

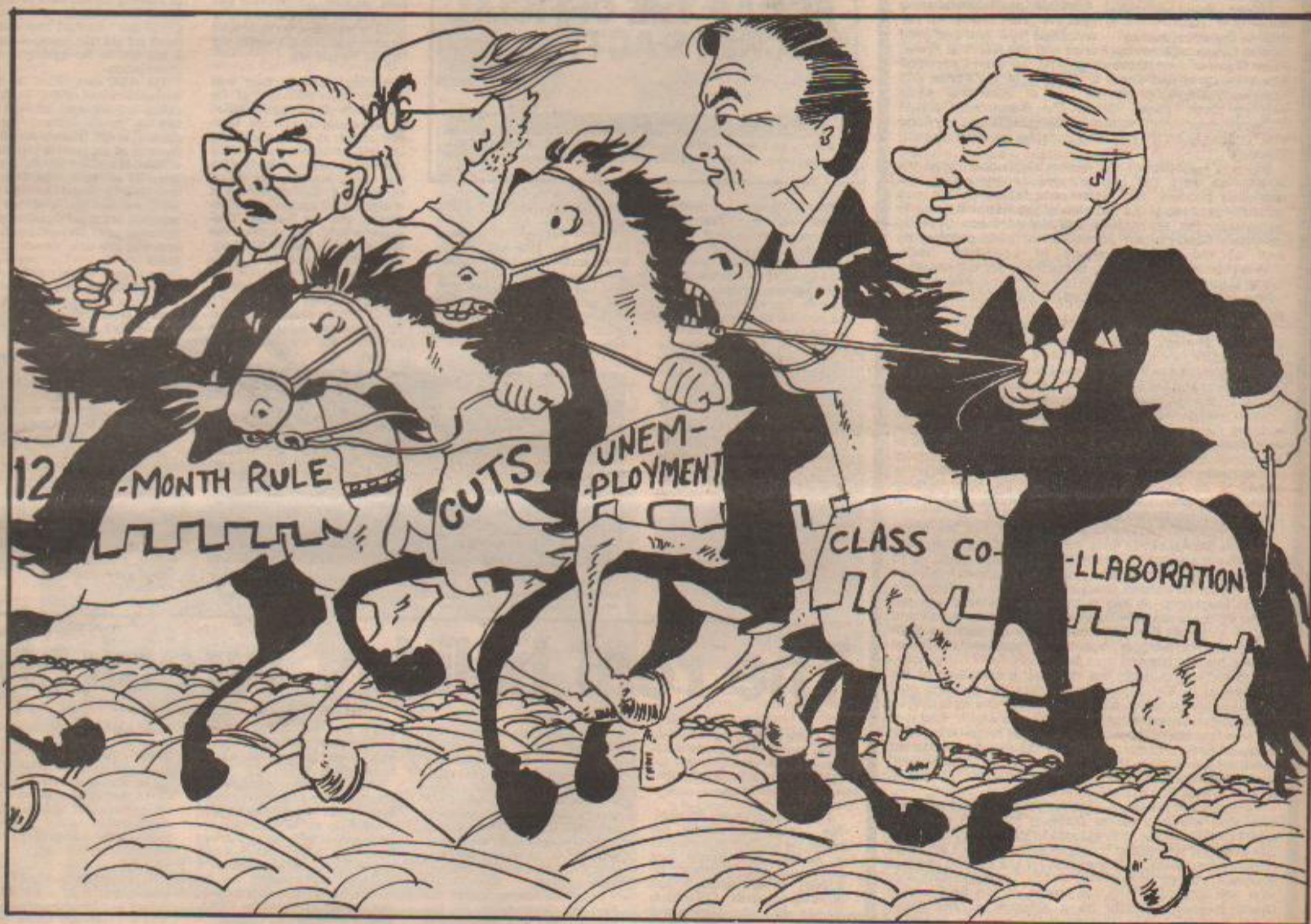
Socialist Challenge

BUILD A SOCIALIST OPPOSITION FOR A UNIFIED REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION

12p

1 September 1977 No. 11

TUC '77: Labour Lieutenants of Capital Want More Wage Restraint



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Editorial

Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper Street, London N1.
Editorial 01-359 8189
News 01-359 8180

Ladywood and Socialist Unity

LABOUR SHOULD NOT DRAW too much satisfaction from the Ladywood by-election result. The very fact that it could be treated as a big victory by some Labour leaders indicates the depths of despair to which Transport House had been reduced by the defeats in Ashfield and Wokington.

Labour won Ladywood because an overwhelming majority of black voters — who comprise almost 40 per cent of the constituency — remained loyal and preferred to vote Labour against the Tories and the National Front, Peter Murriner notwithstanding. And yet even Ladywood saw a swing of just under 9 per cent to the Tories and massive abstentions on the part of traditional white working class Labour voters. The Government would therefore be extremely foolish to conclude from Ladywood that 'Labour is on its way' and consider an early General Election.

But in a curious way the issues which dominated the by-election were not Labour's reactionary social and economic policies, but racism and fascism. This was primarily because of the decision of the National Front to participate, the provocative statements made by their candidate Reed-Herbert (since retired from politics) as well as the national impact of Lewisham itself.

This offered a tremendous opportunity for the socialist left to organise a fight-back. They did, but it was marred by electoral disunity and reduced the impact of the far-left as a whole.

The Socialist Workers Party comrades should reconsider their strategy. It is a scandal that in an area such as Ladywood the fascists got more votes (888 — 5.7 per cent of poll) than the combined votes of Socialist Unity (534 — 3.4 per cent) and the SWP (152 — 1 per cent). To argue, as *Socialist Worker* does, that we should add to this the votes of a West Indian hustler James Hunte, referred to as a 'black nationalist', is simply spurious. Hunte's votes were personal votes and cannot be counted as political in any sense. If Hunte had not stood those who voted for him would have probably stayed at home. *Socialist Worker* is forced to do this because otherwise it would have to consider the alternative presented by Socialist Unity: let us have a united far-left candidate.

In our opinion, Ladywood — even more than Stechford — shows the necessity for a united far-left electoral pole. None of the arguments advanced by the SWP stand up to close examination. The idea that Raghieb Ahsan's politics were 'vague' or watered down in contrast to Kim Gordon's is just laughable, as any militant in Ladywood will tell them. To make statements like this is both childish and stupid. A united candidate backed by SU and the SWP would have had a bigger impact and stood a real chance of beating the fascists and the Liberals.

We continue to reject the idea that a campaign of the sort waged by Socialist Unity hinders the building of a revolutionary socialist organisation. On the contrary, it enlarges the audience for the far-left as a whole. And it is not true that the number of votes we get is irrelevant. If it were, *Socialist Worker* would not indulge in convoluted explanations to claim that Hunte was a 'black nationalist' simply to show that our combined vote (including Hunte) was more than that of the fascists.

Votes are not irrelevant because they are one indication of a shift which is taking place in the most advanced layers of the masses. It is as futile to say that we expect to win everyone who voted for us in Stechford or Ladywood to our organisation, as it would be for the SWP to say that everyone who voted for Riley in the Transport Union or who will hopefully vote for Morris in the Engineering Union elections should be a member of the SWP.

Arguments of this sort pave the way for a totally sectarian approach to the development of real socialist currents in the working class movement. That was and remains the approach of Socialist Unity. It will continue to pursue it in relation to the entire left, including the SWP.

THESE THREE PEOPLE SPENT AN EVENING TALKING TOGETHER.



EACH OF THEM COULD NOW GO TO PRISON FOR FOURTEEN YEARS.

SCRAP THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT!

Information from/Donations to: Aubrey Berry Campbell Defence C'tee c/o Time Out, 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1. Telephone: 01-278 2377

WHEN a group of children paraded outside Tottenham Magistrates Court recently wearing badges which read 'MI4', 'MI1½' depending on their age, it was a joke at the expense of the British security service.

But the real MI5 is not a joke, and its 5,000 employees based in Curzon Street, Mayfair, haven't only been involved in vetting the political backgrounds of Government ministers. They were also active in the arrests of three people under the 60-year-old Official Secrets Act.

The official secrets prosecution, known as the ABC case after the names of the three accused, is already turning into a marathon legal wrangle. Committal proceedings are now due to take place this November, and expected to last a week. The trial is unlikely to be heard, at the Old Bailey, until next summer at the earliest. The prosecution will almost certainly ask for much of the evidence to be heard 'in

camera', with press and public excluded.

Behind the veil of secrecy, however, lies a simple attempt by the authorities to smother any attempt to investigate the murkier depths of organisations like MI5, and to warn any government employees that if they do have 'secret' information, it is for their eyes only.



Duncan Campbell (left) and Crispin Aubrey (centre), the two journalists charged under the Official Secrets Act, with Philip Agee, now expelled from the country.

The real holiday wreckers

IN A disgusting piece of trade union witch-hunting, the press barons have attacked the air traffic control assistants for ruining people's holidays.

The real story is very different. The Labour Government has ruined the holidays of thousands of working class people long before the present dispute. By slashing living standards and throwing hundreds of thousands on the dole, the Government ensured that many had to cut back on their summer plans.

So eager are Sunny Jim Callaghan and his colleagues to defend their wage-cutting policies that they have decided to 'stand firm' against the Civil Aviation Authority

paying a rise promised two years ago.

The Government stopped the payment in 1975, one of the early casualties of the 'voluntary' Social Contract. In 1976, the Civil and Public Servants Association and the CAA signed a job evaluation agreement which gave increases of up to 20.4 per cent. Still Callaghan & Co. will not allow payment.

Even Len Murray cannot defend the Government. He has said that the CPUSA demand does not breach the 12-month rule. But somehow the Government claims that the deal would be outside its policy, though it's not quite sure how.

Its proposal for avoiding the

SPEAKOUT

AUBREY, BERRY, CAMPBELL DEFENCE COMMITTEE

The original arrest of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell took place last February. Aubrey is a reporter on *Time Out* magazine, Campbell is a freelance journalist who specialises in communications, whilst Berry is a former corporal in the Intelligence Corps.

Berry had contacted Aubrey through the defence committee set up to oppose the deportations of Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball, saying simply that he had information which might throw light on Home Secretary Merlyn Rees' decision. An interview was arranged but before a word of it could be published the three were arrested and charged under the Official Secrets Act.

Although initially they were charged under Section 2 of the Act, which covers the revelation of any official information, however minor, this has since been changed to Section 1, normally reserved for spying. The decision was clearly based on the failure to make a similar Section 2 charge stick against Jonathan Aitken and the *Sunday Telegraph* in 1970. The result of this is that Aubrey, Berry and Campbell could each now go to prison for 14 years.

Unfortunately, the conditions of the three men's bail makes it impossible to describe what information was described at the interview. But it's worth noting

that Berry left the army 7 years ago and never reached a higher position than corporal. By the same token, if ABC are spies, why are they allowed to walk the streets freely while awaiting their trial?

What has emerged is that the ABC arrests were just part of a careful surveillance operation against the Agee-Hosenball defence committee. A series of mysterious break-ins and burglaries took place over a number of months, none of which can be explained as ordinary thefts, and all showing the hall mark of MI5. Somewhat belatedly, the Home Office has admitted that these break-ins did take place, though it has not so far agreed to an investigation.

The ABC case raises several important issues. First, if journalists are not even allowed to talk to people without being clamped in jail, then the so-called freedom of the press is yet again exposed as a sham. Secondly, the activities of the Special Branch and their political masters in MI5, are not just a threat to reporters but to all socialists and trade unionists who get involved in action seen as a 'threat to the State'.

And most importantly the Official Secrets Act remains a permanent barrier to the public's right to know about vast areas of Government policy. Recent revelations about MI5 and the CIA are only the tip of the iceberg.

