat us this time. Conflicting statements to newspapers from local officers and national spokesmen certainly did not assist matters.

Although we were barred by law from marching in Greater London for the greater part of the campaign, it should have been possible to organise a public meeting in the capital at some stage to keep the National Front at the centre of the political stage. This never happened despite earlier promises from head office that a major activity would be organised. Why not?

No attempt was made centrally to produce literature replying to the smears made against us by our opponents. Instead this was left to individual branches with disastrous consequences as each other in public print.

This merely left the public with the impression of a divided, warring party: an impression not too far removed from the truth.

An additional factor was the

behaviour of certain party members who were quite honestly a disgrace to the cause of British Nationalism. Press reports of bogus election nominees and loutish attacks by jobs on our opponents' meetings dragged us, in the public's estimation, down to the level of the Left and probably prompted voters to cry: 'A Plague on Both Your Houses'.

Again, none of this need have happened had there been firm direction from the top.

An even more serious development concerns that management of party funds. Only a fraction of the money originally promised to under-funded branches from HQ ever materialised.

In view of the rumours that are rife within the ranks over financial mismanagement and subscriptions going astray, a full and searching inquiry needs to be undertaken. Confidence in such an inquiry would be greatly enhanced if the National Activities Organiser were excluded from all stages of the proceedings.

Our overall conclusion is that unless authority is restored at national level, the National Front will cease to exist by the end of the year. Organisation has all but disappeared and anarchy reigns at all levels. In many areas, party structure exists only on paper and many of the membership lists contain the names of people who have long since lapsed.

Our name is only kept in the news by gangs of bully boys who rampage through the East End of London beating up Asians. Despite our hatred of multi-racialism, such disgraceful acts of illegality and brutality cannot be tolerated.

The mindless morons must be brought to book and in default of a statement of condemnation by the party leadership and expulsion of lawless elements, we shall unilaterally turn over a list of troublemakers to the police and inform the newspapers of our intentions.

The late AK Chesterton who led our party with such distinction in the difficult years of the 1960s once said: "...let us face it, we have an attraction for certain kinds of louts who, unless kept in check, can and almost certainly will wreck any movement." His words are being proved tragically true today.

We do not as branch officials seek to absolve ourselves from blame for what has happened to our party, but we feel it only right to remind you of the statements you made on regaining control of the party in 1976. You said that the success of a movement such as ours derived mainly from the leadership of the few and that the chairman of a political party must expect to carry the can if things go wrong.

We believe we must hold you to your word and request that you convene, at the earliest possible opportunity following the summer holiday, a special party conference to discuss the future of the party and its leadership.

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

NUSS conference

Paper Tiger or Pupil power

ONE HUNDRED and five delegates and observers attended the seventh annual conference of the National Union of School Students held over the weekend in London.

Delegates heard that membership had declined and that a financial crisis in the union was brewing. This, despite the tremendous wave of militancy in the schools over the past year. REDMOND O'NEIL reports.

NUSS is in crisis. That was clear from this year's conference. Delegate after delegate, most of them bedecked with ANL and SKAN badges, stressed the need to organise action in the schools but ran slap bang up against the union executive.

A number of motions — for example, one calling for a demonstration against school closures — were effectively blocked by the Young Communist League led executive who said the union's problems could be solved by 'getting back to basics' and begging money from charitable trusts.

The whole structure of the conference, with discussion dominated by hundreds of minute amendments to the

union's constitutional policy statement stifled discussion on perspectives. As Leeds delegate Erica Lavedo put it, 'conference was too bogged down in bureaucratic rubbish and insignificant detail, half of which was almost impossible to follow.'

BUREAUCRATIC

Students attending won't have any incentive to go out and mobilise support for an organisation run by bureaucratic hacks and out of touch with what's going on in schools.

On a brighter note a number of positive decisions were taken. Conference voted to affiliate to the ANL and to

support School Kids Against the Nazis providing there were adequate guarantees on internal democracy.

On sexism, a woman's caucus was called during the conference, and although a motion calling for a women's conference was defeated it is clear that women delegates are beginning to get organised and will be fighting sexism in the future.

At the end of the first day of the conference dissatisfied delegates got together to form an opposition to the executive called 'Socialist Alternative'. Four Socialist Alternative delegates were later elected to the executive and 43 delegates exchanged addresses and agreed to organise on an ongoing basis for a new direction in the union.

These included members of the Socialist Workers Party, International Marxist Group and Workers Socialist League.

Anyone wishing to contact Socialist Alternative write to 'Socialist Alternative' NUSS, PO Box 50, Upper Street, London N1.



Pupils at Paddington School in London demonstrate last month against the threat to close it from the Inner London Education Authority.

Cross country carnivals....

...the Northwest

SCHOOL STUDENTS, teachers and others interested in racism in education met in Manchester on 24 June to discuss organising on that theme, writes PAUL WILLIAMS.

The 150 activists heard how in Stockport and Oldham school students have been caned for wearing Anti Nazi League badges and distributing leaflets following instructions from the education authorities.

It was these moves — which have been aided by the silence of the leadership of the National Union of Teachers — coupled with the growing willingness of militant school students and teachers to oppose the NF which prompted the Manchester Campaign Against Racism in Education to call the Conference. This body is affiliated to the Anti Nazi League, and was initiated by the Socialist Teachers' Alliance.

UNDERLYING

Betty Hunter from the All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism and a Soweto student leader — both main speakers — set a framework for the discussion which recognised that the fight against the NF in the schools

will get nowhere unless the underlying racism in education and society is tackled.

Speakers in the workshops took up this theme, and argued for turning the ANL towards anti-racism. It was maintained that the best way to do this was by building and working inside the Teachers Against the Nazis, School Students Against the Nazis, and so on, as they exist today.

School students led the way on how to organise. It was the first time a significant number of students on a Manchester-wide basis had got together. Many saw the best way to set up SKAN and NUSS groups was to organise mass action in the schools. That's why a week of action has been called leading up to the Northern Carnival.

DEFIANCE

Paul O'Sullivan, chairperson of NUSS, put their aim simply — 'it will be more like a week of defiance'. Students will be wearing badges in defiance of school heads, leafletting every Manchester school against racism, and taking action against compulsory school uniforms and corporal punishment.

Brainhall High School in Stockport has been earmarked for a picket on 14 July. It is in this school where Herbert Andrews — the NF candidate in the Moss Side by-election —

is a teacher. The NUSS offices have been set up as an organising centre for the week of action and for the Carnival. Both the NUSS and the conference have appealed for contingents on the Carnival march around anti-racist demands, as well as those against fascism.

...Wales

CARNIVALS are definitely the 'in thing', as socialists discover that politics and fun go well together.

On Saturday 15 July thousands from throughout Wales and West England will head for Cardiff for a day long Carnival against racism, writes DEREK DAVIES.

Why does Wales need a Carnival? Joanne Richards, a Carnival organiser, explained, 'The National Front attempted a big increase in its organisation in Wales and intends standing candidates in the next election. We want a big show of public opposition to their ideas before the election starts.'

COMPLACENCY

'Cardiff itself has had quite a good record on racial harmony, but we feel that there's a certain complacency here.'

The organisers stress however that it is a Carnival against racism and not just Nazism like the London one. After all, the NF is still pitifully small in Wales. They could only muster a dozen to picket a Tony Benn meeting in a Cardiff suburb two weeks ago, after claiming that 600 would turn up.

And Cardiff's small NF branch can't take all the blame for the fact that the blacks live in the worst areas of poorest housing and highest unemployment, or for the continual police harassment.

In building the Carnival the organisers have aimed at three groups: youth, trade unions,

The Campaign Against Racism in Education will be going on the offensive after the conference and plans for activities both inside the unions and outside are being mapped out.

Further details about CARE from: tel. 061-733 6450 or 061-652 7851.

and black communities. Every school in Cardiff will be leafletted. Eleven district trade union offices have sent information to their branches and contingents will be formed for a march which starts the Carnival.

The response from black communities has been good. For the first time in Wales, the Hindus are sending a contingent on a political demonstration. Sikhs will stage a dancing exhibition as well as marching. Reggae bands from Cardiff docks will be playing free. The Muslim, Bengali and

Chinese communities are just as enthusiastic to join the march.

With people coming from the

north of Wales to Bristol the event should be a success — though there's room for thousands more!

...Scotland

THE FIRST planning meeting for a Scottish Carnival Against the Nazis was attended by almost 100 activists on 25 June, writes GEORGE KEREVAN.

The organisers expect 10,000 people at the Carnival — planned on 5 August — mainly from the East of Scotland. And if the first meeting was anything to go by, this estimate may not be far off the mark. Many felt the meeting was the most fraternal and constructive that far left activists have attended in the city for a long time.

It was agreed that maximum involvement in building for the Carnival would be encouraged by open and democratic meetings. Every Sunday, those wishing to help are being asked to attend a general meeting at 2pm at the Edinburgh Trades Council, Picardy Place. All sub-committees will report weekly to this meeting.

The Carnival will be held in Leith, scene of local National Front activity and attacks on Asian shops.

Anyone interested in working towards a successful Carnival contact: City Lynx, c/o 131 Gilmore Place, Edinburgh, Tel. 031-229 0480.

Greater Manchester Week of Action in the Schools

Called by NUSS, various SKAN groups, Teachers Against the Nazis, Campaign Against Racism in Education.

10-14 July

Organising Centre: NUSS Offices, 178 Waterloo Place, Oxford Road, Manchester 061-273 2977.

15 July Great Northern Carnival

School students and teachers' contingent meet outside the High School of Art (side of Strangeways, corner of Lord Street/Southall Street) 11.00am.



PATRICK KODAKARA, on right with megaphone, chairperson of Hackney Community Relations Council, leading a march of over 200 people through Hackney on Friday 30 June. The march protested against racist murders following the death of Ashiq Ali after an attack in Hackney last week. A meeting before the march was attended by 26 black organisations. It called for a strike of all black and Asian workers in the East End on 17 July and for self-defence against racist attacks.

Women against the Nazis Without women, we'll get nowhere

THE MAJOR SUCCESS OF THE Anti Nazi League has been its ability to draw support from sections of society that are new to politics. The success of its mobilisation of youth has frequently been noted. JUDE WOODWARD interviewed ANNA KEANE, organiser of Women Against the Nazis, about the problems of trying to bring women into the anti-racist and anti-fascist struggle.

Why do women need to be organised, as women, to fight the Nazis?

For two reasons really. If you look at any of the leaflets the NF produce they are directed straight at the women.

In Brixton, where I live, the one election leaflet they brought out recently says in huge letters 'MUGGINGS'. You read further, and it says 'if you're a white woman living in Brixton...'

So in effect the whole leaflet was addressed to white women, preying on their fear of muggings and going out at night.

With women you also have a very large section of the population who don't go out to work. So they're in the home with no ideas coming through to them apart from what's churned out on the telly and the radio. In other words, they hear that the National Front is a respectable British party.

Women at home get no alternative, so you have to make a point of going to them and giving them an alternative.

Isn't it true as well that the Front is not just a racist organisation, however important that aspect may be at the moment, but it also has particular ideas about the family and the role of women?

Yes. But there are problems with that. With any other group the NF want to attack — take blacks — they have a very specific approach. They want to get rid of them. It's very obvious, you can see it.

With women, how do they threaten us? They want us back in the home, and they want to stop abortion and contraception.

In effect the Front are doing exactly what Hitler did. They put women on a pedestal. You know, 'Breed us lots of kids and you're fantastic'.

You've got a double problem. It's much more difficult than with other groups because you have to put forward more radical politics. You can't just say to women 'You must stand up against the Front because they want to keep you in the home'. You have to explain rather more than that.

Do you hope that women who become involved in Women Against the Nazis will be drawn into activity around the broader questions of women's oppression? How do you see that being encouraged?

That's up to each group, and the women involved in them. It's up to them what activities they get involved in. Hopefully these women will want to see

themselves as part of the broad women's movement and will become involved in other activities, but I can't tell them to do that.

It's very much a consciousness-raising thing. Because you're talking about the whole role and position that women have got now. If we're doing what we hope to do, we're helping them start thinking about it.

What's your particular project for Women Against the Nazis? What can the groups do?

Again it depends on the locality. It can start with really basic things: painting out NF graffiti or fund raising. Or it can be protecting people who live on the estates. Or around the schools. In the East End, for example, some of the Asian women go and collect their kids early because they've been attacked.

We've tried to do it the opposite way from the ANL. They start out with big public meetings and then try to build the local activities. In WAN where there is someone wanting to do something locally we say 'go ahead', produce the literature for them and build from there.

Our plan starts out with leafletting on estates, followed up by small meetings. Even based just on one street, in a small community centre or someone's home. Most of the women we make contact with will not have had much experience of big public political meetings and would be rather put off by the idea, but really do want to do something.

What do you hope to gain from

NEVER AGAIN!



Women Against the Nazis 5p

Pamphlet available from Women Against the Nazis, Box 151, London WC2. 5p plus 10p p&p or 20 for £1 plus 25p p&p. 100 for £5. Leaflet: £4.50 per 1000. Badges 15p plus 10p p&p.

the ANL conference from the point of view of Women Against the Nazis?

The conference is going to be a situation for activists to get together and talk about what they've been doing and their future plans. We hope there will be lots of women there. And we will push for the ANL in each area to make it part of their work and not say, 'Well, you women go and do it.'

We've got to push how really important the women are. If

they don't take it up, then they're not realising the whole problem. We're saying, if you don't have the women then you just aren't going to get anywhere.

The majority of the ANL groups haven't really understood the problem. They say they've got lots of women in their groups. But they're women who were political already. They don't see the importance of trying to talk to women directly.

Review

A Socialist Challenge to Immigration Controls

'Socialist Challenge' has just published a new pamphlet on Immigration Controls. It clearly argues that only by opposing all immigration controls can socialists really answer the fascists' argument that blacks are responsible for the crisis.

ENDA DONNELLY, Labour Councillor in Hounslow, West London, reviews the pamphlet.

In the run-up to the (probable) October election, there is no doubt that one of the major political debates will focus on the question of immigration controls. In this respect, the 'Socialist Challenge to Immigration Controls' pamphlet is a timely contribution to this discussion.

It's a contribution that not only destroys the myth that black people are in any way responsible for the present crisis, but which also exposes the weakness of those on the left who favour some form of 'neutral' immigration policy.

The author, Bob Penning-

ton, examines the relationship between the actual (and potential) attacks on the rights of immigrants in the present period and the capitalist crisis. In tracing the history of the various immigration acts since the Second World War, he shows clearly that they were introduced in response to the needs of British industry and, therefore, of the capitalist system.