An ABC Defence Committee has been set up to fight the charges. It is already working to build up support in the trade unions, and the issue is due to be debated at the TUC next week.

You can help by raising the case in your organisation or by organising a local public meeting. More information, posters, stickers, 'Tell Me Your Official Secrets' badges, and 'Official Secret' carrier bags (both 15p each) from: ABC Defence Committee, c/o *Time Out*, 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1 (Tel: 01-278 2377).

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 united 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 millions of workers throughout the world. We are opposed to them and will offer full support to all those fighting for socialist democracies.

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 factories and tendencies.

WANT TO KNOW MORE?

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, 328/329 Upper Street, London N1.

Thatcher's carnival of carnage

As the Carnival progressed in Notting Hill, the atmosphere was relaxed. Not many cops could be seen and the sun was out — a combination designed to put all in a good mood. On Sunday Margaret Thatcher gave a TV interview in which she said: 'I regard all those who use force to get their own way as left... Communism is the left foot of socialism and fascism is its right foot.'

What did those at the Carnival think of Thatcher's statement? A young West Indian woman told our reporters: 'It's a load of shit, man. A load of shit. Do you mean to tell me that the British police are socialists?'

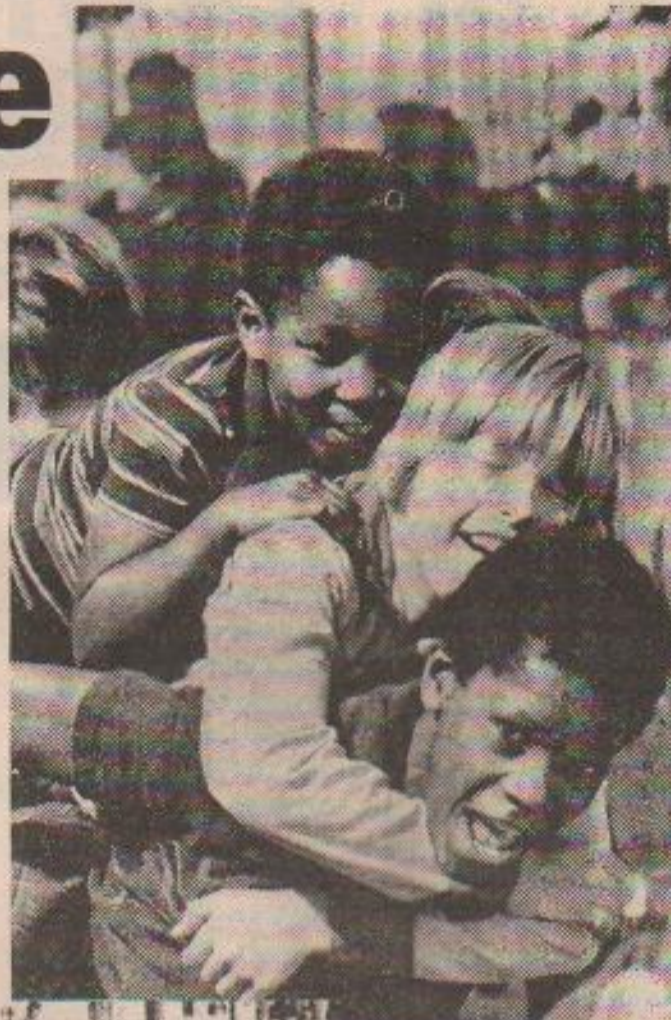
'They're the ones who provoke violence in most black areas. And the National Front thugs. Are they socialists as well? The Tory Party must be in trouble having Thatcher as its leader.'

Most people we spoke to thought that Thatcher was too stupid to waste any time on. Others roared with laughter. A young Chilean was irate: 'So General Pinochet is a socialist. If she made that statement in Chile she'd be shot on the spot. Even the American President wouldn't come out with a statement like that.'

A bystander who overheard our questions indicated that he wanted a word. He was 76 years old, he told us, and had fled Germany in the Thirties because he was a Jew. 'Is this woman so ignorant that she doesn't know that Krupp and Thyssen (the two biggest capitalists in Germany) supported Hitler? Doesn't she know that profits reached a peak under Hitler and capitalism flourished? Edward Heath couldn't have made such an ignorant statement as that.'

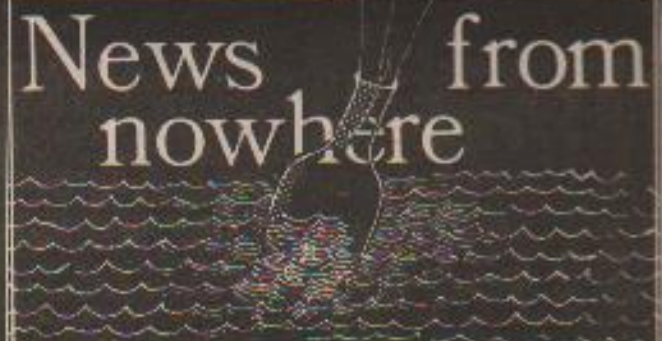
The general response was a mixture of disgust, amusement and sheer incredulity. For most of the revellers, though, other things were on their mind. They couldn't be bothered about Margaret Thatcher or James Callaghan or anyone else for that matter.

Perhaps the best quote came from an Asian militant who had been arrested in Lewisham. 'Thatcher's recipe means carnage. Unless workers distinguish their left foot from their right, then we could arrive at a situation where the fascists and reactionaries are on the rampage. Black blood may be the first to be spilled. It certainly wouldn't be the last.'



Nearly a quarter of a million people packed Notting Hill on the Bank holiday weekend for the West Indian Carnival of costumes, steel bands, and floats — the largest of its kind in Europe.

Margaret Thatcher took the opportunity to describe fascism as 'left-wing' — very convenient for those who are happy to see the kind of thuggery which caused over £1000-worth of fire damage at the Centerprise bookshop and meeting centre in North London (above).



Old Mart's for sale?

THE National Front's decision to march through Lewisham was designed as a provocation. Our information suggests that there was a split in the NF leadership on the question as some felt it might damage the NF's 'reputation' before a General Election. The person who fought bitterly for the march to take place was Martin Webster. He argued that the elections were some way off and that an event like this had to be staged to win back rank-and-file fascist militants who were gravitating towards openly Hitlerite groupings.

The 'liberal' press saw Lewisham as a big gain for the NF, but opinion within the fascist movement is by no means unanimous. Some fascists are seriously worried that Lewisham will put off sympathisers from coming to demonstrations in future. Also the NF's Ladywood candidate, Reed-Herbert, has 'retired' from politics.

Torub salt in Webster's wounds, British Patriot, paper of the British Movement, has lambasted the NF leadership: 'What a victory for the reds and their parliamentary sympathisers. The Front's Organiser must have known beforehand that the reds could muster superior numbers thus ensuring a rout and the Front lost public sympathy because they had deliberately brought about this confrontation, and as deliberately played right into the hands of the reds.'

'Any leader who demands such a sacrifice of his members, with so little to gain, deserves to lose his appointment. This march was a complete disregard for the well-being of the Front's members... In its wake, condemnation of Britain's nationalists and possible bans and restrictions placed on all parties of the nationalist cause. Thank-you NF — well done!'

Will the Front get a new organiser? Will Webster join his friend Marriner in the political wilderness? Watch this space.

The lost Marriner

PETER MARRINER has now admitted that he was a fascist plant in the Labour Party. At the very least Brian Walden and Labour Weekly owe this newspaper and Socialist Unity an apology. More to the point is an investigation into how Ladywood Labour Party is run. Will Walden, who defended Marriner, now support a labour movement inquiry into the whole affair? We doubt it.

As for Marriner himself, he seems to be lost and his mind appears to be wandering. He now claims he spied for the Rhodesians and South Africans. Well...

Tory democracy in action

FOLLOWING the resignation from Parliament of the Tory crook John Cordle, a by-election is being scheduled for Bournemouth East. Socialist Unity will definitely not be standing. Nor do we imagine will the Socialist Workers Party. Bournemouth is not a proletarian heartland. In fact the fascists have a strong base and virtually dominate the local Tory Party.

In 1958-59 the latter forced a radical Tory, Nigel Nicholson, to resign — because he was an opponent of the Suez adventure — and replaced him with a Major Friend. But before the election could take place it was revealed that Friend was an anti-semitic supporter of the Empire Loyalists. He was exposed by Labour leader Cyril Speller. Labour meetings were smashed

and attacked by fascists under the command of Austin Brooks. He still is a fascist and advises the local NF while not joining formally. Brooks is also a journalist on the Bournemouth Echo where his valiant efforts ensure that right-wing politics and the Tories are given glowing write-ups. Brooks tries to conceal his fascist past because of the NF operation inside the Bournemouth Tory Party. But Brook's past can easily be ascertained by studying back copies of the Empire Loyalist paper Candour.

The selection procedures inside the Tory Party are a model of democracy. A leading Tory, John Annetre, has been found guilty and fined for assaulting Mansell the chairperson of the Bournemouth East Conservative Association. He called Mansell's wife 'an Irish bitch' and hit her.

We look forward to the announcement revealing who Cordle's successor is going to be!

The plank of nails

MALCOLM ALDEN, a member of the Granwick management, has strange habits. He has an old plank of wood which he uses for hitting pickets on the legs from under the gate. Some rusty nails are attached to the plank. A few weeks ago two Socialist Workers Party comrades kidnapped and abducted the said plank. Alden went berserk. After a discussion with a police inspector and the threat of a private prosecution from Alden it was agreed that the plank might mysteriously reappear. It did, minus the nails.

Dora Noyce [RIP]

DORA NOYCE died last month. Her death was headline news in the sober Edinburgh daily The Scotsman. It devoted a quarter of its front page to her funeral. Hardly surprising since this newspaper is read by Top People.

Dora's death will certainly be mourned by a number of The Scotsman's readers as she was the owner of Edinburgh's best-known brothel. Local residents are now campaigning to close down this house of ill-repute.

What bothers the respectable burghers of Edinburgh is not the existence of prostitution. Most dour Presbyterian Scots don't object to the sale of sex as such. It is well-known in the city that Dora's profits reached maximum levels during the Annual General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Dora's establishment was run under the patronising eyes of both the police and the city council. There was only one prosecution a year, in order to keep up appearances. Dora's brothel was in fact the essence of bourgeois respectability, in keeping with Edinburgh's image. Top city lawyers and bankers enjoyed a discreet service, and the more privileged among them were treated to tea and scones in Dora's sitting room. Come election time the brothel's windows — every one of them — were festooned with Tory Party posters.

What is worrying The Scotsman (sic) and the Edinburgh establishment is that the brothel might be taken over by 'criminal elements from Glasgow'. Danube Street's restrained image might accordingly deteriorate.

So Glasgow's mafia might find they have a real fight on their hands. Edinburgh's judiciary and elected representatives might block their efforts. These musings point out the different character of the two cities: Glasgow has high unemployment, massive slums, a tough image. Edinburgh is decidedly a genteel city. The battle for Dora's succession is thus a highly symbolic one.

Socialist Challenge

CALENDAR 1978



How many of our readers remember the amazing posters, designed in the heat of the struggle, when the barricades went up in Paris in May '68? Well here's your chance to see them displayed in all their splendour in four different colours in the Socialist Challenge 1978 Calendar. Every month is a different poster and can be displayed separately.

£1 plus 30p postage from: Socialist Challenge Calendars, 328 Upper Street, London N1. Orders of ten or more post free. Trade rates on request.

Shop early for Christmas!



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A reply to Dave Cook and the Morning Star The lessons of Lewisham

by TARIQ ALI

In the *Morning Star* of 26 August Dave Cook, the national Organiser of the Communist Party, raises some important questions in relation to combatting fascism and racism. Both the tone of the article and its presentation is in marked contrast to the newspaper's reporting of Lewisham itself, and as such deserves to be discussed in detail.

DID WE WIN OR LOSE?

Was Lewisham a defeat or a victory for the anti-fascists who came from all parts of the country to declare their solidarity with the black people in the area? Our answer is quite clear and unequivocal: it was a victory for us and a defeat for the police and the government. Cook thinks otherwise so let us give our reasoning in some detail.

The fascists had decided to march in Lewisham as a deliberate provocation to black people in the area. This is recognised by virtually everyone. Local Labour councillors, MPs and clergymen had attempted to have the march banned, or at worst re-routed away from black areas. The police, backed by the Home Secretary, refused. The anti-fascist vanguard had to mobilise forces to stop the fascists in order to give strength and encouragement to black people in Lewisham.

The proud and arrogant boasts of police boss McNea that the fascists would march and the police would ensure that there was no disorder blew up in his face. All the police tactics — riot-shields, baton-charges, random arrests, cavalry routines — failed in preventing attacks on the fascists thugs by those who they seek to victimise and drive out of this country. With the exception of hard-core Nazis a large bulk of the racists who marched with the NF were scared and demoralised. Many of them will think twice before marching again with the Nazis.

The reason why all this happened was not simply because of the presence of the far-left, but because thousands of local blacks came out to march against the NF. This turn-out was a tribute to the far-left's campaign, in which the SWP played a prominent part, over the preceding weeks. The sight of one enemy (NF) being defended by another (the police) was too much for many of the young blacks to take. Years of anger and frustration, the result of frame-ups and police brutality, exploded with a spontaneous richness of its own. It was this that enabled the anti-fascists to successfully disrupt the fascist march.

Dave Cook finds it 'impressive to see some young people involved at Clifton Rise', but he is worried that the events will 'intimidate' many more black people from taking part. In reality what prevents black people from mobilising in greater numbers is 'intimidation' but from the police, the bosses and even from their work-mates if they are unlucky enough to be identified. Cook should not underestimate the institutionalised racism which seeps from every pore of British capitalist society. That is why Paul Foot was quite correct to compare Lewisham with Cable Street. Certainly the numbers were not as great, but the involvement of the local community, and the will and spirit to fight back was the same.

Cook should not ignore the differences between the Thirties and the Seventies. Mosley's Blackshirts grew not simply because of the crisis at home, but even more so because of the victory of their fellow-fascists in Italy, Germany and Spain! The NF today feeds exclusively on the British crisis and the widespread racism which exists in the labour movement itself. That is why Lewisham is such a vital step forward. ALCARAF on its own would have had virtually nil impact as the fascists would have marched unmolested and the police and the press would have claimed a great victory for 'democracy' and 'law and order'. The result would have been a demoralisation among the black community in Lewisham itself. That would have been a real defeat.

CP'S ROLE

Whether Dave Cook likes to admit it or not, the fact of the matter is that the role of the Communist Party preceding the mobilisation, during it as reflected in its dubious leaflet and its lack of action, and after it as reported in the *Morning Star* the following day, was utterly sectarian. Dave Cook's own article is in welcome contrast to the attitude of his party over the preceding weeks and insofar that it opens a discussion is a welcome step forward.

Dave Cook nonetheless believes



that a 'physical confrontation' on this particular occasion was wrong. He is not opposed to it on principle, which is good. He writes that confronting the fascists 'will be necessary', which is even better. But at a later stage, after more people have been involved. Here he is completely wrong. For more people will not be involved unless we confront the fascists today. If lots more people did become involved there would hardly be any need for a physical confrontation: if there had been 50,000 trade unionists in Lewisham on 13 August it is unlikely that the police would have baton-charged them to clear a way for the fascists. In any case the need for a confrontation would be reduced because the fascists would not have been able to march one single step forward. That must remain the central strategic task of the anti-fascist movement.

The CP, following the Fleet Street scribes, insisted on portraying the violence as being provoked by the far-left. We insist equally strongly that this is false. The local community was mobilised and did play a vital role. Without it a confrontation would have been the sheerest adventurism and would have ended in defeat. The International Marxist Group is not in favour of kamikaze-style actions which substitute one or two far-left organisations for the local community or broader anti-fascist forces. If there had just been one or two thousand revolutionaries present on their own, we would not have favoured an attempt to challenge the heavily-protected Nazi march.

However, behind a number of Cook's assumptions is the belief that if we behave 'reasonably' the capitalist press will not be able to portray us as 'extremists' etc. This is to misunderstand the role of the 'liberal' media in British society, particularly in relation to racism. The French democrat Diderot once wrote

that: 'Whenever a national prejudice has sufficient currency to justify it, its particular bearing, including a whole array of pretexts advanced in its support, should be explained with all due respect. Once this has been done, the rubbishy edifice should be overturned, the futile dustheap scattered to the winds, and the evidence produced which contains the solid principles upon which the contrary truths are based. This method of refuting error very soon convinces reasonable people and infallibly affects all others, secretly and silently, without disagreeable consequences.'

KEITH WATERHOUSE

The record of British bourgeois-democrats and social-democrats on combatting racist prejudice is the exact opposite of this approach. No British paper or TV and radio network has ever campaigned against the racist immigration laws. Nor has the Labour Party, which is hardly surprising given that it was a Labour government that was introducing them. With the partial exception of Keith Waterhouse in the *Daily Mirror* and a few local papers, no liberal columnist has campaigned consistently against the NF, the argument being that if they're ignored they'll go away. So for Cook to imagine that the British press will look more kindly on the anti-racist cause if we are more 'reasonable' sows illusions which are both utopian and reactionary. Furthermore they ignore the specific character of Fleet Street and its relationship to the Establishment.

The far left is not without its blemishes. The IMG in the past and the SWP in the present period have both displayed signs of genuine ultra-leftism. However the record of both organisations and the far-left as a whole in relation to fighting racism both on the shop-floor and in

society as a whole has been exemplary. The CP certainly needs to be 'self-critical' on this question. We can appreciate the need for Dave Cook to try and rescue his organisation from some of its blatantly rightist positions. But that is not enough, because what is totally lacking from Dave Cook's article is any guidelines as to how the struggle against the fascists should be taken forward. Let us ask the National Organiser of the Communist Party his views on the following points:

(i) The fascist march in Tameside near Manchester on 8 October must be resisted. It can be done not by marching away from it, but by organising the broadest possible counter-mobilisation to prevent it taking place. Will the CP throw its weight behind such an attempt or not? The North West Regional TUC (with two CP delegates and two Labour Party full-timers being the only opponents) voted to back such a mobilisation. A number of non-aligned delegates said that 'the SWP was right in Lewisham'.

(ii) We are for the building of united anti-fascist and anti-racist action committees locally involving every section of the labour movement to wage a consistent and on-going campaign against the racists and fascists on every level (including the distribution of anti-racist bulletins in the factories). Is the CP in favour of such a project?

(iii) We have already shown that by effective electoral campaigning it is possible to both defeat the fascists and/or reduce their impact in local and national elections, where the local Labour candidates fail to conduct any real fight on the question. Why does the CP refuse to endorse such candidates nationally and campaign for them?

(iv) In what concrete circumstances does the CP favour attempting to physically prevent the fascists from marching.

DUNDEE

The Dundee Anti-Fascist Committee, which was set up only a few weeks ago by SWP and *Socialist Challenge* supporters as well as independents, has already scored its first success. Ian Bunce, a local fascist, has decided that he will not stand as the NF candidate in Dundee. Bunce told the local press that his decision was prompted by the treatment the NF received in Lewisham and Ladywood, and by the setting up of an AFC in Dundee. The committee is planning, apart from other activities, to picket the offices of the *Dundee Courier*, a local D.C. Thomson rag, which regularly prints racist, pro-Rhodesian editorials.

HARINGEY (N. London)

A joint campaign by SWP, IMG, Labour Party and other anti-racists has finally forced the NF to abandon its newspaper sales in Wood Green. The police surrounded NF sellers in order to protect them. This meant that they could not carry out their task, i.e. to sell their fith. They left in disgust. The anti-racist militants will be out again to see that the fascists do not return.

BOLTON

The Bolton Town Council's decision to prevent the Trades Council from holding an Anti-Racist cultural festival on the grounds that it was 'provocative' is being challenged. The Trades Council is looking into the possibility of prosecuting the Town Council under the Race Relations Act!

LEEDS

Last July a YCL (Young Communist League) day school was attacked by fascists, leaving several YCL comrades injured and the furniture wrecked. A 13-year-old comrade, Sonia Miller, had her leg fractured. The fascists chanted: 'We'll kill you comie bastards'.

Since then fascist violence has multiplied. Right-to-Work campaigners have been attacked with knuckle-dusters and attacks on black people have increased. One fascist, Clive Spink, has been arrested and charged.

LADYWOOD BY-ELECTION

A number of readers have asked us for details of what happened during the election count. The press naturally distorted the whole story. Raghbir Ahsan, the Socialist Unity candidate, was attempting to hold a swastika above Reed-Herbert, the NF candidate's head, to symbolise the latter's politics. He was assaulted by NF toughs assigned to 'protect' Reed-Herbert. He hit back in self-defence and found Reed-Herbert's face in the way. That's all.

EDGWARE [London]

Five Jews including a 70-year-old president of a synagogue were assaulted by young white thugs a few weeks ago. Swastikas were daubed on the neighbouring synagogue with the letters NF sprayed alongside it. A chalked slogan proclaimed: 'Yids Get Out'. The police told two of those who had been attacked that they were not anti-semitism, but just a 'gang of youths with nothing else to do'. The youths also followed a couple home and painted a swastika on their front wall.

LEAMINGTON

Four anti-fascists have been charged with causing criminal damage and they face heavy fines when they come up in court. Their crime: they painted out a racist slogan which had been daubed on a factory wall. In other words they implemented the Race Relations Act from below.

No action is being taken against disgusting racist leaflets being put out by veteran fascist Robert Relf, and Mick Cole, chairman of the local National Party. But anti-fascists are charged for obliterating racist slogans. Surely this is too farcical even for a racist police force! A Defence Committee has been set up which is planning to hold a mass painting out of remaining racist slogans in the area.

'The case for the New Communist Party'

THE FORMATION of the New Communist Party led by Sid French signals that the 'torch of the founders of British Communism' will be taken up once again. At least that is the false claim made in the NCP's first publication — *The Case for the New Communist Party*. Despite this grand claim, the pamphlet confirms all that one suspected about the nature of this new Party.

The authors try to prove the ridiculous assertion that the CPGB became reformist only when it began to make noises critical of the Soviet leadership — starting with its response to the invasion of Czechoslovakia. This assertion is backed by a crude and naive account of how the capitalist class plots to undermine revolutionary ideology.

NONSENSE

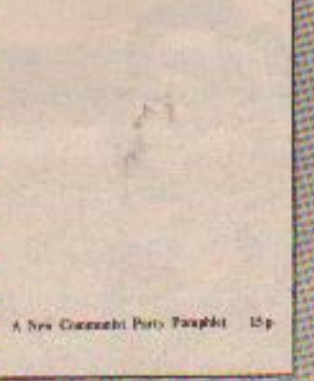
They argue that the strategy of imperialism is to prevent revolution by aiding reformism to erode and destroy the revolutionary ideas of working class parties. In practice, this means waging a campaign to encourage opportunist elements within the

Communist Parties and to create illusions that respectability is the way forward, and opposition to other Communist Parties, especially those in power, is the guarantee of success. This nonsense is passed off as serious analysis of how the CPGB became a reformist party.

Nowhere in the pamphlet is there an account of the activity of the CPGB in the class struggle. The organisational decline and crisis of the CPGB is documented, as is the parallel growth of the revolutionary left. But the CPGB's 'hollowing to left social-democracy, its failure to campaign against the British troops in Ireland, etc.' is totally missing. Yet it is the political strategy of the CPGB which accounts for its crisis and makes it vulnerable to the increasing influence of the far-left.