Indeed, an example of the callousness of those who play the racist card to-day is brought home by the fact that during the more prosperous late 40s and 50s, Enoch Powell, then Minister of Health, ran a recruiting campaign for nurses in Mauritius.

STRAIGHT

Pennington gives a straightforward answer to those who argue, like Dave Cook, National Organiser of the Communist Party, that there is a non-racist solution while accepting the need for immigration control. Cook's line of reasoning is hard to follow.

For example, although he

recognises that 'unemployment and worsening social services result from the economic crisis of British capitalism', he defies all logic by immediately adding that 'the "no immigration controls" position puts forward a demand which can easily create the impression that the left is oblivious to these problems'. (Morning Star, 20 June 1978).

From this Catch 22 position, Cook offers a 'left-wing alternative to the problems facing British people', by setting out the criteria for a non-racist immigration policy.

Having read the demands put forward by Pennington, I will leave it to the readers of the pamphlet to decide for

themselves which is the more responsible position. The record of Labour MPs, highlighted in the pamphlet, leaves a lot to be desired.

The fruits of their failure are today contained in the Select Committee proposals, as well as the 1968 and 1971 Immigration Acts.

Pennington concludes by calling for a broad-based campaign against immigration controls, offering practical suggestions to anti-racists in the trade union and labour movements. The ability of all anti-racists to build such a movement will determine how effective a socialist challenge to immigration controls really is!



The 'Socialist Challenge to Immigration Controls' by Bob Pennington is available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1, price 10p plus 7p p&p.

300 jobs under threat

THE STRIKE by 45 journalists at the Richmond Herald, Surrey Comet and Middlesex Chronicle has been going on for over a week.

Journalists withdrew their labour after plans to cut the staff on the Herald from eight to three became known. The strike has already won widespread support with many drivers refusing to cross the official picket line.

All the papers are owned by

the Trident group, and there are fears that the company's plans for the papers will end with the loss of 300 jobs in the printshops and from the journalist staff.

Mass pickets are planned to coincide with key delivery and distribution times.

Donations and enquiries to 162 London Rd, Kingston Upon Thames. Tel 01-456 6002. Cheques to NUJ (Richmond Herald) Dispute Fund, Williams and Glyn's Bank, Thames St, Kingston.



LEAMINGTON

DESPITE an unfortunate clash with the World Cup final, over 100 people attended a meeting on 'Immigration and the Growth of Racism' organised by Leamington Anti-Racist, Anti-Fascist Group on 25 June.

The meeting was also sponsored by the local Trades Council, Labour Party, Indian Workers Association, and Liberal Party.

The meeting was addressed by Ann Dummett of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and by representatives of the IWA.

Dummett exploded many of the myths surrounding immigration controls, showing how the growth of immigration controls has directly fuelled the growth of racism. She also warned of the dangers of the proposals for a new British Nationality Act being drawn up by both major parties.

Local fascists had decided to picket the meetings but could only muster six people. Most of these, including the infamous Robert Relf, are soon to face court charges ranging from the distribution of abusive literature to criminal damage and incitement to racial hatred.

WALSALL

A MIDLANDS Tory council is involved in a major row with leading local anti-racist, John Mastratone, writes BOB SLEIGH.



Photo: SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

Mastratone was backed by the annual general meeting of the Community Relations Council — of which he is an officer — after Walsall Social Service chiefs had passed a no-confidence motion in him. At the general meeting, the only votes against Mastratone were from five Tory councillors.

This no-confidence vote is the latest in a series of attacks on the Community Relations Council, and Tory fury against Mastratone came from his annual report which pulled few punches.

From its first page, the report pointed to the dangers to local race relations — 'Certain Council Chairmen are pursuing ultra-rightist policies... in order to give credence to their racist stances'. Mastratone named three local Tory Councillors in the report (and Margaret Thatcher) who had made statements giving respectability to racism. These statements coincided with racist attacks.

Pitt is on record saying that there are no Nazis in Walsall, and he recently lodged a formal complaint after Mastratone displayed an ANL poster in the CRC's town centre office window.

Mastratone has strong support from the local immigrant community and the labour movement. This may make the Tories back down on this issue, but they will try again. Already the council cut its contribution to the CRC's budget by 30 per cent in February.

Many Tory councillors would like to see it cut altogether, but Mastratone is not daunted. 'If I ever begin to feel like sitting on the fence', he said, 'I'd realise I was in the wrong job'.

HOME NEWS

30th anniversary of NHS

Health workers 'celebrate' with occupations

AT THE Bethnal Green Hospital in East London they aren't celebrating the 30th anniversary of the NHS with champagne. Workers there have just adopted a tactic which barely a year ago was unheard of in the hospitals — the work-in.

It is one of the weapons now being employed against the scalpel that the Government has taken to health care: the multi-million pound cuts which are closing hospitals, placing nurses on the dole queue, and killing patients on the ever-lengthening waiting lists.

That is the state of the NHS, which was formed in 1948 out of the fierce opposition of the workers' movement to cheque-book medicine.

Below CARL BRECKER, chairperson of the Hounslow Occupation Committee, describes the lessons of that battle and the measures necessary to confront the health cuts.

It is not the leaders of the health service trade unions who are fighting the staff shortages, the cuts, and the closures.

All of the actions in defence of the NHS have been taken from the shopfloor, while the union bureaucracies have led us up to the top of the hill and down the other side.

And it is not exclusively the branch officials and shop stewards inside the hospitals who are taking the lead. Health workers from various of the unions have become militant over the cutbacks.

CONSUMERS

That militancy has had to look for support beyond the public sector unions. Once the Hounslow staff resolved on resistance to the closure, we took the issue to the trades council.

It also meant linking up with the consumers of the health service.

The Hounslow, EGA, Bethnal Green, Weir, and Plaistow hospital campaigns — to name only those in London — have all depended on outside support, not least because of the lack of backing from the unions.

This is what shaped the Hounslow campaign. We welcomed and encouraged anyone who wanted to come in on the campaign — activists from the community, members of political groups, and local trades unionists.

LINK UP

But it's impossible to save one hospital in isolation. The moment you get into struggle you find there are lots of other people in all parts of the country who are doing the same

thing.

You begin to link up and draw support from them. Yet a campaign can't exist on thin air. You are forced to build up your base inside the hospital, and at the same time strengthen the campaign at district and area level.

This is what led us to linking up with shop stewards at these levels of the multi-tier NHS.

The next stage was to consolidate an area-wide committee of health and industrial workers, together with community campaigners, because it's impossible for health workers alone to take on such a huge task as defending the NHS.

The Fightback bulletin grew out of these developments, and it now has two full-time organisers based in the Hounslow occupation.

POLICIES

Health workers have come to a clearer understanding of the policies needed to defend the NHS. We have to define what kind of health service we need, and that brings everything into question.

The campaigns have forced us to raise issues that have never emerged before: challenging the hierarchical structure of the NHS, fighting for democracy, defining health needs and maintaining that it must be those needs which determine expenditure.

Fightback is available from the Hounslow Hospital Occupation, Staines Road, Harrow, Middx. Highly recommended is Fightback's 24-page pamphlet 'Keeping Hospitals Open', detailing the experience of the work-ins at the EGA, Plaistow and Hounslow. Price 10p plus p&p.



Keep Bethnal Green Hospital open!

THERE IS a new sign up in the casualty department at Bethnal Green Hospital in East London, writes CAROLINE FREEDMAN. It says, 'Open under staff control'.

There has been a splendid response to the health authority's attempt to further decimate health care in an area of desperate need that has already seen the closure of two hospitals in almost as many years.

On Friday, workers at five hospitals in East London went on strike against the plan to close Bethnal Green's casualty unit.

Five hundred joined a demonstration, and at a mass meeting on Friday night staff at the hospital voted unanimously to keep the unit open by working-in.

Doctors, nurses, and ancillary workers have pledged to maintain a 24-hour service, and

have elected an all-staff committee to run the hospital.

In line with local dockworkers, they have taken up the slogan 'The East End is not a dead end'.

Many local people were among the 200-strong picket on Friday night, and the action committee is hoping to maintain a daily picket from 8am to midnight to prevent the removal of equipment. Details from: 01-980 3413.



Get together

A HEALTH dispute in West London highlights the necessity to link hospitals against the cuts, argues ROS BUTLER, a NUPE steward at Hammersmith Hospital.

At the West London Hospital in Hammersmith, ancillary workers have had 10 per cent of their pay deducted

for the past two weeks because of their refusal to continue clocking in.

While porters, cleaners, cooks and similar staff at other hospitals have been taken off the clock, management at the West London is acting illegally by making deductions for 'estimated' lateness!

The hospital bosses will clearly stop at nothing in their frenzy to slice budgets.

The ancillaries have already taken two days' strike action, and management has said that if there is any further action it will move patients to the nearby Western Hospital, which is scheduled for closure.

This dispute highlights the necessity to link hospitals against the cuts, because sadly the National Union of Public Employees members at the Western have said they would be willing to accept the patients.

No doubt they see it as a way of defending their own hospital.

In effect, this allows management to discipline members carrying out normal trade union practice by refusing to scab on an official dispute.

The emergency motion proposed by left-wing delegates called for the union to demand that these disciplinary measures be rescinded. But the motion was not allowed on the agenda.

The COHSE leadership is certainly concerned about discipline. It won acceptance of new union rules which will allow the general secretary to discipline branch officers who 'act in a manner detrimental to the welfare of his (sic) own or any other branch, or the union in general'.

wage. But it is hardly likely to increase the confidence of the rank and file.

It's up to the left in the union to call the executive's bluff, and begin now to prepare the membership for a fight around the claim.

At September's TUC, the leadership will be asking for a return to 'responsible collective bargaining'.

When it comes to defending elementary union rights, the defence of COHSE members at the Emergency Bed Service in London should have been the first item at the conference.

These workers refused to stop referring patients to the EGA when Ennals decided it had to close. For this they were disciplined.



Axe sharpens

IT'S NOT only on small hospitals that the health axe is falling.

As JANET MA-GUIRE from Guy's Hospital reports, lumps are also being chopped off teaching hospitals.

The Lambeth, Lewisham and Southwark Area Health Authority — the largest in the UK — has been instructed to slash its budget by £2.5 million.

In January and February this year, Kings College Hospital in Southwark had to close down its casualty department because it was short of nurses. The same hospital has had to stop admissions from its long waiting list.

AT RISK

Nursing sisters on a recent television programme bluntly stated that the situation is now so desperate that people's lives are threatened.

The intensive care unit, where seriously ill people who need constant care are taken, is being staffed at night with nurses who have not got ICU experience and have not been trained to use the highly sophisticated equipment such a unit needs.

Doctors have confirmed that the hospital is being run at an unsafe staffing level and that between 12 to 24 patients have died in the last year whilst waiting for major heart surgery. If these people could have gone into hospital they would have had a 90 per cent chance of survival.

Down the road at Guy's Hospital, six wards have been closed because the ceilings are collapsing due to lack of proper maintenance.

The AHA report mentions that facilities for the mentally handicapped and the geriatric are 'woefully deficient' and in some cases 'non-existent'.

ACTION

At last the AHA is beginning to take a stand against the Government's cuts and they say they will not carry them out and will go on spending. The alternative, they claim, is to make something like 3,000 health workers redundant.

At a public meeting called by Southwark, Lambeth, and Lewisham trades councils several speakers proposed the setting up of a joint shop stewards committee covering all the hospitals in the area.

This would give some bite to the anti-cuts campaign and involve health workers in a fight to defend the NHS.

If this wave of cuts is to be fought then health workers in South-east London have to take direct action.



COHSE conference Stepping up the discipline

'FROM the sublime to the ridiculous' would be the best way to sum up the annual conference of the Confederation of Health Service Employees, reports RICH PALSER.

After turning up on the first day with a proposal for an £80 minimum basic wage, the union leadership blocked an emergency motion which would have defended the most elementary trade union rights of COHSE members.

The call for this minimum wage is largely bluff. Faced with nine motions on pay from branches, none of which accepted wage restraint, the leadership decided on the eve of conference to go one better.

While the branch proposals ranged from £55 to £72, the executive called for £80.

Little was said, however, about how to win it — no call for united action with other workers in the health service against wage limits; no mention of building a fighting fund.

Instead the executive argued for rejection of a motion from East Birmingham for a special national delegate conference to decide on what action to take if the claim is turned down in negotiations.

The executive's verbal militancy is useful for ridiculing the left and boosting COHSE's 'image' against NUPE's demand for a £60 minimum

HOME NEWS

As steelworkers call strike

Bilston execution delayed

THE BRITISH Steel Corporation's plant at Bilston lies between Wolverhampton and the Black Country. One of BSC's smaller plants, its 2,000 strong workforce was threatened with closure last week. From Wolverhampton DAVE ASHCROFT reports.

Several weeks ago blast furnace 'Elizabeth' was closed down at Bilston. Although BSC made no official announcement it was then that workers at Bilston began to suspect they were next in line after the Shelton plant for closure.

Shelton is another victim of BSC's strategy of developing massive, highly capital intensive plants near the coast and phasing out existing plants.

The Bilston plant has consistently shown a profit since nationalisation, and this, without any major investment. But the Joint Action Committee set up by the unions at the works had their worst fears confirmed last week when the

Corporation admitted they intended to close down the plant.

Not only were the 2,000 jobs at Bilston threatened, but so were an additional 10,000 directly dependent on the steel plant for work. The closure announcement was made without any consultation with the TUC steel committee, and as far as BSC was concerned it was also badly timed.

STRIKE

It was made at the time of the national conference of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation and it was there that Denis Turner, chairperson of

Bilston Action Committee won ISTC support for national strike action to prevent closure.

BSC retreated immediately, blaming the announcement on an anonymous manager and effectively postponing any confrontation until after the general election.

Wolverhampton and Bilston Trades Council, in addition to meeting the TUC steel committee and lobbying industry minister Eric Varley, are calling a meeting between its executive committee and all local full time union officials to organise a one day strike in support of Bilston plant.

No-one should assume the threat hanging over the plant has now been lifted. The militants words from the ISTC have secured a stay of execution, but the hangmen are still hovering. Next time it will need more than militant words to save Bilston.



Industry Minister Eric Varley speaks at ISTC conference.

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

Anti-abortion housing plan foiled

CAMPAIGNERS for women's abortion rights scored a modest victory last week when Hackney's Labour Council in East London rescinded its previous decision to turn over all temporary short-term housing to the anti-abortionist group Let Live. DODIE WEPPLER reports.

The Anti-Let Live Committee — supported by a large number of local community and labour movement bodies as well as the National Abortion Campaign — was especially concerned that no further provision for single, homeless pregnant women had been made by the Labour Council, despite its pledges to carry out its housing responsibilities for

all. Rose Knight, leading the Committee's deputation to the Hackney Council, argued that many previous experiences indicated that the Let Live group would not keep to their promise to refrain from counselling women who came to them for accommodation. 'Counselling should be available to single pregnant women, on request', she argued.