Nearly half the pamphlet is taken up with a polemic against the erstwhile allies of the NCP who remain inside the CPGB. The pamphlet reaches no further than the narrow bureaucratic circle of the CPGB. The authors lay the ground for their arguments by locating the split with the John Gollan article — *Social*

THE CASE FOR THE NEW COMMUNIST PARTY



ist Democracy — Some Problems, written in January 1976 — rather than with formation of the NCP itself.

Gollan's arguments were unsubstantiated, according to the authors — with the publication of the new draft *British Road*. This marked the destruction of the CPGB as the revolutionary party and the seizure of the

party apparatus by the 'right wing' — Dave Cook, Chris Mxant and Jon Woodfield.

The exact differences between the present draft of the *British Road* and all previous drafts are conveniently unstated. There is no explanation either of how this 'new reformism' is backed by the entire old central leadership of the CPGB: Gollan, Rabinson, Woodis, McEneaney — indeed, everyone except French himself.

DEMOCRACY

The CPGB is no longer democratic, argue the authors. It is bureaucratic centralist. The Congress will be rigged and 'many honest workers that attend will be forced to acquiesce once the Congress has made its social democratic decisions'. However, instead of arguing for real inner-party democracy, the right to form tendencies and factions, for counter-platforms and for party facilities for oppositional minorities — all presently denied by the CPGB — the pamphlet argues the exact opposite.

Let us the NCP, they appeal, so that 'once again the fight against capitalism can take place on all

fronts, unhindered by inner party struggle'. So much for a return to Leninism! The last page of the pamphlet returns to this point when it states that in the NCP 'There will be no room for these endless debates in which the faith-hearted question each and every principle'.

It is also here that other aspects of the policies of the NCP are explained. First and foremost, the NCP will be internationalist, i.e. it will support 'unreservedly with the majority of parties making up the world communist movement; especially with those that are on (sic) power and building communism'. The membership names are no different to those of the CPGB.

The pamphlet confirms that the NCP is a bureaucratic, dogmatic Brezhnevite sect. The 'banner of those earlier communist fighters' can only be taken up if there is a 'political break with the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy abroad and with reformist bureaucrats and class collaboration at home. But this is a totally different road than the one which the NCP is walking down today.'

BRIAN GROGAN

What really happened at Longbridge

Responsibility for the fiasco at British Leyland's Longbridge works last Friday lies firmly in the hands of shop stewards' convenor Derek Robinson and the Works Committee, led by the Broad Left. Their tactics have played right into the hands of a management hell-bent on destroying the power of the shop stewards movement and boosting profits. Longbridge worker GLENN SUTHERLAND describes the background.

The picture painted by the press of a mindless militant Robinson compelling workers to take strike action against their will could not be further from the truth. As for the 'gallant' Ron Hill, leader of the anti-strike demo — I'd never heard of him on Thursday and I suspect we'll have forgotten about him quite soon.

After all, the press didn't need Mr. Hill a few months ago when Robinson himself was doing his damndest to smash the strike of the Leyland toolmakers.

Then Robinson attacked the toolmakers in the name of 'defence of jobs' and against individual groups of workers going it alone. He issued a joint leaflet with Leyland boss Whittaker on

the need to support the so-called great Leyland project.

Now, a few months later, Robinson expects to be able to call a strike at 48-hours notice with management using exactly the same arguments. The only preparation for the proposed strike was sectional meetings. No mass meetings of the workforce as a whole were called. When management denied they had refused to negotiate on the claim, pointing to its willingness to discuss in the working party the details of the offer they had already made, many workers did not clearly understand the issues.

The management offer had been made to union chiefs in the framework of an immediate move to Leyland-wide 'corporate bargaining'. This is central to the bosses' plans as it would take negotiations out of the hands of the shop stewards and the rank and file and into the lap of the full-time officials.

APPOINTED

Management was prepared to pay £25 for this over two years and negotiate in the working party — a joint management-union body involving union representatives appointed by the works committee rather than elected by the rank and file as is the negotiating committee.

Robinson is committed to corporate bargaining. The works committee's own claim includes its gradual introduction over two

years. The workforce had thus not been won to total opposition to the immediate introduction of corporate bargaining. This was the crucial question for management — it had refused to negotiate on the specifically Longbridge claim.

Moreover, the other aspects of the claim had not won the acclaim of the shop floor. The claim was tied to productivity increases, and the demand for a 20 per cent rise which of course enhances differentials.

LIKELY

By the time shop meetings were held on the Thursday day shift, it looked likely that layoffs from the Lucas strike on 80 per cent pay were imminent. When it was raised at my shop meeting that striking might play into the management's hands by effectively laying ourselves off on no pay, the platform dismissed this as irrelevant. But the stewards' strike recommendation was passed by a large majority on the day shift. Such is the feeling generated by two years of the Social Contract.

The vote had still to be taken on the night shift when Derek Robinson went on TV to say that there had already been a 50 to 1 vote in favour of strike action! The impact of what appeared to be manipulation combined with a cleverly worded management leaflet which played on much of the confusion won the night shift against strike action.

On Friday morning Ron Hill and his friends in the press took over. He led a demonstration of 400 (magnified to thousands in the media) to Robinson's office shouting 'We want work'.

The strike had to be called off. And the works committee did so soon after the demonstration. But all is not lost by any means. A policy based on real involvement of the rank and file in a fight to defend their living standards could regain the lost ground.

The works committee inspire no confidence in their ability to do this. The meeting which called off the action did not even call a mass meeting to discuss where to go from here.

Lucas strikers amaze right-wing union leaders



DESPITE BEING on strike for eight weeks now, Lucas toolmakers in an unprecedented display of militancy have thrown out a £3 offer and £100 'compensation' for wages lost while on strike.

The 1200 workers met in Birmingham last Wednesday and booed right-wing shop stewards who argued for a return to work. They voted in favour of staying out for a full £5 bonus payment, giving overwhelming support to militant stewards who argue for the continuation of the stoppage until the full demands of the toolmakers are met.

This was certainly a surprise to Engineering Union officials like Terry Duffy, right-wing candidate for the Presidency, who could scarcely conceal his dis-

appointment. But it should not surprise militants who are aware of the long-standing frustrations built up on the shop-floor after three years of wage cuts.

Management's previous offer had been 49p. Clearly, the claim by British Leyland that it has managed to overcome the spares shortage through importing alternatives is exaggerated. But this is no thanks to the AUEW officials. Despite making the strike official, they have organised no serious boycott campaign.

The militant lead given by the Lucas toolmakers must be supported by engineers up and down the country by boycotting alternative supplies coming in from South Africa, and sending financial donations to the strikers.

Support grows for Right to Work march

AS WE GO to press, Right to Work Campaign headquarters announce that 750 people have signed up for the march on the TUC in Blackpool. The march has been sponsored by over 300 trade union bodies.

When the march reaches the TUC, hundreds of young unemployed workers will add their voice to the lobby against the 12-month rule. They will call for militant policies in the right for the right to work.

Fund raising by Right to Work Campaign supporters has brought in over £2,000 through socials, benefits, and workplace collections. Officers to distribute literature for the march have come from many labour movement bodies, including the Soc-

ialist Teachers Alliance.

STA convenor, Bernard Regan told Socialist Challenge: 'Fifty thousand unemployed teachers and the number of unemployed school leavers up by nearly 14,000 in the last month give the lie to the Government's and TUC's blackmail that the choice is either wage restraint or the dole queue.'

This month's unemployment figures are a post-war record. The march should be supported. It will help to ensure that the message of a united fight back against the Government's policies will be raised.

Messages of support and donations to: Right to Work Campaign, 265 Severn Sisters Road, London N4.

Union flashpoints

No truck with Sanderson

ANOTHER GEORGE Ward has emerged onto the industrial scene, reports Noel Tibbert. Roy Sanderson, boss of the Fostkell's Truck Company in Skegness, has sacked 45 workers for joining a union. For 15 weeks an official picket of the transport workers' union has been fighting for reinstatement, and the first mass picket was held a fortnight ago.

The arbitration agency, ACAS, has found in favour of the union but Sanderson is revealing Warden-like obstinacy. The dispute began when convenor Phil Gillar was separated from other workers and forced to work in icy conditions without protective clothing. The campaign of victimisation against Gillar culminated in his removal from the factory by five foremen with only 10 minutes notice.

If medieval employers like Ward and Sanderson succeed in smashing trade union rights, then the road is open to the bigger bosses to try their hand. The priorities for victory at Sanderson are: making the boycott of components complete, and closing the gates through mass picketing.

Members of the strike committee will be travelling the country attempting to raise support. Why not raise the question of support at your trade union branch?

All resolutions of support should be rushed to Strike Committee, 27 Lady Mathilda's Drive, Whitby, Skegness, Lincs.

Tribunals attack women's rights

MANY of the recent rulings by industrial tribunals in cases of sex discrimination have given employers powers which they never previously held — by virtue of legal precedent — to act arbitrarily against women workers.

**BRITAIN'S
FAMILY
PAPER**

DAILY EXPRESS

No. 24,001 Saturday August 27 1977

Weather: Showers, 16-17°C

GIVE US WORK!

How the angry majority broke their silence

**Shop floor
fury at
Leyland**

By Denis Conaghan

THE mini voice of Leyland's car workers turned into a maxi roar last night against shop stewards planning a strike.

It came to blows on the night shift and ended in a day-shift slowdown with Conservative convenor Derek Robinson.

There were shouts of 'We want to work', 'Call off the strike', 'Get out of here', 'We want to work' and 'We want to work' as the night shift workers gathered outside the factory gates.

Grabbed

Robinson, who had been seen in the press taking a walk, was grabbed by a group of workers and taken to the gates. He was seen to be shouting 'We want to work' and 'We want to work'.

The night shift workers were seen to be shouting 'We want to work' and 'We want to work'.

And the new policy...

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**HOLIDAY
AH-OY!**

It's Powerboat Race time again—don't miss it! Full details see on Page 24

No truck with Sanderson

Why we're holding out at Mather

AN OVERWHELMING vote to continue the 9 week strike at the Manchester and Radcliffe works at Mather and Platt has just been taken by a mass meeting of staff workers in the Engineering Union, reports DICK DAVE, deputy chairperson of the joint offices committee at the firm. The decision was reached after management had made an offer, and then refused further negotiations until the strike is called off.

Gradual scheme proposals from management mean considerable increases for some workers, but only 10 per cent for others. This was felt to be totally inadequate when union calculations show that at least 25 per cent increases are necessary to

match the inflation of the past two years.

Management has rejected outright the demand for an interim wage increase now. It has also indicated that even if the strike were called off it wouldn't concede the abolition of the 'wage for age' scale which discriminates against young people under 25.

The demand in the claim for an agreement to compensate for further inflation after the settlement date has been turned down. And one for proportional increase for tractors — particularly low paid group of women workers — will be considered by management only if there is a return to work.

In the face of the intransigence of the Mather and Platt bosses, a strong picket has been mounted which the joint offices committee considers is tilting the company hard.

Swansea hospital walk-out

SIXTY DOMESTICS at the Mardston Hospital in Swansea walked off their shift last week in protest at the victimisation of Graham Atwell, the chairperson of their union, NUPE. Atwell, who is also secretary of the West Glamorgan Committee Against the Cuts, was dismissed following his return from a one-week NUPE shop steward training course which he had been given permission to attend.

The domestic's action — taken after his appeal had failed — was followed by a mass meeting the next day. It was unanimously decided to call a 24-hour strike and lightning strikes until Atwell is reinstated.

Victimisations like this are made possible by NUPE's policies of local action only against the cuts in the past few years. If

the union leadership had mounted a national fight, such victimisations would not be possible. NUPE is appealing for token action from their other branches. Contact: Ken Price, 1179 North Road, Swansea, Swansea.

Wage controls go silently

ENGINEERING workers at Mansell Booth in Birmingham have succeeded in breaching the Government's pay policy after a three-week strike, reports JOHN GRAHAM. When their pay claim came up for review this year, Mansell Booth workers decided to defer settlement until August — in the hope of achieving a more favourable claim than Phase Two's 3 per cent.

The rule introduced against deferring Phase Two settlements — backed by both Leo Murray and the executive committee of the Engineering Union — has not deterred the workers at Mansell Booth. The company has conceded a claim which gives them a 5 per cent rise, plus £6.50 and a bonus scheme worth a minimum of another £2.50. That makes a total of £9 in excess of Healey's limit.

Bert Benson, the union official associated with the settlement, is notorious for his support of wage restraint. But rather than confront the rank and file at Mansell Booth, he has chosen to keep the matter quiet while finalising the settlement.

This is the kind of silence Socialist Challenge will continue to publicise. Mansell Booth workers have shown that a fight against wage controls is possible. Substantial gains can be made even with supporters of wage restraint at the helm. If there is rank and file determination to win despite their leaders,

WOMEN ARE no longer prepared to silently submit to vicious and humiliating attacks at the hands of men — that's the message that comes across loud and clear from the growing campaign against the battering of women and against rape.

At a time of acute social crisis when all forms of violence are on the increase, it has been the growth of the women's movement and the spreading of its ideas well beyond the ranks of the movement itself which have given growing numbers of women the confidence to speak out and begin to organise against rape.

It is not only the act of rape which women are fighting against. Women are fighting every aspect of this sexist society which oppresses them — including their treatment as little more than passive playthings who, with the help of a myriad of products from our consumer society, can be transformed into the page three pin-up which every 'real man' desires. Rape is one expression of the dehumanisation and distortion of social relations perpetuated by class society and rooted in the social conditioning of the family.

ANGER AND DETERMINATION

Despite the anger — and determination — which these actions have encapsulated, the question of the political basis for an on-going campaign on the issue of rape has presented a particularly thorny problem, especially for socialists in the women's movement. No woman would deny that an immediate reaction — especially to a brutal rape — would be something along the lines of 'castrate the man'.

But the starting point for any political action against rape is not to sharpen a kitchen knife. That starting point must be the interests of women in the context of an understanding of the centrality of the struggle for their liberation — which will not be achieved through condemning ourselves to a lifetime behind bars.

That's why the ideas of so-called socialists need to be vigorously confronted when they correctly reject pleas like MP Jack Ashley's for increased prison sentences, but do so on the thoroughly wrong basis that 'the rapist is working class... or black'. These 'socialists' don't start from the interests of women.

Women have quite rightly retorted with scorn. Any man — working class, black, ruling class or whoever — who resorts to this most humiliating form of physical assault against women takes this action against every woman's right to act, think and feel independently. If the rapist is working class then his action acts against the interests of the working class as a whole.

CLASS LINES

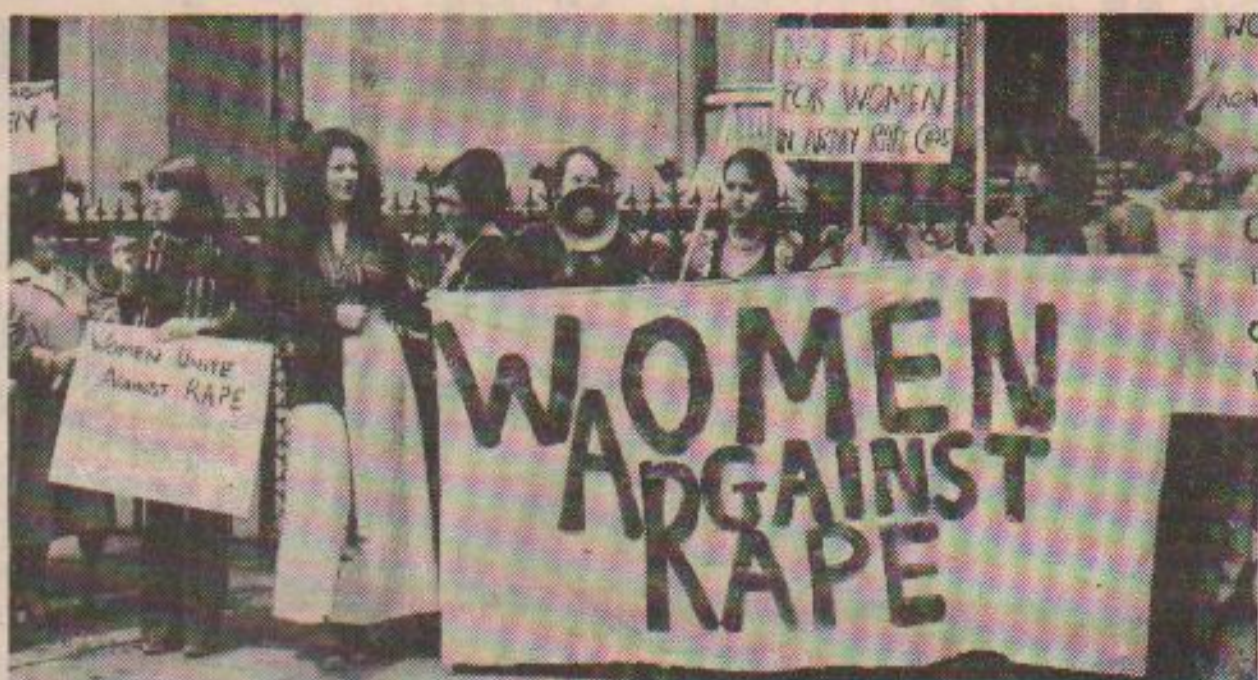
However militant as a trade unionist or an anti-fascist activist, the man who resorts to rape crosses class lines, and joins all the others who condemn women to a life of uncertainty, apprehension and even physical disabilities, incapable of fighting for an independent existence of her own. This betrays the need for a united, independent fight of the working class and all oppressed people in society against the whole rotten system.

Today the workers' movement — let alone those who consider themselves socialist — lacks a consciousness on issues of sexual violence. Consequently, the working class is politically disarmed and incapable of imposing its own sanctions and morality against those in its ranks who resort to violence against women — whether it be woman battering, persistent harassment of women in pubs, etc., or acts of rape in its narrow, legal definition.

Organised political opposition and sanctions to such acts carried out by the workers' movement itself would provide conditions to deter rapists. The level of consciousness necessary for such unified opposition will not arise spontaneously. A strong mass campaign launched by the women's movement is a pre-condition.

POLITICAL DEMANDS

The formulation of political demands for any such campaign against rape which strengthens the fight for women's liberation and at the same time challenge and weaken the very system which is at the root of women's oppression is a complex problem. It is something on which the women's movement, which ultimately has to provide the leadership on this issue, needs utmost clarity. The decision at the last national women's liberation conference to discuss the issue of rape with a view to adopting a seventh demand on it at the next conference will be helped by the welcome debate opened in the columns of *Spare Rib* on the use of the courts.



Rape and the Politics of Sexual Violence

Several weeks ago we began a forum of readers' contributions on the political issues raised by rape and sexual violence. Here DODIE WEPPLER and ANN BOND add their comments.



The woman who has been raped has few options open to her. If she can overcome the dominant sexist notion that rape is a crime the victim should hide, she will be likely to report the rape to the police. But every step of the procedure necessary before the case actually comes to court is directed against the woman. The legal definition of rape, with its insidious notion of consent, is so narrow that many victims of sexual assault have no recourse to the rape law. If she has, the legally prescribed medical examination — often brutal and inevitably humiliating — is carried out by a police doctor, not by a qualified person of her choice. In court the woman is subjected to intense cross examination of her behaviour. She becomes the guilty person put on trial.

What should the attitude of socialists be to the State and its courts? The courts exist to uphold class society and the bourgeois morality it spawns, perpetuating women's oppression. They have the power to mete out harsher sentences for offences about which there is a public outcry. But this is precisely because by

doing so, the judges are able to retain their monopoly of 'justice', preventing their powers being expropriated. They have little to offer women.

Nevertheless, as long as there is no alternative women will continue to turn to them. And while they do, socialists must fight for measures which afford women more protection than they have today at the hands of the judges and lawyers. This kind of fight — combined with other steps which can be taken now — provides the best basis for convincing women of the class nature of the courts.

Furthermore, whatever sentences are meted out to the rapist, one thing is clear from the many recently publicised cases. Sentences are not decided in the interests of the rape victim. Judges are rather more concerned with giving a sop to 'public opinion' (reinforcing bourgeois morality), and the career, colour, and social standing of the rapist.

Neither does severe punishment eradicate rape by 'curing' the rapist. After being locked up for several years a rapist could conceivably emerge with even more

violent tendencies. All the research done on recidivism and the rehabilitation values of the capitalist penal system point to the conclusion that jail sentences do not diminish the threat of violent anti-social behavior.

SENTENCES

Once women rely on the courts to stop rape they hand over all their organisation. Equally, if socialists choose to uphold this 'justice' they get entangled in impossible contradictions. From a scientific Marxist viewpoint, is it correct to demand the five year sentence Jack Ashley has pulled from his hat? Or is it more revolutionary to go for 10 years...or six months? On what political basis do we develop this kind of demand which can further the struggle for the liberation of women and tackles its material basis?

Although the courts cannot eliminate the incidents of sexual violence against women, they cannot be ignored. Women should have the right to be examined by a person of their own choice, rather than impersonal police doctors. Their identity should be totally protected from the gutter press, unless they wish, as Carole Maggs did, to openly campaign against rape. The cross examination which puts the woman on trial, subjecting her once more to humiliation, must not be allowed. Women sympathetic to the wishes of the victim should be allowed to give evidence on her behalf.

The opening of Rape Crisis centres in Britain provide the basis for an alternative to women who have been raped. These centres provide women with support in the aftermath of an attack. They can also become organising centres for on-going campaigning activity against rape.

RAPE CENTRES

But today few such centres exist. Those that do have been set up through the efforts of small groups of feminists. While these centres must always be under the democratic control of women, facilities should be provided — no strings attached — by the State. We should campaign for Rape Crisis centres as we campaign for women's refuges.

These kind of facilities will not be won from the State tomorrow. That's why the few rape crisis centres which exist must have the full support and material backing of the workers' movement as a whole.

The emphasis in any on-going campaign on rape must be on its prevention. Any women organising to defend themselves deserve rigorous support. For centuries, women have been socialised into submission. Their physical strength has remained undeveloped. The growing numbers of women's self-defence groups, again often poorly-equipped, should be supplemented by attempting to end the

absurd division between male and female physical education. Young women in schools, regarded as easy prey by adult men, should be encouraged to take part in sports which enable them to develop their strength. Self-defence classes in schools could form part of the concerted campaign to prevent rape.

In addition, collective self-defence is vital. In South London women organise collective defence on the way to and from discos. These steps should be emulated in other communities.

Until a mass campaign wrings concessions from the bourgeois state, so that women can walk freely on the streets and feel safer in their homes, rape crisis centres and women's refuges can play an important role in deterring rapists. Organised patrols by women, poster campaigns to alert women to especially dangerous areas, co-ordinated campaigns in areas where women suffer continual harassment (from kerb crawlers and the like) are all steps which women's centres have begun to take. The very existence of rape crisis centres can also give women who are victims of sexual violence in the home the confidence to tackle it — as refuges for battered women have shown.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

But we must also demand that the State takes its responsibility in protecting the democratic rights of women which it claims to offer. The State should provide better street lighting, free and easily available late transport, and other forms of protection and deterrent deemed necessary by women.