VICTORIAN

'Such counselling service... which helps a woman decide what her best course of action is... ought to be part of the services provided by a Labour council', Let Live, in her view, was more interested in re-establishing the Victorian 'foundling homes' — which would only make young women ashamed and inadequate,

pressuring them into continuing their pregnancy.

The Hackney Anti-Let Live Committee has drawn up — with the help of local council and social workers — comprehensive policies to provide better housing facilities for homeless, pregnant women. These include measures to allow young women to take out tenancies even if they are under 18 in liaison with Social Services; for educational facilities; for women to choose if they would like to share accommodation with others in similar situations, and so on.

In Hackney, the anti-abortionists' plans have been thwarted. But it took an active campaign locally to force Labour to impose a whip on the Councilors. It shows what is needed in other areas where the pro-choice movement hasn't been so quick off the mark.



Emmeline Pankhurst's statue near the Houses of Parliament where a bouquet of flowers was laid on Sunday to commemorate fifty years since women won the vote. The small group including some veteran suffragettes gathered to hear an orgy of self-congratulation from Shirley Williams and Sally Oppenheim.

The sisters pictured above represent only one current of opinion among the feminists who disrupted the festivities. Others present were more prepared to acknowledge the value of winning the vote for women — while recognising its limitations. Their statement read: 'Fifty years after we were given the vote, women are still not free'. Eight years after the Equal Pay Act 'the average male wage is £78.60, the average female wage is £51', and this is something that the law — the vote — is supposed to be able to change. An end to images of women as perfect mother, servant, sex symbol; women's freedom to live without violence and harassment; to share the responsibilities of housework and childcare need fundamental changes in society.

'We want to make it clear that no feminist fifty years ago thought that getting the vote was the end of the struggle, we haven't won — we've only just begun!'

Put the PLA in the dock

EAST HAM town hall was the scene of a 300-strong meeting on 28 June, called to discuss the proposed closure of the East London Upper Docks. Dockers from Liverpool and Hull swelled the numbers, and added to the militant mood.

TONY BROWNE reports.

The closure plans from the Port of London Authority have already provoked an outraged response, not only from the dockers who stand to lose their jobs but from the local community as well.

The dockers appreciate that the struggle in the area must involve the whole community,



as it will be affected. The first closures planned for December 1978 and December 1979 will be at the cost of 4,250 jobs. But jobs in the docks generate others elsewhere, so the closures will probably mean the loss of 20-30,000 jobs in the East End as a whole.

The dockers are demanding that the government pays to keep jobs and the docks open,

and that the money should be controlled by the people who work in the industry.

There will be a demonstration by all those who want to keep the docks open on 15 July. The march will assemble at 12.30pm at Central Park, East Ham. Further information and donations to Newham Docklands Forum, 309 Barking Rd, London E6.

IN BRIEF

WELSH WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

FOLLOWING the successful conference of 100 women at the Wales Women's Liberation and Socialism Conference in Newport on 24 June, plans are already under-way for regular forums,

The conference opened with a lively and personal account of women's liberation and the seven demands of the movement by Jenny Lynn from Swansea Women's Aid. Pam Reynolds of TASS, the white collar section of the Engineering Union, outlined the need for active women's caucuses within trade unions to fight around women's issues.

Dr. Berry Beaumont took up women's right to abortion on the National Health Service in her contribution on 'Women and the Welfare State', while Enda Donnelly, the Hounslow Labour Councillor examined the links between women's liberation and class

oppression. With this framework, the conference formed into workshops to discuss issues raised.

The conference primarily aimed to link up socialist feminists throughout Wales. But with the attendance of women new to the feminist movement, it shows another untapped source of support for the WLM in Wales. The Socialist Feminist Forums now planned will hopefully encourage debate and build the movement throughout Wales — which would be an advantage for everyone.

LANGUAGE OF CONSPIRACY

RHORDRI WILLIAMS and Wynfford James.

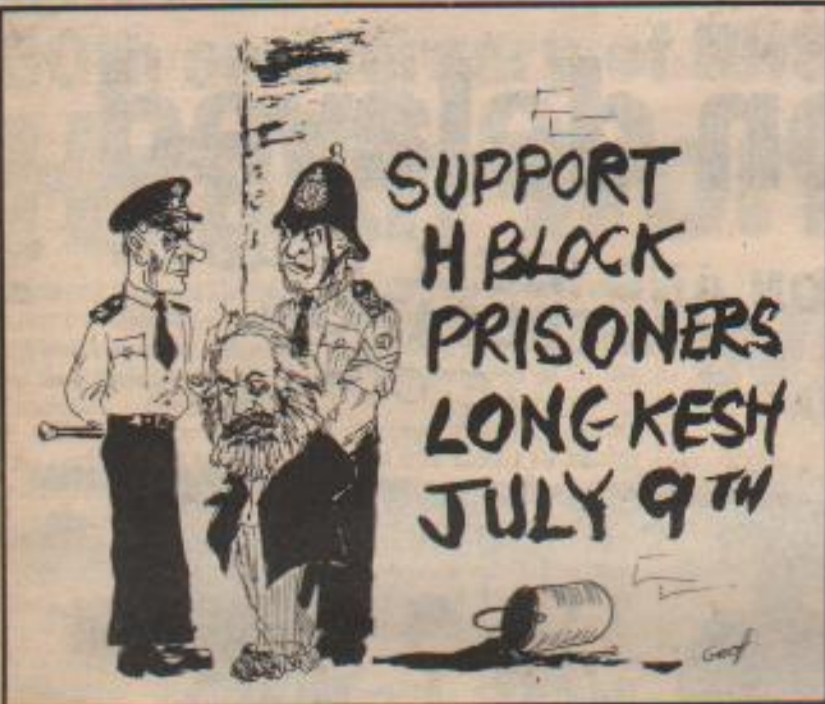
two members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith [the Welsh Language Society] will appear in court to face conspiracy charges on 10 July, reports HUW PHILLIPS.

At a conference held last month in Aberystwyth, Williams emphasised that the case had been brought against him and James to silence the campaigns launched by the Society, including its support for a fair television service for Wales on the fourth channel.

This use of conspiracy laws to silence protestors provoked the conference, organised by Cymdeithas and the Wales National Union of Students, to demand an enquiry into their use. A mass picket has been called for 8 July at Carmarthen. Des Warren, the Shrewsbury building worker who was also a victim of conspiracy laws, will be the main speaker at the picket.

Mobile picket of Garners
Saturday, 8 July, 6pm
Assemble at 29 Cockspur St, London W1
— then march round the other steak houses!

INSIDE H



IT IS very difficult to get news out of H block, Long Kesh. The isolation of the prisoners, their barbaric treatment and the mental and physical conditions of the prisoners make it difficult.

So 'Socialist Challenge' is fortunate to have received a letter written within the last two weeks from inside H Block. The letter was sent to us by a supporter who received it from a friend who has been 'on the blanket' for a year.

The letter was written on a paper hanky and smuggled out. It does not make pleasant reading.

'My dear ----,
My name's ---, just in case you forgot (ha ha). Well honey I'm on the blanket a year this month. This can't be a long letter because it will be difficult to get out. But I will try and tell you as much as I can.

I'm well ahead with my Gaelic, I'm now taking two classes a day, one for beginners and a more advanced one. I know more Irish grammar than I do English, I have songs written in Gaelic on my walls and translations and pronunciations; beside them another lot of about 150 songs — pop, folk, Irish rebel tunes, which I've learned and I just sing a few now and then to memorise.

I've also started a serial which I write every couple of days.

Just beside my head where I sleep I've drawn an island, sea and sunset, bits of romantic Gaelic phrases with a heart and an arrow — cute. This is how I spend my days.

The walls are, or were, white. I scrape on it to write. This (paper hanky) is a luxury which I may never get again. They won't give us any toilet paper; when they do we get two or three pieces each.

We never get parcels and only one letter a month. I mightn't get yours, but always write to me once a month — I

haven't got one from you in over three months, but don't stop trying, there's always a chance.

I got moved the other week into a new wing. My cell is empty but for a mattress and three blankets. When I go on 'c c' (when the prisoner is punished for three days every fortnight by the removal of furniture from their cells) there is nothing at all; we eat off the floor, we have no beds, no chairs, tables, lockers. Nothing at all, only a blanket.

The food is never warm, no salt or distinctive taste, the potatoes are hard and black. The food is really uneatable.

The wall, ceiling and door are all practically covered with decaying food. Piles of it, around the wall and heaped are all black, with live moss over it. They had the pipes on full and it's like a jungle, trickles of water running down through the decaying food, green in some places.

It's getting harder to eat and keep food down. We have to eat away from the door because that's where the majority of maggots gather. It's a bit sickening, there is that many of them that they are crawling under the doors and all over the (prison) wing — they're rough; some drop from the walls.

They've opened a special hospital wing in another block to keep us

separate from the main prison population. We have not washed in nearly three months. I'm bouncing at times because of the heat and stench of urine, excrement and decaying food.

It's hard to breathe and with the weather hot even standing naked one is burning. There's a pipe at the window. There's little air. The blanket I have use in an effort to contain the heat from the pipe.

DEPRESSION

Everyone goes to mass on Sunday, except a few. Men just drop round you like flies. They're that weak. I went down on one knee but came around okay. Others have been taken out on trolleys. One still hasn't come back.

These are fully grown men. Many suffer from mental depression, one so bad that they had to get a specialist who then ordered him to be taken out. He's in another block and taunted by the bears (prison guards), 'lunatic, lunatic'.

Most of us have lost weight, some drastically. Lying as we were we rotted slowly. Now as human beings we decay much quicker in an attempt to have people help us.

SPIRIT

All Northern Ireland calls for (political) status, yet we rot and we will rot until we are no more for there can be no return for us. It is victory or death. Any who come through will be scarred for life mentally or physically, maybe both.

We are being drained day by day. Just don't know why someone hasn't died yet from something. It's rumoured that the guy I mentioned earlier (suffering from mental depression) will just fade away. He will never break. Only our bodies and minds are touched, but not the spirit of our cause. It's just because we are what we are.

Let the world know this, we here are

Relatives Action Committee The struggle for political status

MEMBERS OF the Belfast-based Central Relatives' Action Committee recently toured Britain and spoke at meetings arranged, in the main, by the United Troops Out Movement. The two women concerned, CATHY who comes from Twinbrook and BERNIE from the Falls Road, were interviewed on local radio in London and Liverpool.

While they were in London AILEAN O'CALLAGHAN, Irish organiser for the International Marxist Group, and RUTH CAMPBELL from the Crimes Against Irish Women Committee interviewed them.

Bernie began by explaining the role of the Relatives' Action Committee. It was established nearly two years ago when the Labour Government announced the abolition of political status for prisoners convicted of 'crimes' connected with the Irish liberation struggle.

'It was formed by the prisoners' relatives, although anybody else who was interested in the prisoners' welfare was welcome to come and help. So it started in a small way, and now it has built up into a very big thing — we have Relatives' Action Committees all over the Six Counties.

'We even have one as far away as America. Our aim, first and foremost is political status for political prisoners. We also want general amnesty for all political prisoners, we want British withdrawal from Northern Ireland and the right of the Irish people to rule their own country.'

STATUS

The two women went on to speak of the history and significance of political status. It was originally in 1972 after a hunger strike by Provisional Republicans in Belfast's Crumlin Road jail received mass support from the Catholic ghettos. 'They refused to be treated as criminals because there was a war of liberation going on', explained Cathy.

Political status meant that the prisoners were segregated according to their politics. Left alone by the prison guards they formed company and battalion staffs and elected officers to negotiate with the prison authorities. The prisoners did no menial prison work and were allowed to wear their own clothes.

On 1 March 1976 the Labour Government abolished political status for all prisoners convicted of offenses after that date. Thereafter political prisoners were to be treated as criminals and the concrete cellular blocks, known as 'H blocks' because of the shape of the buildings, were built to incarcerate the prisoners.

Cathy explained what happened



next: 'The first man to be sentenced under the new system was Kieran Neugent in September 1976. He told them that if they wanted him to wear the prison uniform they would have to nail it to his back.

'So he was the first man to go on the blanket protest. That was all he had in his cell to wear. As the men came in they joined him in the protest — except for the Loyalist and Official Republicans (Loyalists have since joined the protest).

'Being treated as criminals', said Cathy, 'meant that besides the one visit per month, one letter per month, half hour exercise a day 'privileges', remission was raised to half instead of a third of the sentence — although sentence for membership of the IRA was doubled from five to ten years.

'The men on the blanket have no privileges whatsoever. Kieran Neugent got one letter out after four months. It was to his mother and said, "Dear

Mom... Your loving son Kieran". That was all the woman got. It was completely and totally blacked out'.

After being on the blanket for more than a year the prisoners raised the stakes. Bernie elaborated: 'The stepping up of the protest was "No Wash". They refused to wash themselves at all or shave. They refused to slop out — which meant emptying their food and chamber pots from the cell'.

Of the 360 on this protest only three are over the age of 25. Eighty per cent are between 16 and 20 years old. The Relatives Action women explained that the 24 women in Armagh jail are staging a different protest and suffering different abuse.

They are permitted to wear their own clothes but with the exception of time allowed to empty their chamber pots they are locked up 24 hours a day.

When emptying the pots they have to undergo strip searches: 'You are held

physically down on your bed and your legs are separated and you go through a front passage search.'

'You are then turned over and you go through a back passage search, which you know to all women is degrading. Some of these women are 16, 17 years of age.'

Cathy and Bernie were clear in explaining the importance of the issue. The Labour Government, they said, is attempting to 'criminalise' the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland so as to isolate the freedom fighters from the potential support which exists internationally.

The women explained that the importance of their coming to England was to overcome some of the distortions of the mass media. As Bernie said, 'We have come over here to demand that the British troops...take them to hell out of our country and let us run our own affairs'.

The Star shine on

WITHIN the last week the editorials on microelectronic scientific research. It seems that the rapidly deteriorating found no space in the 'W' 'Star'.

Neither has the Communist Party of Great Britain made any official statement on political status although their Irish counterparts finally plucked up courage two weeks ago to call for watered down version.

Socialist Challenge asked Chris Myant of the Star and the Political Committee of the CP to explain the silence. Myant said that on the issue of status both the CP and the Star 'haven't taken a position, one way or the other — the Irish comrades on the ground have taken their decision'.

Because Irish Communists have made their views known and the British Communists are free of any responsibility seems a peculiar attitude to adopt. For instance, the Star and indeed the CPGB has carried editorial comments and made official statements on Chilean prisoners in the last couple of weeks. Why it's perfectly acceptable to voice opinions on these prisoners but not on Irish ones is difficult to appreciate.