Women have only their own organisation to rely on. The labour movement — which could add enormous weight to women's campaigns against rape — treat the issue in the same way that it treated the issue of abortion just three years ago. Rape is seen as a 'private', 'individual' affair. It is completely outside the concern of the unions. So the labour movement cannot be relied upon to help defend women.

However, an orientation to the labour movement is a vital part of any mass campaign. If the women's movement is able to force working class organisations into action on the rape issue, then, for example, any recalcitrant local council threatened with industrial or community action will very quickly find the resources demanded.

The days when the trade unions will take strike action in defence of women's right to lead a life free from persistent harassment are far off. The far left, silent until it was forced to begin to recognise the importance of women's struggles through the political weight of the women's movement, has yet to take a leading part in the struggle. On issues such as fascism, racism, and abortion, it has had a decisive impact within the workers' movement. But the far left is only beginning to grasp adequately the politics of sexual violence.

CAMPAIGNS

As socialists the struggle against rape must be seen as part of the struggle for socialism, and must be seen as bringing us closer to the day when the repressive State of class society is smashed, opening the door to a society based on democratic and independent forms of organisation. In this context, action against sexual violence would be backed, by the force of the state as a whole.

Campaigning activity on rape on a nationally-coordinated scale has yet to be launched. The Wages for Housework group has played a prominent part in making rape a national issue. But because the group has tied the basis of its campaign — Women Against Rape — to the notion that women should receive wages for domestic labour, and claiming crudely that rape arises from economic dependence, many members of the women's movement have been excluded through this sectarianism.

What is needed is a fight to broaden the basis of this campaign, so that women in the movement feel able to take part. If this is impossible, feminists should place themselves in the leadership of a campaign building actions around rape in which the Wages for Housework group could be invited to contribute. Women actively involved in women's aid, and who are trying to win it to a feminist perspective have an important role to play in relating their experience to the campaign against rape.

Before any such broadly based campaign could be launched, a national conference to thrash out the politics of rape is vital. A call for such a conference from local women's groups active on rape would be in line with the decision of the last women's liberation conference, to open a discussion on rape with a view to formulating a seventh demand for the movement.

Terror round-up for the Queen of Death

In the aftermath of the Queen's visit to the occupied Six Counties, the British Army has unleashed a sustained campaign of terror in parts of West Belfast. The Army's obvious intention is to destroy the mass militancy of the anti-unionists which brought upwards of 25,000 people onto the streets in open opposition to the foreign Queen's visit. Mike Pinter reports.

In the space of four days before the Queen's arrival, Belfast was rocked by two huge, militant and well-disciplined demonstrations down the length of Falls Road. The first, marking the anniversary of internment on Sunday 7 August, mustered upwards of 10,000 in support of political status for the republican and socialist prisoners in H-block Longkesh and C-Wing Armagh Gaol.

Jointly organised by the Relatives' Action Committee and Sinn

arrived. As if to symbolise what her visit meant for anti-unionist areas under occupation, the Army shot dead a 16-year-old youth, Paul McWilliams, in the Ballymurphy area. According to the Army, Paul was throwing petrol-bombs; they had given him two warnings, then deliberately shot to kill.

This version was immediately disputed by on-the-spot witnesses. The anger of the people erupted in a wave of hi-jackings, and barricades. A few hours later a soldier in the same regiment was shot dead in retaliation.

The intense campaign of repression which the Army embarked on to prepare for the Queen's visit hit the Markets area and Ballymurphy especially hard. Nightly swoops on ghettos — with an average of 30 arrests each time — filled the blocks of cells in Belfast prison and Longkesh which were reported to have been cleared to hold the detainees. People arrested were held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act — for seven days' detention — to keep them out of the way during the visit.

The city centre was totally sealed off and swamped by newly arrived troops. Every 'suspicious' young person was screened, asked where they came from and if they had ever been lifted by the Army before. Workers were arrested at their workplace in West Belfast. Taxi-drivers who the Army thought might be 'trouble-makers' were removed from their taxis. At the Royal Victoria Hospital, the arrest of members of the staff provoked a strike until the men were released.

Despite these repressive measures, the march of 10 August organised by the Provisional Sinn Fein and the RAC from Andersonstown to the city centre will go down in history as the largest show of active opposition to the British occupation for years. The media tried to ignore it but couldn't. On television that night, the banner at

the head of the march was there for all to see: The Queen of Death.

Well over ten thousand marched during the day, and that night mass displays of opposition continued in most anti-unionist areas. The largest was in Turf Lodge. After a street theatre putting the Queen on trial for crimes against the Irish people, an effigy of the Queen and a union jack were paraded outside the local barracks and burnt.

During her visit, no representative of the anti-unionist minority met the Queen, not even the SDLP. The Protestant masses didn't even catch a glimpse of the Queen. The mass opposition of the nationalist minority remains as steadfast as ever, thanks in large part to the role played by the Relatives Action Committee.

But since the day after the Queen of Death's visit, the British Army has exacted harsh revenge against the initiative and courage demonstrated by the resistance of the nationalist minority. The area the Army chose was Greater Andersonstown, especially the Turf Lodge estate. The regiment responsible for inflicting this terror was the marines — the 45th



August.

Leo Martin was arrested at 1pm. He was kicked, punched, hit with rifle butts and batons. His shirt was ripped from his back and his hands tied behind him. He was dragged by the hair and thrown into an Army vehicle where he was again beaten. On arrival at Fort Monagh, he was kicked and punched in a concrete cubicle. Then he was 'examined' by a doctor in the presence of the soldiers engaged in beating him.

According to his doctor, it was the worst case of beating he had ever seen from which the victim had survived. Martin suffered bruises all over the body and legs, particularly the groin; two fractured ankles, fractured ribs, multiple lacerations on the head; burn marks on the back covering an area of 15 by 17 centimetres. Despite this, he was kept in hospital only two hours, then removed to Castlereagh. He was served with a seven-day detention order.

While it was Turf Lodge that suffered the bulk of the atrocities, other parts of Andersonstown

suffered. And all week after this day of terror, the Army continued to mete out similar treatment.

The official pretext for this campaign of terror was the shooting dead of a soldier on the Friday afternoon. However, the Army had already invaded Turf Lodge and were ransacking homes nearly two hours before the soldier was shot. The real answer was undoubtedly the reaction of anti-unionists to the Queen's visit. Every person taken to Fort Monagh on the Friday afternoon was instructed to sing 'God Save the Queen' — none complied!

In attempting to impose British authority on the people of Andersonstown, the British Army has failed. For a militant people who have borne the brunt of repression over the last year, and who have been determined to make their opposition felt in public protest on every occasion of British brutality in the estate, the indiscriminate

saturation and curfew of Friday afternoon — the worst instance yet in the memories of the residents — has only served to reinforce their militancy.

On the following Sunday afternoon, at a meeting attended by some 250 local people, it was decided to embark on a campaign to break down the media's wall of silence. Andersonstown barracks has been continuously picketed. The Women's Action Committee has been re-established to provide local leadership.

The people of Turf Lodge and Andersonstown demanded — and secured — the release of Leo Martin, and the withdrawal of troops from Turf Lodge and the Andersonstown area as a whole. It is up to the workers' movement in Britain to adopt the example of Turf Lodge, and demand the immediate withdrawal of British forces from the area, and from the entire Six Counties.



45th ARMY arrives in time for the Queen's visit. An international community still welcomed visits of Republicans, and so just 48 (in 2) of a number! Their past caught not just soldiers, when 45th 19

Fein, the march was headed by two banners that proclaimed, 'Free the prisoners — free the people', and 'Defend political status'. Though mass displays of solidarity are a feature of the anniversary of internment commemorations, 7 August showed the increasing willingness of the anti-unionists to come out onto the streets on behalf of political prisoners. It was the largest display yet of support for political status.

Three days later, the Queen



The grouse-shooting season began on August 12th as well.

Marine Commandos. About 200 troops participated.

The case of Leo Martin — only one out of many people who have been harassed, battered and tortured — best describes the work of the Army on the afternoon of 12

Smash Birmingham's reactionary doctors

by Chiss Silvester, Birmingham NAC

PLANS ARE underway in Birmingham for a day of inquiry into abortion as part of the build-up for the national demonstration in the city on 29 October, called by the National Abortion Campaign. Although Benyon's Bill has fallen, there is every indication that the pro-choice movement needs to step up the campaign for women's abortion rights.

Last month Mary Huckins was fined a total of £341 and ordered to pay compensation of £134 by a Bristol magistrate. Her crime? Mary sprayed up the slogans 'Abortion — a women's right to choose' and 'Beat Benyon's Bill'.

Besides this vicious use of the courts against campaigners, another source for concern is the rumour that David Ennals, Secretary of State for Social Services, has a new Bill being

drafted. Without any doubt this will be based on compromise, not on the principle of a woman's right to choose.

That's why it is vital that we organise now to fight for free abortion on demand; for the extension of existing abortion rights, and against any future attacks on present rights. The limitations of the 1967 Abortion Act are especially evident in Birmingham.

A mere one in ten of all abortions carried out in the Birmingham area are on the NHS. One major hospital in South Birmingham, the Selly Oak, conducted only two abortions throughout the entire year

'We've got down to one abortion a year — now that's talking medicine'

of 1974! More recently, a local community health council heard the case of a woman who was refused help on abortion by an NHS consultant despite the fact she had a life expectancy of less than 12 months.

The reactionary attitude of many consultants in Birmingham are in large part responsible for this appalling situation. In the words of one of these 'gentlemen', Professor Hugh McLaren: 'We got rid of abortion (in Birmingham) in 1952. We said is there really a case for abortion? ... Is there one woman who really needs an abortion? The answer is very few. We got down to one a year — now that's talking medicine.'

CONTRACEPTION

Contraception is equally under attack in Birmingham. One of the largest contraception agencies — the Brook Advisory Clinic — has been instructed by the health authority to stop advertising its services. Local family planning clinics have had to close their books to new patients. There are vast waiting lists in the city for sterilisation operations, because of lack of finance. Meanwhile, the cuts are whittling away what are already inadequate services, making it near impossible for women to develop any element of control over their lives.

The October demonstration in Birmingham is the time to come out into the streets and make clear the changes that are vital if women are to have full access to abortion.

National NAC demonstration

Saturday, 29 October
Assemble: 1.30 Victoria Square, Birmingham

- * No restrictive laws!
- * Women's choice not doctor's choice!
- * NHS abortion every women's right!
- * Out patient abortion clinics now!

What's Left

Rates: 3p per word. Display: £1.50 per column inch. Deadline: 3pm Saturday before publication.

WANTED: Room in flat in Liverpool for Scottish comrade from anytime in September. Phone 6224 572549 before 13 August; 031-332 6431 after.

SWEDISH comrade seeks room in London 27 September-25 October. Please reply with details of rent and location to Birgitta Sandström-Lagercrantz, Svartensgatan 6111, S-116 20 Stockholm, Sweden.

CONFERENCE on Women and the Unions, called by SE London Medical Branch of ASTMS, to be held on Saturday 22 October at 1pm, at NUR Unity House, Euston Road, London NW1. Further information from: Janet Maguire, ECG Dept., Guys Hospital, London SE1. Tel: 01-407 7900, ext. 3182.

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Group meeting Ireland, Britain's Strategy of Repression. Speakers: Steve Palmer (RCG), Jackie Kaye (Prisoners Aid Committee), Tuesday, 20 Sept., 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. admission 20p.

CAMPAIGN for Free Speech on Ireland is now researching a study of media coverage of the Irish question. Please send any information, including personal experiences, to the Campaign at: c/o 84 Claverton Street, London SW1. All information will be treated in strictest confidence and all contributors consulted before publication.

CRITIQUE Conference: The 60th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the World Crisis. Speakers: Georges Haupt, Ernest Mandel, Hillel Ticktin, Fernando Claudin, and Andre Gunder Frank. Oct. 21-23. Registration £2.50. Further information from The Secretary, Critique, 31 Clevedon Road, Glasgow, G12 0PH. Tel: 041-339-5287; or Critique Office, 8 Poland Street, London W1. Tel: 01-734-3457.

HARINGEY Troops Out Movement meeting on 'British Strategy in Ireland' Speaker: Steve Palmer (RCG), 8pm, Tuesday, 13 Sept., Tottenham Trades Hall, Bruce Grove, London N17.

MIDLANDS Socialist Feminist Conference: 'Feminism, Sexuality and Abortion'. Saturday, 15 October, 10am-6pm, Leichester Polytechnic, Coventry. Registration £1; students and claimants 75p. Cheques payable to: Socialist Feminist Group, c/o Carolyn Pickering, 37 Gavelston

Road, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire.

CHILE Solidarity Campaign public meeting, 4th anniversary of bloody military coup, Saturday, 10 Sept., Shopping precinct, Coventry, 10am-12 noon.

FOUND: Swiss made 'Marline' watch with a black leather strap, at Clifton Rise after the Lawlsham demo on 13 Aug. Tel: Southampton 777227 ext 3460 (evenings) for information.

LEEDS Chile Solidarity Committee, films, Chilean and British speakers, 8pm, Friday, 2 September, Leeds Trades Club.

HARROW Abortion Obstacle Race, new 40-page pamphlet by Harrow NAC. Orders from: 01-863-2254.

BRITON Books, new socialist shop now open in South London, at 80 Loughborough Road, SW9. Distributors for Gheliet Publications. Mail orders. Shop open on Thur. and Fri., 1pm-6pm. Further information from: 01-733-8953.

ASTMS Rank and File Conference, Saturday 17 Sept., 12.30-5pm, National Union of Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Hall, 14 Jockeys Field, London WC1. Further information and proposed agenda from the Steering Committee at 1st Floor Flat, Elmwood, Abbot's Lane, Kenley, Surrey.

RED LADDER THEATRE requires Full-Time Administrator, to begin October, £50 per week. Written applications by 4 Sept. with SAE stating: administrative/political experience, reasons for interest in job. Also required, for minimum six month contract in new play touring community venues, begin 14 Nov., I.S.M./Sound technician, 2. Performers M&F, singers and musical skills advantageous, 3. Musician/performer. Detailed applications with SAE by 11 Sept. interviews 19-24 Sept. To: New Blackpool Centre, Cobden Ave., LS12 5PB. Tel: 0532 792228/19.

BOOKINGS wanted for two Recreation Ground plays on racism, Black and Blue and a play for youth. National tour for trade unions and anti-fascist groups starts October. Contact: Recreation Ground, 31 Winchester Road, London NW3. Tel: 01-722-7334.

CAMPAIGN for Democracy in the Labour Movement, Car Workers Conference, Sunday, 18 September, 11am-4pm, Digbeth Institute, Birmingham. Greenhills from, Ken Lea, 44, Devonshire Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20. Price 50p.

There is only one way to keep the Tories out: A massive fight to raise living standards

by JONATHAN SILBERMAN

The issue of wages and the '12-month rule' will dominate this year's Trades Union Congress. The most recently announced Government statistics show that inflation is now running at an annual rate of 17.6 per cent, while earnings over the same period have risen only 9.7 per cent. The gap between the rate of price rises and earnings is widening. Last month, according to the Government, it stood at 7.4 per cent. This month living standards are officially down 7.9 per cent since a year ago.

But the issues involved in the debates at Blackpool's Winter Gardens go beyond even this, and will affect the whole future of the working class movement. Another period of wage restraint means not only falling living standards but everything that goes with it — mass unemployment of 1,635,950; £3.5 billion cut from social services resulting in the closure of hospitals, declining education as 50,000 teachers are thrown onto the dole, a cut in house building of 20 per cent.

Fascist organisations like the Nazis of the National Front are spawning on working class disillusion. The door has been opened for the return of a Tory Government as by-election after by-election has shown that traditional Labour voters are staying at home in their thousands.

SHAKING THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The defeat of the 12-month rule and the wage limits will push the employers and the Tories on the defensive, shake the Government's and right-wing leadership's grip on the labour movement, and open the way for a struggle for a socialist alternative to the labour leaders' class collaboration.

Faced with such enormous stakes the trade union bureaucrats have launched anti-democratic manoeuvres in an attempt to overturn decisions of union conferences against wage controls. Scanton and Co. refused to recall the Engineering Union's National Committee to vote on the 12-month rule. Jack Jones announced that if the vote was in favour of the rule, the Transport Union would loyally carry out the decisions of the majority — the majority of the Trades Union Congress, that is, not the majority of the TGWU.

Despite the decision of the Mineworkers' Conference to fight

for a massive rise from November — while the present agreement is due to run out next February — the NUM executive remains 'undecided' about how it will cast its votes in Blackpool on the 12-month rule?

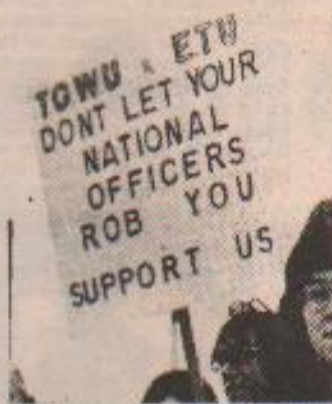
The 12-month rule and the 10 per cent pay limit have their political counterpart in the Lib-Lab pact. Callaghan believes that the Labour Government can be kept in office by Parliamentary manoeuvres, and he will threaten every group of workers going into struggles that they will bring down the Labour Government. This blackmail is used inside the trade unions by Jones, Murray and Co.

In reality, the continuation of the Lib-Lab pact and its pro-capitalist policies will make the Government even more unpopular. The Tories, Liberals, and the ragbag of Ulster Unionists and the rest can choose the moment when the Government is at the peak of unpopularity and turf it out of office.

The only way to keep the Tories out is by raising living standards and embarking on a socialist course. This means a massive fight to break the pact. The TUC is guaranteed not to start such a fight.

LEFTS

The left leaders have shown that



no confidence can be placed in them in the fight to break the pact and defend living standards. But it is vital that the lefts are forced out in the light of day so that the largest possible numbers are clearly shown the bureaucrats' role.

The first step in forcing the leaders to show their position comes at the TUC itself. The most massive lobby is necessary. The left leaders who claim to oppose the 12-month rule must be made to put their money where their mouth is by openly coming out and calling for mass strike action to defend living standards.

And they must fight for demands that really defend living standards, as well as supporting all workers going into struggle.

SECOND STRING

The union leaders supporting the Government's policies have prepared the second string of their

wage-cutting bow lest they be defeated on the 12-month rule, by submitting vastly inadequate claims.

The so-called 'extravagant' claims of 15-20 per cent which the employers' press denounces would not even remotely make up for past losses and protect the wage packet against the present rate of inflation. Only immediate increases of around £15 totally protected by automatic cost of living increases to compensate for inflation provide real protection of living standards.

AUTOMATIC INCREASES

This demand for automatic cost of living increases is growing in the trade union movement. It is included in the Ford claim. It has been accepted as policy by NUPE. A third of the delegates voted for it at the TGWU conference.

But the trade union leaderships have made it clear that they refuse to fight for the protection of wages against inflation. TGWU General Secretary elect, Moss Evans, has already announced he intends to follow 'socially responsible' policies in the Ford claim. The first thing he will try to throw out of the window is the demand for cost of living protection. Then, with the money claim of only 15 per cent, Evans will have negotiated another major cut in Ford workers' living standards.

The bureaucrats will attempt to do the same in every major claim. The fight for automatic cost of living increases has to be a central one in every claim.



MURRAY — the government's ch

Demands to u

- ★ £15 increase fully p of living increases
- ★ National minimum tions
- ★ A programme of n works to guarantee the
- ★ Full protection for s against the effects of cash limits
- ★ Equal pay for wome



SCANLON — he's fighting hard against his members' interests

Divided we will be d

NO MATTER what the outcome of the Congress debate on the 12-month rule, no support for workers in struggle will come from the TUC General Council and those who support the Government's policies. The fight of the Leyland toolmakers, of the Heathrow engineers, and the Port Talbot steelworkers revealed that the question will be how to win, not merely against the employers, but against the sabotage which will come from within the labour movement.

The Lucas workers and the air traffic controllers' assistants have shown, as have the Grinwick strikers, that shop floor militancy is guaranteed. But in addition to such militancy, the fight for clear policies capable of winning is necessary in the face of savage Government resistance.

DIVIDE AND RULE

Divide and rule. This has been the strategy of the employers for decades. Today the Government is attempting to centralise and co-ordinate the ruling class's strategy through the cash limit system in the public sector and using pressure on individual firms, such as Heinz and Nabisco, to persuade private industry to withdraw its settlements.

By utilising centralised employers' tactics, the Government hopes to take advantage of divisions and lack of co-ordination of working class struggle to defeat even the greatest militancy. This was the tactic which isolated and defeated the Post Office workers in 1971 and the Manchester engineering workers in 1972, as well as many groups of workers in Scotland at the beginning of the Social Contract.

The right-wing trade union leaders are playing straight into the hands of the Government. AUEW presidential candidate Terry Duffy divides high paid from low paid workers by concentrating exclusively on differentials and the so-called traditional wages pattern. The TUC aims to let the lower paid go to the wall by making no serious fight over the £50 national

minimum wage propo employees' union, or of Women workers will b copies, and divisions o demand of 'women out failure to take up pol threatens to divide emp

Without a clear fight the protection of spend through cost of living, dividing workers in the industry. Right-wing les Fred Jarvis of the teachi this danger as a way o support of the Governm

And workers in the sup for their individual clai industry, for instance, October, while that of does not come up an will be aiming to play impose corporate bu independent shop stewa

Fortunately the fig beginning to come from important was the mee Clydeside last month stewards' combines n all regions could establi claims, put out publici solidarity. As the reali have to be backed up b danger of isolation and

The way to win at Grunwick After Scarmman

'We want to give the other fellow a chance to come out of a corner. If we grind his face in the dust, nothing will be solved. There can never be a victory. A draw is the best result... Both of us have spent a year in a cub-de-sac and its time we got out and lived with each other...'

'We are prepared to go quite a long way down the road to meet them. Here we have for the first time an opportunity to resolve the matter honourably. We want to seize this opportunity.'

Roy Grantham, General Secretary of APEX, speaking after his meeting with Albert Booth on the publication of the Scarmman Report.

ROY GRANTHAM eagerly supported the Scarmman Report. He endorsed its main proposal that an 'independent mediator' be appointed to determine the number of vacancies which do exist with a view to reinstatement of the sacked workers, or alternatively an ex gratia payment to be made to those not taken back.