CAREFUL

Chris Myant, when telling of the Irish CP's demand for political status was careful to point out that this was

H BLOCK

The atomic police



A LITTLE bit of plutonium goes a long way. Fifty millionths of a gram is probably enough to cause lung cancer and death; 8kg. could make a bomb big enough to demolish the Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey and half of Whitehall.

Fast breeder reactors generate a potential 'terrorist' threat, and the establishment of the atomic police state, writes STATE RESEARCH, a group of journalists looking into the operations of the State.

The construction of fast breeder reactors has brought the atomic police state, now officially sanctioned by the decision of the Commons to authorise the new Windscale nuclear reprocessing plant.

The protectors of the plutonium economy are the Atomic Energy Authority (AEA) Constabulary. Already 400 strong, they recruit from the police and occasionally from the armed forces.

Their sweeping powers, laid down by an Act of Parliament in 1976, include carrying arms at all times; engaging in 'hot pursuit' of thieves or attempted thefts of nuclear materials, and the right to enter any premises at will and the power to arrest on suspicion.

They are also responsible for guarding nuclear material in transit. Who will protect us from the atomic police? They are accountable to the AEA, an unelected body responsible to the Secretary of State for Energy, who is in turn answerable to Parliament — but not for their day-to-day activities.

SECURITY

So he can intervene in their detailed operations, under the 1954 Atomic Energy Act, only where 'the national interest so requires'. MPs asking Parliamentary questions about present movements of plutonium have been told that it is 'not in the public interest' for their queries to be answered.

So who decides when Parliament or the Secretary of State should intervene to control the AEA Constabulary?

Workers in the nuclear industry will be automatic targets of surveillance and security measures. The security service, M15, will be responsible for vetting them, their families, and 'known associates' in a procedure similar to that used in the Civil Service and the defence contract industries.

According to a report published in Justice: 'Employees may be required to file past armed guards, might be required to change uniform while under observation, and be subject to temporary detention whenever material was unaccounted for at the end of a shift.'

OBSERVATION

If M15 regards it as necessary, surveillance could also be extended to employees of the Central Electricity Generating Board — a public corporation which owns and operates all existing commercial nuclear power stations — if they are in contact with information about plutonium.

Even private contractors to the power industry could be affected.

Surveillance will not stop at the gates of nuclear installations: beyond the industry, M15 and the Special Branch will keep records on those whom they consider to be 'potential terrorists'. During the Windscale Inquiry, the Department of Energy was asked to define exactly who might be put under observation.

The reply was: 'Bodies and individuals opposed to the develop-

ment of nuclear power would not be subject to surveillance unless there was reason to believe that their activities were subversive, violent or otherwise unlawful.'

The Department's definition of 'subversive' was based on a speech by Lord Harris, Minister of State at the Home Office: 'Subversion is defined as activities threatening the safety or well-being of the State and intended to undermine or overthrow parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means.'

CATCH-ALL

The Special Branch and M15, who collect information on the basis of this catch-all definition, are not accountable to Parliament: questions about them are also 'not in the public interest'.

The Windscale Report deliberately excluded discussion of existing physical security precautions and personnel vetting. It refers to (unspecified) 'people with evil purpose' who want to sweep away the system of government and the rule of law, and concluded:

'The problem is easy to state, but there is no easy solution. Indeed, I can see no solution at all. If the sort of activities under consideration (terrorism) are to be checked, innocent people are certain to be subject to surveillance, if only to find out whether they are innocent or not.'

SIMPLE

The way Lord Parker, who conducted the inquiry and Parliament look at it, there is no option to an atomic police state, dominated by the activities of unaccountable police and secret services.

There is, of course, an elegantly simple solution. The atomic police state can be relegated to the realms of science fiction — but only by preventing the building of the plutonium economy.

State Research, 9 Poland Street, London W1. Bulletin No. 5, out now, contains information about the atomic police. Price 35p. Subscriptions: £3 p.a. (individuals); £6 p.a. (institutions).

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End the silence

WHEN three weeks ago the Independent Broadcasting Authority banned the showing of the 'This Week' programme on the Amnesty exposure of British torture of prisoners in Ireland it could hardly have guessed at the storm it was starting.

JOHN THACKERA reports on the growth of the protest.

Two weeks after the banning of **This Week** more than 80 TV programme makers — directors, producers, and reporters — met to protest at the 'political censorship' of programmes about the North of Ireland by both the IBA and the BBC. They demanded to know the real reasons for the bannings, postponements and forced cuts to be made public.

By itself the meeting is unlikely to make the censors lose much sleep. But the information the meeting asked the film technicians union ACTT to assemble about the different forms of Irish censorship is potentially explosive.

One example was given by BBC producer Philip Donellan who told of the trials and tribulations surrounding the 'Irish Way' series. The censoring of this series led to the resignation of producer Clive Thomas. Donellan mentioned, almost in passing, that the Army's main pre-condition of his filming them was that the RUC should be shown to be taking an equal part in 'security duties' — whether or not they really were.

The bolstering up of the RUC is central to Government's current strategy of 'Ulsterisation'.

The problem for the TV authorities and Roy Mason is that many of the programme makers have now had enough of their programmes being butchered — whether directly or indirectly.

Alan Sapper, General Secretary of the TV technicians union ACTT, seems ready to confront this situation directly. Speaking of the blacking out of Thames television by technicians furious at the IBA's decision, Sapper applauded their action.

'If this sort of thing happens in the

future', he said, 'I hope our members will take that action (pulling the plugs) immediately and absolutely'. It seems that one union capable of at least partially resisting IBA edicts is now ready to sanction industrial action against political censorship on Northern Ireland.

A commitment by the media unions to defend not only individual members facing victimisation, but also the right of free speech for all on Ireland, would have a dramatic effect in this context. Sapper's support for industrial action against censorship is extremely important; it can be used to pull the National Union of Journalists behind a similar policy, and could well provoke a crisis in the media's whole attitude to Northern Ireland.

Picket the Royal Tournament

THE ANNUAL British Army Jamboree, otherwise known as the 'Royal Tournament' begins at Earsl Court, London on 12 July and runs until 29 July.

The London branch of the United Troops Out Movement, together with the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland campaign hope to leaflet the tournament throughout.

But they are calling a special leafletting session for Saturday 15 July when they are appealing for an all-out mobilisation.

The leaflets will be aimed at showing what the British Army is doing in the North of Ireland.

Meet 12 noon at Warwick Rd entrance to Earsl Court tube.

soldiers of the republic. This is not for my family to know. I've told them all - well here. Well, if they are at ease I can struggle easier.

Gotta go now, make something for your papers out of this. Would like to say soft quiet words. It's difficult but after so long it's still in my heart and soul. Just hidden until it's safe to show again. Some day soon.

I'll never compromise, love my language. Take care.'

r doesn't H Block

'Morning Star' has carried articles and on the priorities in the current situation in H Block has 'Say' editorial column of the

not the same demand as those of the prisoners themselves. These latter demands said Myant, 'Have been used as a basis for the usual paramilitary organisations to impose discipline. This is not a good thing'.

DEMONSTRATION

The conversation then turned to the 9 July demonstration. Would the Communist Party, or the Star be supporting the protest? 'We're not likely to make any statement. There are few demonstrations we actually urge support for in the Star you know'.

True or not, one demonstration the Star did build for was the 'Better Life For All Campaign' march in London in February. This campaign, which asks Britain to pass fairer laws for the Irish was described at the time by the British Government as 'non-controversial, non-partisan'. It attracted the support of 200 demonstrators.

But if the CP was not backing 9 July or officially supporting political status did Myant think there would be any member of the CPGB on the 9 July demonstration.

'I haven't a clue', said Myant. Many in Long Kesh would second that.

Responding to Althusser

What is democratic centralism?

A FEW weeks ago we published extracts from a series of articles by French Communist Party member Louis Althusser criticising the leadership, structures and political practice of the party.

Below, in an extract from a four-part series published in the French Trotskyist daily 'Rouge', ERNEST MANDEL argues that Althusser's proposals do not come to grips with the problem of building a democratic centralist party.

THE MOST remarkable part of Althusser's articles is that which unmasks and denounces the structure and internal regime of the PCF.

Althusser does not call it by its name, but we know it well. It is necessary to spell it out: bureaucratic centralism, the very opposite of democratic centralism.

There are two sorts of remedies for this disease. The first is developed by Althusser and is of an essentially political nature. It calls for a political theory and practice diametrically opposed to those of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies, which are based on distrust and fear of the broad working masses:

VANGUARD

The emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the workers themselves. The vanguard revolutionary party is a necessary instrument for this self-emancipation, but it can in no way substitute itself for the working class.

It's a certainty that in the course of a long political struggle it will learn as much from the spontaneity of the masses and the elementary class struggle as it will educate them in more general political conceptions.

Obviously this does not mean an opportunist adaptation to whatever the working class is currently thinking, which in any case can change rapidly. But it means lending an attentive ear to what the masses are thinking, and never ignoring or distorting it.

The second sort of remedy against the bureaucratic disease is more strictly organisational. It concerns the rules of functioning of the workers organisations themselves, that is, the guarantees of workers democracy.

TIMID

Here Louis Althusser's approach is very timid, to say the least. Having denounced a deep and institutionalised disease, he concludes with two very modest proposals: discussion forums in the Communist press; the right to a horizontal flow of information, in a contradictory manner, in order to obtain a really democratic discussion.

We obviously agree with these proposals, which are applied as a matter of course in all the organisations of the Fourth International. But if they are necessary to assure a minimum of workers democracy, they are insufficient to give it a solid and lasting foundation.

What makes democratic centralism the opposite of bureaucratic centralism is the guarantee and practice of the right of tendency. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to have an effectively centralised organisation without the leadership — and all the more so a leadership resting on a solid apparatus — enjoying inevitable advantages from this centralisation.

PRIVILEGED

It centralises the information and experiences of the party's activity. It transmits centralised instructions to all the organs of the party. Its draft resolutions or theses are circulated throughout the party before the congress or national conferences. They have a privileged status as the

basis of all the discussions.

All that is not bad in itself. It is even good, a necessary characteristic of the functioning of any organic structure. To grasp the objective function of this centralisation is to understand that what's at issue is not an 'organisational' phenomenon — and still less an administrative one — but a social and political necessity.

What this centralisation expresses is the effort of Marxists, of communists, to overcome the fragmentation of working class experience into isolated experiences, factory by factory, industry by industry, area by area... Class interest, which is different from a group or sectoral interest, can only be drawn out of this centralisation of experience and activity in the class struggle.

But only if one clings to the absurd Stalinist thesis of the infallibility of the leadership can one believe that it is possible to operate the mechanisms of centralisation to the sole benefit and through the sole channel of the leadership of the apparatus while maintaining the objective and efficient functioning of this centralisation from the point of view of the class struggle.

FALSE

Louis Althusser rightly rejects this idea as a theoretical mystification. The entire concrete history of the workers movement also shows it to be false.

Once it is no longer assumed that the leadership will automatically develop the correct political line on the basis of the centralised information at its disposal, the last argument in favour of bureaucratic centralism — that of efficiency — disappears.

Once one admits that the majority can be wrong, that the minority can be right, then it is useful for the party if the minority has the same possibility of influencing the members as the leadership — if it has the same access to information, the same right to draw up resolutions for voting on at congress.

In this way the party stands a better chance either of avoiding mistakes or of rapidly correcting them and establishing their deeper causes.

The procedure that we have just described is essentially the right of tendency. It means the right of members jointly to draw up



Photo: JOHN STURGEON (Report)

platforms, political proposals, alternative draft resolutions to those of the leadership, independently of the compartmentalisation into cells, districts, or areas. It means the right to submit them to the membership for discussion and to the vote at congress by means of their distribution to all members of the party.

Without this right, the ending of vertical compartmentalisation and the existence of discussion forums will remain largely academic. They will not give rank-and-file militants and minorities the possibility of drawing up alternative proposals to those of the leadership.

The latter keeps a monopoly on drawing up political proposals, which is senseless if it does not have a monopoly over wisdom and truth. Bureaucratic centralism reproduces itself more or less automatically.

The equality of rights of the members is not secured because they do not have the right to consult together with a view to changing the political line. This right is reserved only for members of the leadership.

OBJECTIONS

Several objections have been raised to the right of tendency. Some say that it would be contrary to Leninism, since, at Lenin's initiative, the 10th Congress of the CPSU ruled out the establishment of factions. In reality, this episode proves the opposite of what is claimed by those who cite it.

For if factions were banned eighteen years after the creation of the party, that means that previously they were tolerated, and their banning can

only be explained by exceptional circumstances. In reality the whole history of Bolshevism is punctuated by the struggles of groupings, tendencies, and factions. And we should add that the 10th Congress only banned factions, and not the right of tendency.

DIFFERENT

At this congress Lenin vigorously defended the right of tendency. He was replying to an amendment put forward by Riazanov, which wanted to ban tendencies as well — that is, to prevent common political platforms from being submitted to congress by members of different cells, sections, or regions of the party, including members of the leading bodies.

'We cannot deprive the party and the members of the Central Committee of the right to appeal to the party in the event of disagreement on fundamental issues. I cannot imagine how we can do such a thing! The present congress cannot in any way bind the elections to the next congress.'

'Supposing we are faced with a question like, say, the conclusion of the Brest peace? Can you guarantee that no such question will arise? No, you cannot.'

'In the circumstances, the elections may have to be based on platforms. (Riazanov: 'On one question,') Certainly. But your resolution says: No elections according to platforms.'

'I do not think we have the power to prohibit this...if the circumstances should give rise to fundamental disagreements, can we prohibit them

from being brought before the judgement of the whole party? No, we cannot! This is an excessive desire, which is impracticable, and I move that we reject it.'

(Collected Works, Vol. 32, p. 261)

OUTGOING

Lenin had already previously reminded the leaders of the Workers Opposition in the course of the same debate:

'The platform of the Workers Opposition was published in the central organ of the party in 250,000 copies. We have weighed it up from all sides, we have elected delegates on its basis, and finally we have convened this congress, which, summing up the political discussion...'

(Collected Works, Vol. 32, p. 256)

Isn't that the essence of what we're talking about in relation to the right of tendency: the right of party members who disagree with the leadership to draw up alternative political positions freely without regard to compartmentalisation?

To see them submitted to all members of the party through internal bulletins or in the public press? To see them discussed before and during the congresses on the same basis as the draft resolutions of the outgoing majority leadership?

Generally speaking, a tendency is established before a congress or when there is an important turning-point of the class struggle. It dissolves itself after the conference has decided, allowing the majority time to test out its political line, with the option of re-establishing itself before the next conference and again taking up the debate on the basis of the newly acquired experience.

UNHEALTHY

That allows for the full blossoming in a positive way of the dialectic: 'common discipline in action — free discussion to determine the line — re-examination of the line in the light of the experience that has been acquired'

Permanent tendencies are evidence of an unhealthy situation. The right of tendency needs to be regulated. Our movement is proud of having respected the right of tendency in the most exemplary manner. On this question it is almost unique within the workers movement.

The recent dissolution of the two major tendencies which existed inside the Fourth International proves that we are capable of grasping all aspects of the problem.

We are not saying that we always do so in an ideal fashion, nor that we have all the solutions. We are prepared to discuss this frankly with the comrades of the Communist opposition, with all the currents of the workers movement.

But of one thing we are convinced. The denial or suppression of the right of tendency is in every way a thousand times more dangerous and harmful than any abuse in its application.

OBSTINATE

Who will dare to say that, with the right of tendency, it would not have been possible to avoid the obstinate insistence on the line of 'social fascism' for five years in the German CP, which contributed so much to Hitler's victory in 1933?

Who will dare to say that, if there had been the right of tendency in the CPSU, Stalin could have clung for 25 years to an agricultural policy which was so mistaken that by 1953 the per capita production of numerous animal and vegetable products was lower than in 1916?

Bureaucratic centralism, the manipulation of workers organisations by the apparatus of full-time officials, the stifling of free discussion and initiative by the militants which would allow them to choose between alternative lines — these are ills which need to be mercilessly fought.

If they are not overcome, neither the rise of the class struggle nor the victory of the working class will be achieved. On this conclusion, in any case, we agree with Louis Althusser. For us the right of tendency is a necessary precondition to be able to mount this struggle successfully.

The full text of Althusser's articles, together with a polemical introduction written after the PCF Central Committee meeting in April, is now available in New Left Review 109.



Dissident selling Althusser's book outside PCF youth festival.

INTERNATIONAL

Crisis in Jamaica

The test of 'Democratic Socialism'

'IMF Shocker' shouted the headlines in Jamaica in May. They were announcing the fourth currency devaluation in 13 months. Each one has been in exchange for an International Monetary Fund or World Bank loan. SHEILA MALONE reports.

In exchange for J\$240m, the latest includes a 'crawling peg' clause. That means the economy will be reviewed every month for the next year with the prospect of further adjustment.

Already the immediate effects of the 15 per cent devaluation can be seen in steep price rises. Milk, cooking oil, margarine, detergent, petrol, beer and cigarettes are all up by nearly one third.

Combined with the past one and a half years of wage restraint and more than 25 per cent unemployment, this holds out the prospect of enormous hardship for the majority of Jamaicans.

SWALLOW

In January last year, newly elected Prime Minister Michael Manley went on television and radio to announce that the Government had rejected terms for an IMF loan because 'We are not for Sale' and 'We are Masters of our own House'.

In January this year, he had swallowed his rhetoric so far as to say: 'The IMF is the only organisation in the Western

world that can make it possible for a country in our kind of difficulty to get hold of the foreign currency that we need in order to keep things going'.

BALANCE

'Democratic Socialism', which won the PNP its election victory, was a declared attempt to balance private and public interests within a mixed economy healthy enough to carry through badly needed land, housing, education and employment programmes.

This did not allow for the J\$200 million trade deficit and the minus J\$170 million foreign exchange reserve facing the new Government.

'Democratic Socialism' was unworkable because Jamaica's economic problems relate directly to its extreme dependence on imperialism, and especially to fluctuations in prices on the world market.

When the 1974-75 crisis led to drastic drops in the price of bauxite, sugar and bananas, Jamaica's main exports, the economy suffered heavily; and similarly through the tripling of

oil prices and the decline of the tourist industry, previously a major source of foreign exchange for the country.

Lack of foreign exchange to import raw materials for industry exacerbated unemployment, with manufacturers using it as an excuse to lay off workers, close down businesses and take their capital abroad.

The conservative opposition Jamaica Labour Party seized the opportunity to attack the Government, and were behind demonstrations (especially of women) against rising prices, unemployment and government 'mismanagement' of the economy.

STRIKES

A lot of the JLP's success was because of the failure of the left wing within the government and unions to mount any effective criticism of the Government.

There was also the spectacle of the largest left-wing organisation, the Stalinist-led Workers Liberation League, asking workers to accept price increases, cutbacks and layoffs as necessary sacrifices, and denouncing any criticism of Manley as 'playing into the hands of imperialism'.

There has been a wave of strikes in opposition to the



After the 17 April ghetto rebellion

Government's policies, in particular to the J\$10 wage limit, the most recent being the teachers', which closed all the schools.

Government response has been harsh. In the oil and fireworkers' disputes they used the Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act (modelled on the British Tory Act) to call in the military to smash the strikes.

When dockers occupied ships trading in Jamaica but refusing to hire Jamaican seamen, they were taken off at

gun point by government order!

Thirteen unions, including all the major ones, have signed a position paper opposing the wage limit, but have not been willing to translate this into action against government policies.

Recently, the military ambushed some alleged gun-runners at Green Bay. In fact, these turned out to be unarmed ghetto youths, five of whom were shot dead.

The Government has been forced to admit responsibility

for these murders, and has come under heavy fire about the extent of police and military powers and their abuses.

The issue shows signs of becoming one around which the discontent and militancy within the ghettos, especially of the youth, could focus.

If the new mood for unity in struggle between the ghetto gangs escapes efforts to destroy it by the JLP in particular, then it could develop into a formidable opposition to government attacks.



ALFREDO Galvez — Twelve Shifts of Gear seeks to portray the tensions on a collective farm during the Allende years in Chile. The author is Juan Vera, a Chilean exile, writes RIC SISSONS.

The play is showing at the Hull Moon Theatre in London until 15 July.

All the actors remain on stage throughout its 80 minutes giving a feeling of community life. The strongest aspect of the play is the acting, while it remains at its weakest in dealing with the political events themselves.

The central character, Alfredo, is a wife-beating mechanic who cannot come to terms with the owners' eviction and the new communal life.

He reveals himself a brute and a male chauvinist because he lacks self confidence. The denunciation of women's oppression is well done.

All is not lost for Alfredo. He makes a messianic transformation after one particularly tragic event... rather too simplistic.

The commune is led by 'Party' militants. Although it is never explicitly stated it is obvious that the Party in question are the Communists.

The Party members implore the rest of the commune 'no adventures' and 'don't you understand this is our government'.

The dramatic ending, as British-made Hunter jets strafe the commune, is never really explained. But this is not surprising in a play which adopts an uncritical stance to Allende, the Unidad Popular Government and the Communist Party.

No critical assessment is made of those three years between 1970 and 1973, just a tragic glorification.

Bakke—setback for US blacks

BLACK rights in the United States received a setback last week with the Supreme Court ruling in the 'Bakke' case. Five of the nine judges decided that the University of California Medical School's quota for black and Chicano students violated the Constitution.

The school reserved 16 out of 100 places each year for 'disadvantaged students' in a state that is more than a third black, Chicano, Asian and Native American.

Allan Bakke, a white engineer who failed to gain entrance, took the school to court on the grounds that he was being discriminated against.

Some moderate civil rights leaders were last week trying to get some mileage out of the 'ambiguity' of the decision of the Supreme Court, the highest court of appeal in the U.S.

They have been anxious to give the appearance that the principle of 'affirmative action' (that is positive discrimination) still stands, despite the

ruling. But affirmative action hinges on the provision of quotas to offset the effects of inferior education and culturally biased tests which handicap blacks, women and other oppressed groups.

As civil rights leader Jesse Jackson put it: 'There has always been a quota system for blacks. Historically, that quota has been zero.'

The introduction of quotas in the late 60s and early 70s was a direct result of the growing strength of black and women's struggles. There are twice as many black students now as there were ten years ago, though about half of them are in black colleges.

But colleges have been only too happy to drop their affirmative action programmes in light of the initial Bakke decision. As the economic crisis grinds on, colleges feel they have to cut back and, of course, education for women and racial minorities is just an optional extra!

CARTER

The administration has played a baleful role in the case. Conscious of the black vote, President Carter has avoided coming out in favour of Bakke.

Instead the Justice Department filed a brief to the Supreme Court stating its support for 'minority-sensitive programmes' and saying nothing about quotas.

It was left to Attorney General Griffin Bell to state the administration's real position: 'There is a line between goals and quotas and when you cross the line we would oppose quotas.'



Anti-Bakke demonstration

Japanese Trotskyist killed



NIYAMA Yukio, a member of the Japanese section of the Fourth International, has died of wounds received during the struggle against the opening of the new Tokyo airport at Saurizuka.

Comrade Niyama was one of a group of militants who drove an armoured truck into the control tower compound of the airport on 26 March. The truck caught fire and Niyama and the other comrades were engulfed in flames.

Eyewitnesses say that the police set upon the comrades, whose clothes were still burning, kicked and batoned them, and pounded them with the edges of their heavy metal riot shields.

The militants were arrested and refused medical treatment. Niyama received no attention until more than six hours after his arrest.

Niyama's death was a surprise — it seemed that he was making a full recovery — and it is reckoned that he would not have died if he had had prompt treatment.

Niyama, who was 24, had been active in the Sanrizuka struggle for a long time. He had been part of the volunteer force which built the Yokobori fortress — the steel and concrete tower that was used to divert police and facilitate the destruction of the control tower on 26 March.

The construction of the new airport has been fiercely resisted for years by local farmers, backed by workers and students.

Niyama joined the Trotskyist student organisation Gakusei Inta in 1973. In 1975 he was a founder member of the youth organisation Kyoseido, and later became a full member of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League.

CONTINUE

The JRCL stated its aim to continue the struggle against the airport: 'We are determined that all this suffering, and especially the death of this heroic young militant, will not have been in vain.'

'We are determined to carry on the fight against Narita airport, to struggle until it is closed down, dismantled, and removed without trace from the fertile land of Sanrizuka. This is the only way to carry on his last wish, and the only way to respond to the tragedy of his death.'

Widening gap in Yemen

LAST week's crisis in South Yemen came like a gift to the British press. Here surely was further evidence of the Soviet master plan for world — or at least African — domination. The facts, as usual, are a little more complex, as RICHARD CARVER explains.

The assassination of the president of conservative North Yemen, closely followed by the turmoil in the south of the peninsula, are the culmination of the imperialist effort to isolate this little bastion of hope in the middle of reactionary Arabia.

North Yemeni leader Ahmad al-Ghashmi was blown up by a parcel bomb on the eve of a visit to South Yemen.

Although the parcel apparently came from his South Yemeni counterpart, the most likely suspect is Saudi Arabia. This most reactionary of Arab states has been waging a ten year campaign to crush South Yemen — a campaign which al-Ghashmi threatened to undermine with his diplomatic overtures.

VICTIM

He was the second North Yemeni leader to die in nine months. His predecessor, Ibrahim al-Hamdi, was killed in London last October. At the time Socialist Challenge specu-

lated that the killer was a relative of a victim of al-Hamdi's brutal regime.

Recent events suggest that he too was guilty of excessive diplomatic friendliness with his southern neighbour.

CRISIS

Then came the coup attempt — or whatever it was — in South Yemen. Government sources claim that President Salim Robaya Ali had used the North Yemeni crisis to try to oust rivals in the government.

Whatever the details, a day of fighting ended with Ali dead and the faction led by Abdel Fattah Ismail in control.

Ismail is generally presented as pro-Moscow, in contrast to the 'moderate' Ali (though in fairness to Ali, it should be added that the Western press only dubbed him moderate in death).

Ismail is pro-Moscow to the extent that any radical Third World leader has to be to guarantee military and economic protection against



Salim Robaya Ali, pro-Chinese South Yemeni President before his assassination, with chairman Mao.

imperialism.

Ali veered in another direction: towards reliance on China which, in turn, meant falling in with Peking foreign policy.

No wonder Ali won admirers

in the Daily Telegraph editorial office. The Chinese leaders maintain that Iran is the chief progressive force in the Gulf and Arabia, since it is a bulwark against Soviet 'social imperialism'.

In the Horn of Africa a pro-Chinese South Yemen would have opposed Ethiopia, but on the principle that my friend's enemy's friend is my enemy.

The Ismail faction, on the other

hand, has a more internationalist line. It has generally identified itself with the Cuban line in the Horn: support for the Ethiopian military regime, at the same time as trying to dissuade it from a military solution to the Eritrean question and to establish a civilian political structure.

Most importantly, Ismail favours a resumption of the guerilla struggle against the British-backed Sultanate of Oman.

UNSAVOURY

Britain has tried to use Oman as a cutting edge against South Yemen ever since it was forced to grant independence to its former colony.

The Yemenis have responded by backing the Omani liberation movement against the Sultan's unsavoury regime and the British SAS troops sent to prop it up.

The situation got so serious for the Sultan that in 1974 the Shah of Iran invaded the Omani province of Dhofar to snatch it back from rebel hands. This dealt a serious blow to the guerillas, but with South Yemeni help they would be capable of resuming the struggle.

Gays under attack - world wide

IN THE LAST year gays have found themselves subject to increasing abuse and physical attack. In many countries they have been in the frontline of a frenzied ideological onslaught.

Gays in San Francisco put out an international call that this year's 'Christopher Street' marches should be in solidarity with gays under attack, building an international fight back. JUDE WOODWARD examines why this is necessary.

Since last summer, when Anita Bryant's Save Our Children campaign won so much publicity, and won the repeal of anti-discrimination legislation in Miami, other US cities have taken similar measures.

In Eugene, Oregon, a Baptist minister persuaded the population that 'being a pervert is like being a thief'.

OFFENSIVE

In Greece a particularly offensive law, reminiscent of the days of the colonels, is about to go onto the statute book. This establishes harsh sentences for importuning and 'acts against nature', justifying this by linking homosexuality with VD and prostitution, on top of moral censure.

The press has willingly opened its pages to the moral campaign against gays. All the old slanders have been raked up.

In Canada, the press led a campaign linking homosexuality with violent crime. They

were not making the point that gays are usually on the receiving end of violent crime.

ANGUISH

The 'danger to children' has been the cutting edge linking Anita Bryant type campaigns against gay teachers and lesbian mothers in the US and elsewhere with attacks on paedophiles in Canada and Europe.

'After all, all gays are potential child rapists' and 'Gays are perverts and breed perverted children' are the intended conclusions.

The anguish of paedophiles, already completely ostracised, has been increased.

Paedophilia also provides the pretext for attacks on the gay press; the prosecution of the Canadian magazine Body Politic, for example.

SETBACK

In France, the decision to ban the display of *Gaie Presse* and *Dialogues* represents a



major setback, equivalent to the prosecution of *Gay News* here and its banning from W H Smith.

The cops have arrested hundreds in Montreal in raids

on gay bars. Everywhere raids on gay bars, clubs and saunas, coupled with the harassment of individual gays, have reached new proportions.

Over 600 gays are in Spanish

jails under the laws on 'Social Danger and Rehabilitation'. Egged on by the repressive climate encouraged by the state and the press, extreme right groups have started to attack

gays more vigorously.

FASCISTS

The Paris Gay Film Festival was bombed by fascists. In South London lesbians leaving discos have had to start organising their own defence from attacks.

Gays have shown themselves more ready to organise than ever before.

A 2,000 strong demonstration in Montreal so shocked the Quebec authorities that it led to protective legislation. The young Spanish gay movement swelled on to the streets of Catalonia in outrage and anger.

SUPPORT

The gay movement has been finding a new strength to stand up to these attacks and fight back. It is building alliances with other oppressed groups and seeking support from the labour movement.

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HOW CAPITALISM has been done away with in Vietnam — and how this relates to the present dispute with China — is the subject of a major feature by Fred Feldman in this week's Intercontinental Press/Imprecor.

Also in this issue (Vol. 16, No. 26): long-time Trotskyist leader Pierre Frank looks at the crisis in the French Communist Party; an analysis of the left's advance in the Peru elections; ten years of the international women's movement; after the

second war in Shaba — and how the left reacted to the French intervention.

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Peru: 'from now on you are prisoners of war'

LIMA (IPS): Genaro de Ledesma, a founder member and leader of the Workers', Peasants', Students' and People's Front — FOCEP — which won 12 per cent of the vote in the recent Constituent Assembly elections in Peru, and who was exiled to Argentina days before the polls, has told a local paper that in Argentina they were treated like 'prisoners of war' and submitted to physical ill treatment.

The FOCEP leader said that the treatment received after he and his comrades were arrested was 'atrocious and abusive'. 'For several days,' he said, 'our relations did not know where we were, because they held us incommunicado.'

Later, on 24 May, those who were to be deported were

chosen.

'So, without any previous warning, we were taken off at 11 at night in several vans to the Grupo Aereo Number 8 (a military aerodrome). There was a plane waiting for us...'

'There we met Admirals Jose Arce and Guillermo Faura (both retired, former ministers of the Velasco government and members of the leftist PSR).

'They were wearing their dress uniforms to avoid being mistreated. But they were treated the same as everyone else — brutally.'

'They told us that we were going to Argentina, which produced our hardest protest. Everyone knew that in Argentina they kidnap and murder left-wing leaders with impunity.'

'So we definitively refused to board the plane.'

According to Ledesma the left-wing leaders put up resistance: 'They dragged us into the plane, hitting us, in the most brutal manner.'

'Those who put up the most physical resistance were Ricardo Letts, Hugo Blanco and Ricardo Naupari. Once we were in the plane they tied us to our seats and treated us like the worst delinquents.'

'We arrived in Jujuy at 10 in the morning... The treatment they gave us in Peru seemed almost gentle compared with what we got in Argentina...'

'In Jujuy a detachment of the Argentinian army was waiting for us. Before putting us in lorries their officer told us that: "From now on consider yourselves prisoners of war."

'We were held incommunicado in Jujuy and under heavy

guard. Then they handed us over to the police who took us to Buenos Aires. There they put us in horrible cells such as had never been seen in Peru.'

'You could see many traces of blood of the prisoners who had been murdered and tortured. Later we could see nothing because they totally cut off our light. We didn't know if it was night or day.'

Dr Genaro Ledesma also announced that the elected FOCEP members would return to Peru to take up their seats, without waiting for government authorisation.

'Why do we need any authorisation? We have an irrevocable mandate. By going back we are only carrying out the popular mandate.'

'The first week of July, we will arrive in Lima come what may.'

I DO ENJOY the job. I mean, it kills me; it really wears me down. The shiftwork doesn't do you any good at all. But at its best moments I enjoy it. It's one of the few jobs where you have a certain amount of responsibility and you can also talk to people; learn from them. You meet an incredible number of people every day.

There's a young girl, for example, I used to talk to when she was at school. It started a couple of years ago; I don't know how but we got chatting. It was a general friendship kind of thing, but we were also talking politics quite a lot. I used to carry leaflets for various campaigns and keep them in my locker or in my pocket.

I remember one time we discussed the National Abortion Campaign — it was the time of the big demonstrations. Anyway, she was a Christian at the time, and we used to argue about religion. But she was beginning to become interested in politics, and over a period it was astonishing to watch her radicalising.

Not because of me. I did have some slight influence. I used to give her literature and sell her the paper, things like that. Whenever I had a badge she used to buy it off me.

Then she got on the bus just after the May Day demo last year, and she'd been absolutely knocked out by it — thought it was really fantastic. The next time I saw her on the bus she said: 'Oh, I've given up all that religious crap, by the way. I'm a socialist now.'

'I'd go insane!'

The last time I saw her, she'd left school and goes to a tech, and appears to be really active. She was wearing a Gays Against Fascism badge. I felt in a tiny way I might have helped in that process. More important is that I'm in touch with her, and she's said she'll be going along to Socialist Challenge meetings.

As a conductor, if you really push, you've got immense possibilities. In a half-hour journey you can get in a ten-minute discussion. It depends how you handle the job. If I were to just stand there on the platform, like a zombie, I'd go insane.

Passengers are surprised, first of all, that any conductor is political. Until recently there were very few political conductors. The far left and the Communist Party have minimal forces on London Transport.

The badge revolution has helped; it's led to an opening up. Three years ago, when I started, if you wore a badge people would immediately see you as a loonie leftie. I've worn all kinds of badges on the bus: Rock Against Racism, Fight Racism, the Anti Nazi League, badges against the cuts.

I've consciously never worn an Ireland badge, which is a cop out, or a gay badge — not so much because I don't consider myself gay, but because I'd get pulverised if I put one on. I used to feel very nervous about displaying an anti-racist badge, but that's changed now. The rise of the anti-racism movement and the ANL has changed things very much.

'You get the lot'

You really see what is going on in our society working on the buses. What the right-wing calls erosion of values but for different reasons. The bus queue is the place where you see it most. Nearly all the situations of near assault and aggression are black-white.

If everyone is pushing and a black person is just standing there, they'll be white people — usually middle-aged women because it's that time of day — who wheel round and say: 'Ooer, look at 'im, they always push in.' That's very mild. Then it's: 'Out of the way, fucking sambo.' You get the lot.

Sometimes during the rush hour you'll see that repeated at maybe five or six stops, and you begin to think: christ what's happening. You have to intervene, whatever kind of person you are. If you're political and you're conducting a bus you can't just watch everytime.

That's the nearest I've ever been to being assaulted on a number of occasions; I've directly confronted racists and said: 'You either shut your fucking mouth or you're off my bus. Racists don't travel on my bus.' I say

Socialists at work

A Red on the Buses

'If everyone is pushing in the queue and a black person is just standing there, they'll wheel round and say: 'Ooer, look at 'im THEY always push in''. Then it's "Out of the way, fucking sambo". 'You have to intervene. If you're political and you're conducting a bus you just can't just watch every time.'

D, a bus conductor in North London, describes his encounters with racists and other experiences (some of them pleasant).



it very loudly, so that anyone else can either stand up and be counted...So that at least the black people know they've got some kind of solidarity.

As a white bus conductor you get people come up to you and say the most revolting racist, often insane things. They'll repeat fantasies to you about blacks and they expect you to agree with them.

A woman came up to me the other day; it was very hot and fairly crowded on the downstairs deck. Three black women had got on at the stop before, and this woman as she was getting off came up to me and said: 'Cor, there's a lot of smelly people in there.'

I thought, no, she can't mean those black women. She must be joking about people sweating in the heat. She got off, and said 'You get what I mean', and walked off down the street. A very bitter woman in her fifties.

The week before I was talking to a woman about the cuts in the services, and she said: 'God, it's really gone downhill since they come on.' And I asked, who. She repeated it again, still whispering in my ear, and I got aggressive and said very loudly: 'Who

do you mean?' She said: 'You know, the blacks.' So I really fucking denounced her in front of the whole of the bottom deck; screamed at her about the '30s and christ knows what else. She got off, and she's been very quiet every time she's been on since then.

'You come home tired'

That can be depressing. If you have ten people coming up to you and saying that in a confidential way during the day, you've got to have a lot of confidence in human nature to be able to survive.

You come home very tired sometimes, particularly if you've also been doing agitation for a campaign. Everybody you know you talk to: about troops out of Ireland, a demonstration, or whatever...

I've taken up Ireland with people I've begun to know fairly closely. I used to serawl 'Free Frank Stagg' all over the bus and ended up writing 'Avenge Frank Stagg' after the British murdered him. The right-wing in the garage used to write underneath it: 'Kill Commie bastards'.

It's astonishing that I've never been reported to management. When I was on the buses in Blackpool for six months, I had very long hair. I was reported regularly. I even had the privilege of a complaint in the *Blackpool Gazette*, describing this long-haired conductor who looks like a golliwog. An alderman wrote that.

Yet I've put myself on the line a lot more in the last three and a half years and I've never had a single complaint. If you run your bus to the satisfaction of your passengers as much as you can, then the few hostile people are always rejected by the other passengers. If anyone starts going at me then I've usually got a few people who know me who will stand up for me, and that really does help.

One thing about the job is that most of the other bus workers and management don't know what you do on the back of your bus; that's the somewhat illusory freedom of the job. That's the reason why a lot of people are on it, in fact, because they feel they're their own boss on the bus. It's also a compensation for a

militant. If you're in a garage where it's very difficult to be involved in trade union or political work, you've still got this tremendous propaganda forum on the back of your bus, and also a means for personal survival. I was in that situation before I came to my present garage.

But there is constant aggravation on the bus, because it's a shitty service with immense cuts being implemented, combined with the chaotic traffic system in London. And that's the hardest thing about working on the bus. That's one of the biggest reasons, even bigger than assaults — just simple aggravation — that's driven many people off our job.

The staffing on the bus section of London Transport is just under 20,000 at the moment. In April alone, 280 left, which is a considerable percentage.

'I just go mental'

The job is becoming harder all the time. You've got to have the patience of a fucking saint, and anyone who hasn't got a heart of gold or isn't political can't understand what's going on. They just can't put up with it, which is why you meet so many conductors who will blow up at the slightest thing. There are needling comments all through the day, plus outright abuse when people swear at you.

I blow up about every two months. I just go mental; I can't control myself.

That's one side of the picture, yet you see some conductors getting on their bus and they're really enjoying it. It's the only time in their life when they've got a chance to really use their imagination: in talking to people; in making the bus less boring to be in. The familiar sort of very humorous London bus conductors; there's few of them left.

The relationship with the driver is very important, just in terms of getting through the day. My driver is in the Socialist Workers Party, so we have a very good relationship, to communicate what's going on at each end of the bus. If I have people on who I think are fascists and might cause trouble I give him knocks on the glass and he keeps his eyes open. And we've worked closely together in the branch where he's now chairperson.

The present branch leadership was elected on the basis of union democracy and a militant fight against racism. Over half the garage is black or Asian, some Cypriots. We affiliated to the Anti Nazi League, and attended the ANL Carnival, and supported the demonstration over the killing of Altab Ali.

'Their faces cracked'

Eight of us in the garage — the main branch committee militants — are wearing ANL badges and it's causing tension, but good political tension. We've argued for an open fight on racism, on the job as well as in the union. We supported the Right to Work campaign.

One of the key events which led to us winning leadership was Grunwick. At that time branch meetings used to be eight or ten people — five right wing, five left wing, and most of the meetings weren't even quorate.

We mobilised over Grunwick and we had 40 people down there, over half of them Asian. There was a de facto Asian caucus before hand. They had a discussion before the meeting and they all came in together. The faces of the right wing cracked.

We were the only garage in the fleet to send a delegation to Grunwick. It was a major victory. The right-wing union rep resigned the next week.

The Asians had felt they weren't wanted at branch meetings, with a committee of whites mainly in their fifties and early sixties, all right-wing racist Labour supporters. But it has been difficult to maintain the momentum. Two or three of the Asians are now involved on the branch committee. But there's so much to do after 20 years of inactivity and lack of democracy.

This contribution by D is taken from a conversation with GEOFFREY SHERIDAN. It is the first in a series on socialists (and others) at work. If you know someone — perhaps yourself! — who would make a good subject, do let us know.

SNP is not dead yet

I WAS surprised by the editorial on 'After Hamilton' (8 June). The method of your approach seemed more akin to bourgeois sociology than Marxism.

How is it possible to assess the significance of the Hamilton by-election result and the prospects for the Scottish Nationalists without any reference to (a) the Labour Government's strictly temporary ability to claim that it is on top of the economic situation, and (b) the forthcoming referendum on the Assembly and the forces this will set in motion?

Labour will be unable to come up with anything which appears even half as convincing as the SNP's rhetoric once inflation starts to creep up again and the debate about the powers of the Assembly gets into full swing.

Far from being 'set to stabilise itself with around 25-30 per cent of the national vote', the SNP will move in without much trouble to fill this vacuum — unless socialists can start to pose a credible alternative based on a workers' solution to the crisis (because yes, we too are a small part of this situation, though you might not have guessed it from the editorial).

TOM MARTIN (East London)

It's not so simple!

THE article written by Richard Carver on the Cuban-Ethiopian connection (22 June) was disappointing. I'd like to point out what he ignores.

First, Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world. It has more than 80 different ethnic groups and also dozens of different languages.

These divisions in the population were manipulated and aggravated by the racist policies of Haile Selassie, which the Eritreans rightfully fought against.

Secondly, Richard ignores the changes that the Ethiopian government has instituted in its short and troubled period of rule.

These include a literacy campaign in which students have gone to the country to teach peasants; the nationalisation of land, banks, education and most of industry; the organisation of peasants into cooperatives and the re-appropriation of land; the setting up of a women's organisation, trade unions, and people's organisations in the towns.

The complexity of the Eritrean situation is also ignored. There are at least three Eritrean groups fighting against the Ethiopian government and they receive backing from reactionary Arab regimes, especially Saudi Arabia.



But behind the scenes is the support of the USA, which has strategic bases in Eritrea and badly wants to see the downfall of the Ethiopian government.

Before pledging support to groups that are receiving aid from and ultimately may serve the interests of capitalist and imperialist forces, the relevant questions to ask are: How much popular support have they got? Who will benefit from the independence of Eritrea? How democratic are these nationalist organisations?

Instead of attacking the Cubans and Soviets, Richard Carver would have produced a more useful article if he had concentrated on the interests of international capitalism in Ethiopia and its involvement in Eritrea.

ANNE PICKARD (South London)

Ifs and buts

WE in East London Rank & File Teachers have been very happy to see in several issues of Socialist Challenge the support you have given to the Anti Nazi League. However, we are beginning to think that what you say in your paper and what the IMG / Socialist Unity / Socialist Teachers Alliance do in practice are two very different things.

At the last meeting of East London Teachers Association (FLTA) your members and supporters argued that support should not be given to the conference of Teachers Against the Nazis, in September, but that sponsorship should be considered at the next meeting (some time in September!).

The reasoning behind this was that we should reserve judgement until we see whether All-London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (ALTARE) and TAN organise one conference. The fact is, as your members and supporters know, ELTA will now not appear as a sponsor of the TAN conference nor will schools in East London be sent details of the conference.

These 'ifs and buts' by your members and supporters are being used, we believe, to attack and undermine the ANL and its various sections, eg. TAN. We believe you should be more honest; either you support the ANL or you don't.

If you think that this is an isolated incident, it's not. ELTA still only supports the ANL as a national body

conditionally.

Earlier in the year your members and supporters argued that the ANL was trying to take over a carnival in Victoria Park on 30 April that had been organised by THMARF, the local anti-racist and anti-fascist body (yes, really!).

The anti-fascist and anti-racist movement is too important to be wrecked by sectarianism; so come on, make up your minds; you're with the ANL or you're not.

Finally, we state unequivocally, Rank & File Teachers support (and indeed are active in) all anti-racist bodies, including the ANL, ALTARE and THMARF.

RANK & FILE TEACHERS GROUP (East London)

Benefits for all

SEVERAL OF US went to a socialist benefit recently which was unfortunately typical of its kind. It was an anti-racist benefit, yet almost all the musicians and singers were white, and they sang sexist songs.

When a woman went up on stage and tried to say something about the sexist music, one of the musicians called her a middle-class twat and got the mike turned off so that she couldn't speak.

We've heard it said that no one will come to benefits if the music isn't popular. So sexist music is popular — it's still rubbish. There is no reason why black people should support a campaign that provides almost all white entertainment, and there is also no reason why women should support any group which entertains us by insulting us.

We're also tired of the way these evenings are set out. They're meant for couples only. They are not arranged so that single people coming on their own, children or older people can comfortably turn up and get to know people and enjoy themselves.

We get lecture-hall seating, all eyes front and centre, a stage for the 'important people', no audience participation and total darkness so that you can be sure you'll never find your friends. You can't get more anti-social.

Contrast that with a Chilean evening one of us went to recently. It was in an art gallery with several rooms. There was an exhibition; people could move about and meet others; there was food and drink for

both adults and children.

Later there were singers, but not on a stage, and with the lights on. People sat in groups; kids could play. People felt they were with each other and not just there as isolated individuals gawping in the dark at performers and then going away again.

If the left wants to give benefits that are for everyone and that are a real attempt to create other social forms of being together in a more human way than the ones we've got now, there will need to be a lot of rethinking. We think it's time it started happening.

MARGE BERER, JANE FAULKNER, K. FORREST, ESMÉ GLAUERT, C. SHALOM (London)

Iron grip

If we are to go anywhere, achieve anything as far as building towards a socialist revolution, then I believe it is necessary that we first start by looking at the facts and the lessons of the past.

The schools, family, law courts, local government, national government, everything you mention is modelled on the relationships in the factories. And smashing these relationships forces us to smash them everywhere else in society, freeing all from their oppression.

Our difficulty here is that in normal times politics are the arena of the middle class, as indeed are revolutionary politics. Yet we must deny them leadership of our parties, and of our revolution, precisely because their instincts do not tell them the importance of our relationship with the mode of production.

Take Lenin. One person management of factories seemed 'natural' to him. The factory committee was too slow, too laborious in its decision taking.

Take Trotsky. The militarisation of labour (us workers — the ruling class!) seemed natural to Trotsky — after all the situation 'called for it'. We workers are from the outset losing unless we are creating new relationships within society modelled on our class needs.

At the present moment it seems to me that the middle class control the leadership of the revolutionary groupings with an iron grip. We all know why, of course, because they understand the situation, etc., best, they have carried on the traditions, they are the most talented. Indeed they are.

A successful revolution needs a working class leadership, or inevitably degenerates into what we nowadays have many examples of — states in which the middle class lead, and our class continue to work in the factories for a boss, selling their labour for a portion of their labour power.

DAVE HALLSWORTH (Tameside IS)

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SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

NORTH WEST

WARRINGTON Socialist Challenge group meets regularly. Ring Manchester Socialist Challenge office for details. 061-236 2352.

GREATER MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge School students who support the paper and would like to get involved in anti-fascist activity please contact Chris 273 5867 (daytime), or Steve 226 4267 (evening), or write to Manchester SC Centre, c/o 14 Piccadilly.

PRESTON Socialist Challenge supporters can be contacted by ringing Preston 54916.

LIVERPOOL Speke Socialist Challenge group meets every Wednesday evening at Noah's Ark pub, Speke, Liverpool. 50m.

SOUTH MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge group meets every other Thursday at the Albert Inn off Whitlow Rd. Help sell Socialist Challenge between 11.30am and 1pm at Moss Side shopping centre or Longsight Market, Dickenson Rd. Further information from 061-236 2352.

LONDON

HARROW Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly. Details from PO Box 50, London N1 2PX.

GREENWICH/LEWISHAM Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly. Details from Ray on 01-669 1157.

NEWHAM Socialist Challenge Forums occur regularly. Details from PO Box 50, London N1.

WALTHAM FOREST paper sales every Saturday, 11am-noon, outside the post office, Hoe St., Waltham-stow, London E7.

LONDON CPISA Socialist Challenge readers. We are establishing a CPISA supporters group to work in the union and Broad Left. If you are sympathetic to Socialist Challenge's ideas, write to London SC organiser, c/o PO Box 50, London N1.

HACKNEY Socialist Challenge supporters meet fortnightly on Wednesdays at the Britannia Pub, Mare St., 7.30pm. Next meeting 19 July.

CAMDEN Socialist Challenge supporters sell papers every Saturday at

Inverness St market in Camden Town from 11-3pm. Join us every Saturday 12-3 on the Genders' plot at the Oxford Circus branch.

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper every Sunday in Brick Lane. Meet at the Nermal Restaurant at 10.30am.

HACKNEY Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper regularly at Dalston Junction, Fridays 14.30-5pm and Saturdays, Stamford Hill 11am.

ISLINGTON socialist Challenge Supporters Group next meeting Wednesday 12 July, Hemingford Arms, Offord Road, N1. Subject: Revolutionary Regroupment.

YORKSHIRE

Huddersfield Socialist Challenge group meets next on Thursday, 6 July at the Friendly and Trade Club, 50m 'The Family'.

YORK Socialist Challenge is on sale at the York Community Bookshop, 79 Walmgate or from sellers on Thursdays (12.30-1.45) at York University, Vanbrugh College; Satur-

days (11.30-3.30) at Coney Street.

YORK Socialist Challenge group produces a regular local news bulletin. Any enquiries about the group or the bulletin to SC: c/o 43, Grosvenor Terrace, York.

HUDDESFIELD Socialist Challenge sales regularly Saturdays 11am-1pm in the Plaza.

NORTH EAST

DURHAM Socialist Challenge Supporters Group. For details contact Dave Brewer, 2 Pioneer Cottages, Low Prillington, Durham.

DARLINGTON Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside Northern Rock on High Row, 11am-1pm.

MIDDLESBOROUGH Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside Boots at Cleveland Centre, 11am-1pm. Socialist Challenge is also available from Harrison's Newsagents in Lintorpe Street.

NEWCASTLE Socialist Challenge local supporters are active! If you want to join them, phone Pete on 06621 29057.

SOUTH/WEST

SOUTHAMPTON Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday from 10am-1pm wine bar, Post Office, Bargate.

PORTSMOUTH Socialist Challenge sales. Saturdays, 11.30am to 1pm, Commercial Road Precinct.

SCOTLAND

For information about the paper or its supporters' activities throughout Scotland contact Socialist Challenge Books, 64 Queen St, Glasgow. Open Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday afternoons. Phone for alternative arrangement 021-7481. Wide range of fourth international pub canteens.

EDINBURGH Socialist Challenge supporters group meets regularly. Phone George at 031-346 0266 for details.

DUNDEE: Information about Socialist Challenge activities from 64 Queen St, Glasgow. Join in SC sales outside Boots (corner of Reform Street) each Saturday, 11am-2pm.

SOUTH/EAST

COLCHESTER Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper every Saturday outside Caters from

10.30am-1pm. Further information of local activities from Mike 11 Anson Rd, Wivenhoe.

COLCHESTER Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly. Details from Steve, 1 Abigail Street.

BRIGHTON Socialist Challenge sales regularly on Saturdays at the Open Market, London Road. From 11am-1pm.

MIDLANDS

For details of activities of local supporters throughout the Midlands contact the Scots at Challenge Centre, 78a Digbeth High Street, Birmingham. 0621 843 9929.

UNDER REVIEW

Drinkers of the world unite

You've nothing to lose but your kegs

THE THESIS of Roger Protz's book on the brewing industry can be summed up in the phrase 'Never mind the class analysis, what's in your glass?'

The subject of his book Pulling a Fast One is that friend of the discontented and misunderstood — a pint of beer, writes COLIN SMITH.

Public houses are the nearest equivalent that present-day capitalism has to offer to the old village market-place. Commodities are sold, but among much talk, games, and general social intercourse.

Of course 'pub life' reflects the unevenness and backwardness of contemporary social life. Good conversation and pleasant conviviality take place alongside chauvinism and low sexist talk.

DRUNK

But every day 32 million pints of beer are drunk in Britain, so what Roger Protz has to say about the brewing industry and the state of beer are issues close to the stomachs and livers, let alone the minds, of the mass of working people.

Protz charts the march of late capitalism through the

brewing industry. Out of your pints of bitter a combined annual profit of £300m is made and the government takes over £1,000m in duty and VAT (what the NHS could do with all those wet 10p pieces!).

In the '60s, the brewing industry was the scene for mergers and take-overs. As a result, six huge combines emerged which have the drinker by the throat — Bass Charrington, Allied Breweries, Watneys, Whitbread, Scottish and Newcastle and Courage.

These six not only produce most of the beer consumed, but control the majority of the pubs and so can dictate what is and what is not sold.

This is where the Campaign for Real Ale, Roger Protz's employers, come in. It is not capitalism — monopolist or otherwise — that furrows the



face and weakens the elbows of CAMRA devotees; but the content of their beer glass.

What started the furore was the introduction of so-called keg beer for CAMRA fans is that it is processed, refrigerated, sterilized, and insipid of taste.

For the breweries it had great advantages. It could be easily mass produced, transported long distances from a few major factories, easily stored and handled by unskilled bar staff. It was the breweries' equivalent of processed peas.

CAMRA's argument is that the taste, quality, and alcoholic content of most people's beer has disastrously suffered as a result of the combines' thirst for profits.

Protz has an easy way with the technicalities of brewing. One of the main bones of contention is what puts the bubbles in the beer. Keg bitter gets its 'head' and fizziness from 'carbonation' — injecting carbon dioxide under pressure.

This is anathema to CAMRA (though it has led to farting becoming a minor social art among some of our friends).

In opposition to the keg beer produced by the 'gang of six', Protz champions the 'real ale'

from the many small breweries that is fermented naturally, kept in casks, goes off easily, is difficult to transport great distances, and is delivered to the glass by a kind of hand siphon.

MANURE

Also it's supposed to taste great! For CAMRA, small beer is good beer.

But if 'small is beautiful' for Protz, 'the lager the better' is certainly not the case. From the big bitter disgrace we move on to the 'great lager scandal'.

Lager, supposedly the drink of Beowulf, Brunhilde and Bjorn Borg, apparently never gets closer to Scandinavia than a plain pine table. Moreover, it's a highly profitable racket for the breweries.

High in price and low in alcohol, it contains even more of that abominable CO₂ than keg beer.

So if you are a bit thirsty after driving an excavator across a patch of sand one sunny day you might as well have a glass of lemonade than the drink of Valhalla, and it won't put a chill in your pocket.

Pulling a Fast One well reveals how the ordinary pint of bitter has been adulterated in

the name of profit. The quality of consumer products should certainly be of concern to the workers' movement; and the high price and low alcoholic content of mass produced beer are undoubtedly a cause for concern.

However, pontifications on the question of taste are at best dodgy, and at worst, have the taint of elitism. After all, one person's elixir is another's 'horse-piss'.

CAMRA has a relatively large following — it claims 25,000 members but with a rapid turn-over; and has engaged in direct actions such as pickets, unheard of in the world of so-called 'consumer protection'.

But in reality CAMRA is part of the 'health through nostalgia' brigade, along with brown rice, bicycles, and over-priced nuts. One can see them objecting to the internal combustion engine because its exhaust doesn't taste of horse manure.

Protz's solution to the problems of the brewing industry and the ordinary drinker show that CAMRA doesn't look further than the bottom of their glass.

CAMRA has been successful to a degree in getting the big brewers to re-introduce 'real ale'. But all they have done is to show to the breweries that there is a corner of the market which they were in danger of overlooking. Now they are beginning to exploit it with a vengeance.

Beyond that, the ideas of Roger Protz et al amount to an Edwardian plan for the brewing industry. He attempts to show, if a little coyly, that small breweries not only make better beer but are much more profitable. That these small capitalists are among the most reactionary and anti-trade union is of little consequence.

Although he has some nice

things to say about the erstwhile nationalised brewery in Newcastle since sold off by the Tories, it is not nationalisation of the brewing industry (let alone the rest of the food and drink manufacturers) that Protz puts forward. The concern for the 'beer in the glass' ends in the dole queue for brewery workers.

He writes: 'Although brewing staff should not be affected by such a shake-up (breaking down the big combines to small local breweries) smaller distribution areas could lead to cut-backs in staff.'

'The unions involved would have to ensure that as many workers as possible would be absorbed in other departments and that any inevitable redundancies should be covered by 'natural wastage''. British Leyland directors please note!

A ROUND

Mass production of beer under capitalism may result in gaseous insipid beer, although CAMRA is helping to show that this might not be necessary. But mass production, under the control of workers with no compensation paid to the former owners, is the only way to give beer to almost everyone's taste.

It may not be achievable tomorrow, but CAMRA should look further than their next pint.

Roger Protz has been around a bit and it would be a travesty to say that he approaches every question with an empty class, albeit one made neither in Moscow nor Washington.

He has produced probably the best available book on the brewing industry. But be and CAMRA should be careful that they do not speak in Riddles or try to remain a bit too Young's at heart.



Pulling a fast one by Roger Protz is published by Pluto Press at £1.20. Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1 — add 15p for postage.

WHAT'S LEFT

5p per word. Display £2 per column inch. Deadline: 3pm Saturday before publication. Payment in advance.

SPITALFIELDS: Socialist Unity supporters only. Socialist Challenge Sunday in Brick Lane. Meet at the Nazul Restaurant at 10.30am.

HELP Socialist Challenge by giving your jumble to the Machine Supporters Group. If you want your jumble collected ring Doodle on 389-8186, or bring it into the paper's offices.

RICKET GARNERS: Male pickets every day, noon to 3pm and 5.30 to 11 pm at 393 Oxford St., London W1 (opp. Selfridges), 243 Oxford St. (Oxford Circus), 40-41 Haymarket; 58 Whitehall St. (Leicester Sq.); Mass picket every Saturday at noon, 399 Oxford St. Donations gratefully received as strike pay is only 58. All donations to Gamers Strike Fund, c/o TGWU, Rm 84, 12-13 Henrietta St., London WC2E 9JF 240 1066.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION badges, red or white available from J Wilson. SC Badges, PO Box 56, London N1 2XP. Cost: 15p each plus 7p p&p, or 11p each for orders of 10 or more.

'FIGHT RACISM' badges and T-shirts (badges black on white, shirts black on red) available for all anti-racists. Show where you stand during the long hot summer. Order yours now. Badges, 15p each plus 7p p&p, or 11p each for orders of 10 or more. T-shirts, £2 each plus 15p p&p. From

J.Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

A TORY VICTORY in the General Election will be a defeat for the British labour movement. But every working class vote that goes to Labour on the basis of support for its record will be an ideological and political defeat for the working class and for socialism. Socialists must combine political preparation for a fightback against right-wing Labour policies with a drive between now and the General Election to keep the Tories out. Come to the Socialists For a Labour Victory conference in London on 15 July. Details from SC&V c/o 152 Upper St., London N1.

EAST LONDON Socialist Unity benefit pop. Fr 7 July 8pm to 1am. Live band. Charge: bar, disco, £1 15p w/eat/drink. St Hilda's Exo, Glas Row, 101 Bethnal Green Rd, London E2.

EALING Borough Against Racism and Fascism. Sat 15 July. Sponsors include Southern IWA, ANL, Southall Youth Movement, CP, IMG. At Ealing Town Hall, Uxbridge Rd, London. Delegates 600 and observers — who are welcome — 15p. Details and orientate from: IWA, 18 Featherstone Rd, Southall, Middx.

INSTITUTE of Race Relations meeting. From Immigration Control to Reparation. Mr A Sivaranan will introduce the discussion Tues 18 July at 6.30pm.

BELFAST Workers Research Unit. Bulletin No 4; Derry — 10 weeks on; the Strathern Pig-off; Suez investment in Ireland; Southern African Membership and the British Army in Ireland; PTA — a Case Study in State Terrorism; the Economics and Politics of Ulster's Independence. Price 50p inc post from 52 Broadway, Belfast.

WOMEN IN THE NUT conference, Saturday 8 July, 11am to 4pm, Digbeth Hall, Birmingham. Agenda: Working in the NUT, Campaigns, Organisation, Motions to NUT conference. Further information, credentials etc, from Cantele Regan, 23 Kenilworth Gardens, London SE28.

CHARTIST INTERNATIONAL No 2. Includes articles on: Socialist Unity, the anthropology of Evelyn Reed, Trotskyism and sexual politics, Ireland. Copies 35p plus 15p p&p or £1.20 for three issues. Available from Chartist Publications (BI), 50 Loughborough Road, London SW9.

ROBERT MONTEFIORE Campaign to keep the school open. Lobby of County Hall at 4.30 pm, Tues 11 July. Transport from Robert Mont School, Valence Rd, at 4pm. Lobby of local council, Tower Hamlets, Depto from Robert Mont School, Valence Rd. Leaves at 6pm, Wed 12 July. Parent of Development Sub committee meeting to decide the future of the school. County Hall 10am, Wed 13 July.

10th COMMUNIST UNIVERSITY of LONDON
July 15-23
Polytechnic of Central London

Wide range of specialist and general courses, including British Labour Movement, Contemporary Marxist Theory, British State and British Road to Socialism, as well as City Politics, Popular Music, Sex and Class, Women's Liberation, Student Politics etc. Special one-day Symposium on the Future of Post-School Education.

Further details from The Organiser, CUL 10, 16 King St., London WC2E 8HY.

UNITED TROOPS OUT Movement Forum. Debate on and debate on the British Army, re-classification, soldiers' rights etc. Followed by plans for future action. Open to all those wanting to build a movement to get the troops out of Ireland. Conway Hall, 7.30pm, Fri 14 July, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

LEICESTER Anti Racism, social, Highland Community Centre, Sat 8 July 5.30pm — midnight. Music from the Granddaughters' black reggae club.

WOMAN Campaign, 25, seeks own room in West London flat or house. Phone Manika B: 367 5613.

BROADSIDE MOBILE Workers Theatre requires a versatile actor. Full time, long term commitment. Write with full details to 28 Holben House, Holben Place, London SW1. Phone 10-572 4768 or 10-730 5395.

ANL BENEFIT on Tues 11 July with Black Enchanters and the Satellites at White Hart, Acton High St, 7.30pm to 10.30pm. Adm: £1.

ROCK AGAINST RACISM. Reggae disco and Punk bands. Pump Rooms, Leamington Spa, Fri 14 July, Lane Bn, 5.30 (6.00 at door).

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST No 8. Out now 'Inland' Imperialism in Crisis 1965-72. Terry Marlow and Stephen Palmer. First publication in English of Imperialist War and the Question of Peace' by Roman Rodostevsky. Price 50p plus 15p p&p. From RCG Publications Ltd (BSC), 49 Reilton Rd, London SE24 6LN.

IRELAND Socialist Review No 2 now available. Articles include examination of the outbreak of the British and Irish trade union movement; the International Tribunal; and a new debate section containing a critique of ISR by Chris Marshall of Big Flame. Price 45p inc postage overseas (80p). Subscriptions for 3 issues plus £1.20 overseas £21. From ISR (SCI) 60 Loughborough Rd, London SW9.

WHY PAUL FOOT SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST

The Case against the Socialist Workers' Party

'A clearly, sometimes amusingly written contribution to the debate on "socialism and how to get there". Time Out.

A Communist Workers' Movement publication that blows the lid off the SWP and outlines the Marxist-Leninist alternative £1.20

All good bookshops. Or order from October Books, 4b Temple Court, Liverpool 2. (p&p 20p).

Photos: G.M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Socialist Challenge

CHILE: MARCH FOR THE "DISAPPEARED PRISONERS"

"The disappeared prisoners' is the name we give to members of our families who have been taken from our homes, in front of our eyes, or in their work places, colleges and universities, with eye witnesses or strong proof of their detention. The people who detained them were members of the military intelligence services. They are being held in secret and all our efforts, such as writs of habeas corpus, affidavits of kidnapping, and letters and interviews with Government officials, have been flung back in our faces with the following answer: 'This person has never been detained'. There are variations such as: 'He has left the country', 'He has gone into hiding', 'He has been kidnapped by a band of extremists', and so forth."

Committee of the Families of Disappeared Prisoners, Santiago, June 1975.



Some disappeared prisoners:
Top row, left to right: Jose Fidel Flores Perez, Juveline Del Carmen Binda Contreras, Ugarte Roman Murta, Peruvia Plaza Reinaida.
Bottom row, left to right: Rosa Elena Morales, Maria Angelica Andreoli Bravo, Juan Canales.

**9 July, Assemble 1pm,
Melton St, Euston Station,
March to Chilean Embassy**

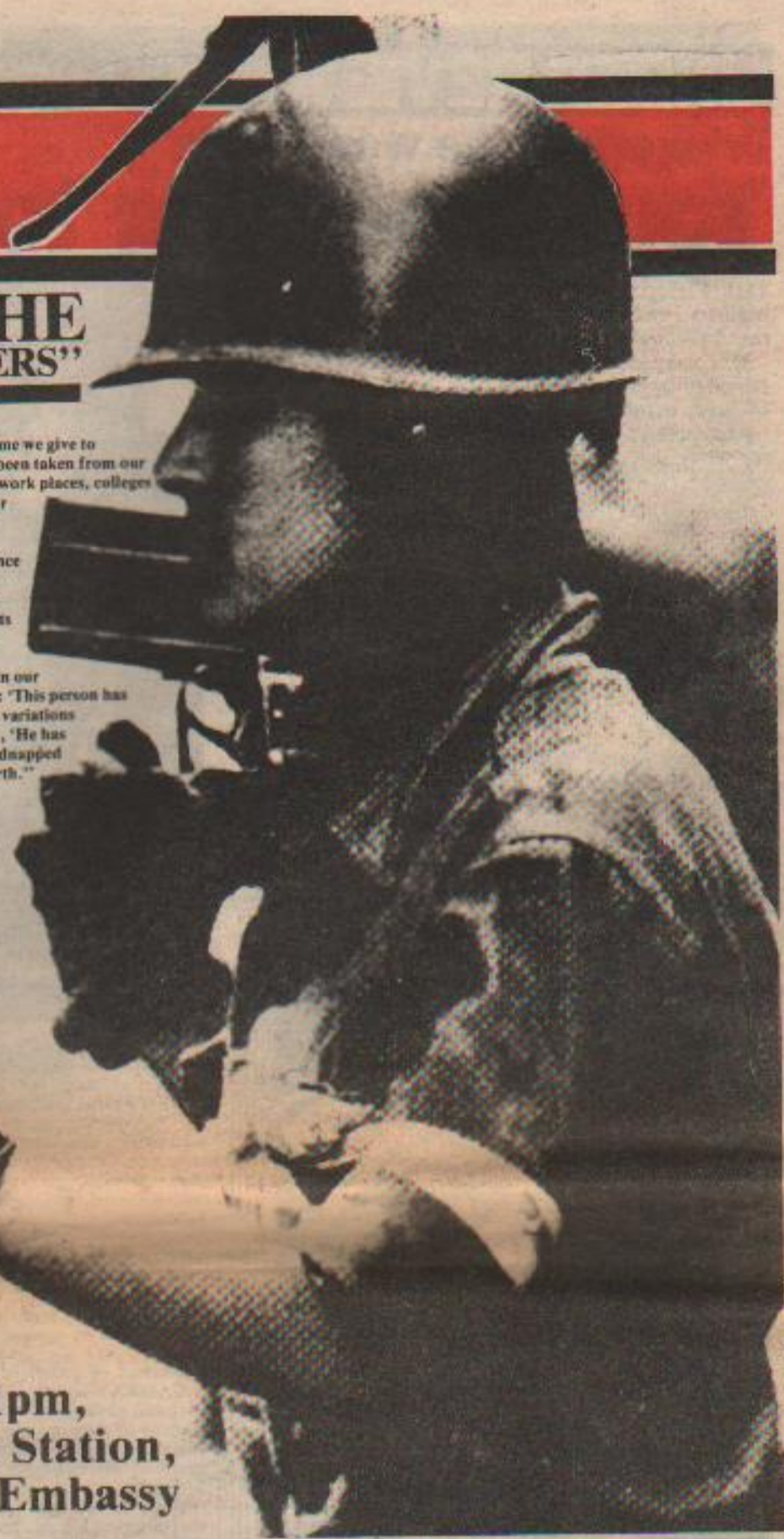


Photo montage: PETER KENNARD

OUR FUND DRIVE

THE FINAL total for the present fund drive was £2,244.02. In the last week we raised a very creditable £328.88. But that still left us over £200 short. That will now make the fund drive over the next three months more difficult.

However our fund drive in June has shown the possibilities. In those four weeks over £1,240 was raised for Socialist Challenge. If that could be done every month the paper's

financial problems would be solved. The message under the brick wall for those who haven't guessed, was that well-known quote from Marx: 'Doubt everything.'

Ron Moody, from the Newcastle Group, helped the Fund Drive when he walked 50 miles across the moors, with sponsorship for £1 per mile.

Badges are a popular way of raising money and they give local sellers a sharp profile. A local supporter in Birmingham

sold over 100 badges on 'the ramp' in the city centre.

The technique is very simple. Take a placard, cover it with red cloth, fix on the badges and shout! This can help paper sales and gives you a chance to discuss with potential buyers.

The campaign for bankers orders is going well. In June the total was £107.50. In the last two weeks we have gained a

further £62 worth which begin in July. Another £18 is committed for August. The form is reprinted again. Every reader should consider filling it in.

This week our thanks to:

M. J. S.	25.00	L. Solinger	5.00
R. Hurcombe	0.50	Dundee readers	2.30
D. Howe	1.00	R. Hill	2.50
Oxford boat trip	10.00	NALGO conference delegates	20.00
Anon	5.00	J. Scally	2.00
Leeds reader	1.00	S.E. London readers	3.50
J. Brown, UCATT shop steward	5.00	B. Rose-Smith	10.00
O. Cowan	1.10	M. Shaw	5.00
G. Williams	20.00	T. A.	20.00
Brent IMG	3.28	B. Sachs	10.00
K. Jablonska	5.00	York supporters	9.20
G. Ungar	5.00	R. Moody, Newcastle	50.00

Summer sub - £2

Want to be sure of Socialist Challenge for the summer? sure of receiving Socialist Challenge every week during the summer. At that time it may be difficult to obtain the paper

There are two easy ways to be

regularly because our sellers or you may be on holiday.

Firstly, take out a special cheap subscription, £2 for 3 months - fill in the form on this page.

Secondly, place an order with your local branch of W.

H. Smith, through a procedure called 'Customers Special Order'. This is operative through most branches of Smiths. However, as they have no branches in Scotland it only applies to our English and Welsh readers.

STANDING ORDER AUTHORITY

TO Name of your bank
..... (Branch) (Address)

Dear Sirs, Please make payment to the debit of the account specified as per details given.

A/C to be debited (Your name)
..... (Your Account number)

Payee: 0179678 (Our Account number) at Lloyds Bank, Islington Branch, 19 Upper Street, London N1 0PJ.
Our sorting code number: 30.94.57.

First Payment Due And continue until further notice
Amount Frequency

This order cancels all previous orders to the same payee and will continue until written notice to the contrary is received by you.

..... Your signature.

Domestic: 6 months, £5. 12 months, £10
Abroad: Per annum -- Airmail, £16.50. Surface, £10
Domestic special offer: July-September, £2

Name _____

Address _____

I enclose a donation for the Fighting Fund of _____

Cheques, POs and Money Orders should be made payable to 'Socialist Challenge'.

Complete and return to:

Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper Street, London N1.