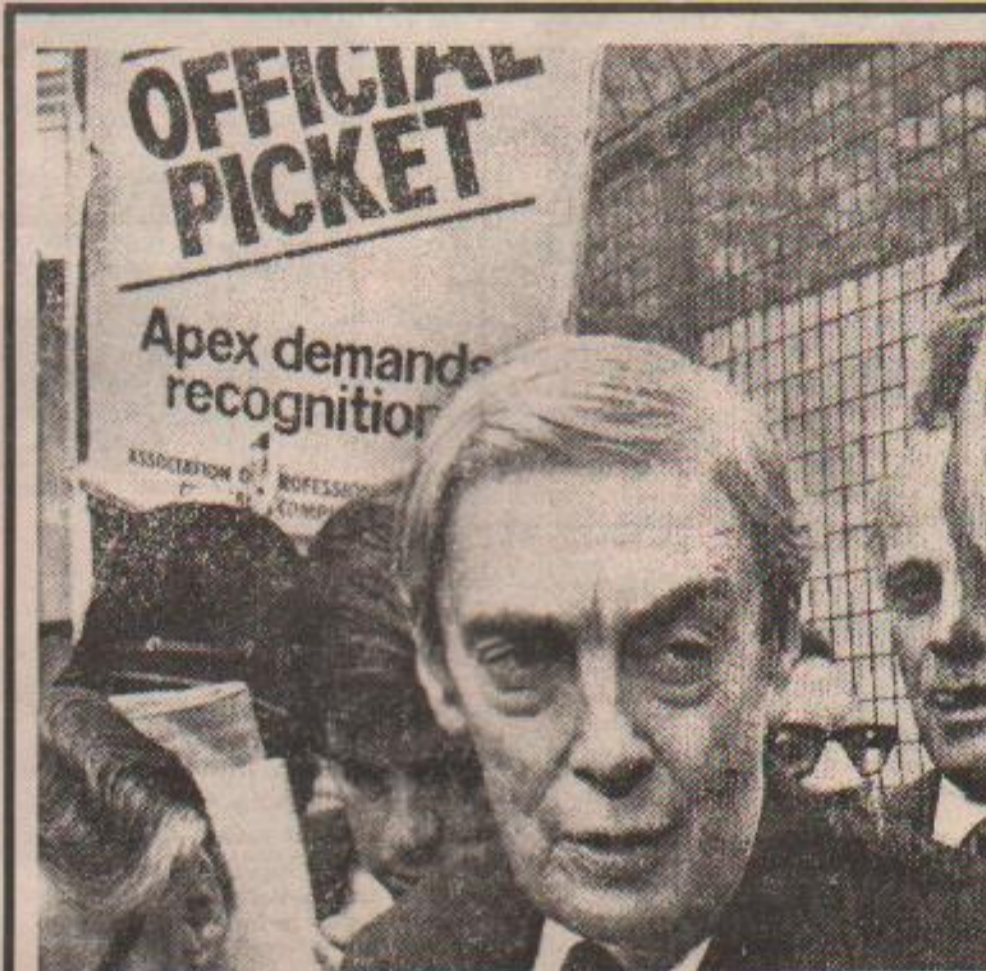
And he accepted the report's main criticisms of the union — the call upon postal workers to boycott Grunwick's mail 'which had clearly been judged to be against the law', and the organisation of mass pickets which the union 'could have foreseen' would lead to 'civil disorder'.

By accepting Scarmman's report in full, Grantham has totally disarmed himself in the face of Ward's inevitable rejection of the report. As the *Daily Mirror* put it, 'the report changes nothing'.

Moreover, as the Strike Committee said, there would have been no Scarmman Report if there had been no mass pickets and if the Cricklewood sorters had not taken their action. The question that the trade union leaders should be addressing now, after the publication of the report, is how to go on to win the dispute.

With the publication of the report, Grantham now wants to call it a 'draw' because his collaborationist methods have nothing to offer. Nor has the *Mirror*, even after its frank admission that words change nothing. This newspaper's main concern is not the livelihood of the Grunwick strikers, or even the 'resolution' of the dispute, but the authority of Parliament.

A 'legal right' (to belong to a union) which can be withheld at George Ward's discretion makes a



'It is important that the company, which has made a fine start, should continue in business: it is vital that the trade union movement should continue effectively to serve the interests of its members. It would be tragic if society should prove too inflexible to accommodate both the company and the union.'

—Paragraph 10 of the Scarmman Report

laughing stock of Parliament. The terrifying prospect for the *Daily Mirror* and every capitalist spokesperson, whether or not they support the other findings of the report, is the resumption of the mass picketing and other mass action — which unlike the report's 28 pages — can impose the reinstatement of the sacked workers and union recognition.

They know that a victory at

Grunwick's brought about through solidarity on the picket line, in the sorting offices, the supply industries and elsewhere would give the green light to workers fighting against cuts in their living standards to use the same methods.

That is what terrifies the Labour Government, desperately trying to hold on to the last remaining part

of the Social Contract — the 12-month rule. And that is why the Labour Government has sanctioned the use of enormous numbers of police to protect the scab bus and harass the pickets.

Ward has already said that he will not be bound by the report. Our position is as follows:

'For seven days, we will hold out our hand to the company and ask them to sit down with our unions and negotiate a settlement. We will not wait longer and we think that it is unlikely that Ward will respond.'

'On 30 August, we will be meeting with the Executive Committee of APEX and we will be asking APEX and the TGWL to put down an emergency motion at this year's TUC calling for all services — water, electricity and post — and supplies to be cut off to the company and calling upon the entire movement to support any unions suffering as a result.'

'We will also be calling upon our unions and the movement as a whole to support the resumption of the mass picketing after Congress meets...'

'In short, it was the strength of the Trade Union movement that lifted our dispute off the floor. It will be that same strength that wins a historic victory for the entire movement.'

Grunwick Strike Committee

If the Labour Government were seriously interested in guaranteeing reinstatement and union recognition at Grunwick, it would immediately declare its intention of nationalising the plant if Ward tries to carry out his threat to shut up shop rather than meet the strikers' demands.

It is a disgrace that we have just 'celebrated' the first anniversary of the Grunwick strike. The responsibility for this disgrace lies at the door of the trade union and labour leaders who have professed their 'support' for the strike, but have done nothing to turn that support into action.

Full support should be given to the lobby of the TUC on 5 September called by the strike committee to demand the TUC organise a total boycott of Grunwick. But no reliance can be placed on people like Tom Jackson and Roy Grantham.

No matter what they say, their record speaks for itself. It is a record of class collaboration not class struggle. It will be up to the strike committee and the thousands and thousands of trade union activists up and down the country who support it to organise independently of these bureaucrats to rebuild the mass picket and the mass solidarity action.

The Grunwick support committees springing up in many towns shows what can be organised in the localities. These must be extended to every town throughout Britain. The solidarity conference, called at 2 1/2 weeks' notice for the anniversary of the strike mobilised 300 delegates, mainly from the South-east. This can be built on in a national solidarity conference.

This is the perspective which can both keep the heat on the trade union leaders and answer the sharp words of strike-leader Jayaben Desai when she said, 'We are drowning in support and starving from lack of action'.

CRÈCHE SUPPORT NEEDED
Volunteers (preferably male) are urgently needed to help run a crèche for the children of the Grunwick strikers, mornings and afternoons. For more information contact: Tony or Angie, c/o Grunwick Strike Headquarters, 375 Willesden High Road, London NW10. Tel: 01-459 4121.



John Gourlet of the 'National Association for Freedom' with friends — he's advising Ward to reject Scarmman

ago-restraint enforcement officer

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flation — abolish the

— with no strings

feated

TUC policy by the public proposed by the farmworkers, particularly severely hit by such a lines will be sharpened by the in the event of redundancies, to fight for the right to work from unemployed.

the cash limits system and for social services against inflation there is a massive danger of bare state sector from those in of the public sector unions, like ion, have been quick to seize on ng up public sector workers in pay policies.

dustry can be divided as the fight mains unco-ordinated. In the car ord workers' claim comes up in Leyland workers at Longbridge November. The Leyland bosses th divisions in their attempt to ng and further weaken the movement.

working class solidarity is workers movement. Particularly union representatives called in one of the most power ul shop area. Such meetings organised in ion committees, co-ordinate the organise financial and industrial national fights take place, these ility committees. Otherwise the at looms very large.

Photo: ANDREW WILKIN (Report)

IMG's real position on Mozambique and Imperialism

Articles in *Red Weekly* on Mozambique caused quite a stir among some socialists who complained that the International Marxist Group has a 'negative' attitude to FRELIMO. This was reflected in the 'Speakout' article which appeared in *Socialist Challenge* on 14 July.

It is also true that many articles in the revolutionary press have been written in a negative way, and this has led to much confusion about the attitude of revolutionary Marxists to regimes such as Mozambique and Angola. JULIUS KARANJA and TUNDE ANTHONY clarify some of the points where there might be confusions about the IMG's position in the hope that it will create a serious debate.

1. Defence of the PRM against imperialism and reaction

There is no contradiction between revolutionary Marxists' support to FRELIMO before the seizure of power, and their present positions. In the pre-independence period, we gave our unconditional and critical support to FRELIMO in its anti-imperialist struggles.

Today we continue to provide support unconditionally and critically to all anti-imperialist struggles waged in Mozambique; even if FRELIMO policies only aim to draw limited concessions from imperialism, we support them.

We consider that the establishment of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique (PRM) over the ruins of the colonial state to be a victory of the masses. As such, we defend, with arms if necessary, this gain against any imperialist or reactionary attacks or manoeuvres.

2. Mozambique's contribution to internationalism

Mozambique has played a crucial



Mozambique's President Samora Machel.

role in providing support to the Zimbabwe nationalist struggles, in particular by the provision of camps and material aid to the armed struggle. The Mozambican masses have made enormous sacrifices in implementing economic sanctions against the Smith regime. Many have been brutally murdered by the Rhodesian troops in the invasions of Mozambique, and many villages razed to the ground.

There can be no doubt that these

sacrifices, and FRELIMO's contributions are examples of proletarian internationalism. But we would not go so far as to call FRELIMO's part in them as 'exemplary' (as did the author of the 'Speakout' article).

We need only cite the support FRELIMO gave to the formation of the right-wing 'umbrella organisation' of the ANC, and later exclusive support to the Patriotic Front, to show how FRELIMO interferes with the Zimbabwe struggles, and chooses sides instead of supporting all anti-imperialist movements. This exacerbates the divisions in the Zimbabwe anti-imperialist movements.

Were FRELIMO to give unconditional support to all sections of the Zimbabwe movements, it would not preclude it from making a critical analysis of the different tendencies involved in the struggle. Such unconditional critical support can only aid the struggling masses in their endeavour to transform their present subjugated and exploited state.

3. The problems of economic development

Enormous economic problems exist in Mozambique which are a direct result of its inheritance of a colonial economy closely integrated to production for the South African economy. Sabotage and shortage of skilled labour make the question of 'development' a nightmare.

We believe, however, that in order that the Mozambican economy may develop substantially, there is a need to break decisively with imperialism. We believe that FRELIMO, as with the MPLA and other decolonising aspirant socialist regimes in Africa and elsewhere, has illusions that simply by exercising control over the



Mozambican peasants: 'there is room for debate on development...but is such a debate possible in Mozambique?'

state apparatus, it is able to 'control' the economy and the operations of multinational corporations and imperialist capital.

The fact is that the Mozambican economy is tied into the world capitalist system, and as long as that remains within this system, the fate of Mozambique's economy will not rest with the people but with the imperialists. As long as Mozambique does not break its links with world imperialism and socialise without compensation all foreign capital, the ultimate control of the economy, and therefore of the country's social development, will rest with the forces of the international capitalist market and the imperialists; as such, Mozambique will remain a neo-colony of international capitalism.

However, given this particular nature of the Mozambican economy, there is room for debate on the 'strategy and tactics' for development, and we believe that such a debate is not only healthy,

but vitally necessary to clarify the real problems being faced. But is such a debate possible in Mozambique?

4. Democracy and FRELIMO

It is in this area that we are most critical of FRELIMO. Democratic rights are extremely limited in Mozambique: the right to strike has been banned; the rights of trade unions independent of the

state have been curtailed; outside FRELIMO itself, no independent organisations of the masses are permitted; even the village committees, the *grupos dinamizadores*, the women's movement and so on are controlled by FRELIMO; there are no rights of independent political expression — either in the form of open tendencies inside FRELIMO or independent political parties.

We believe that the question of democracy is crucial. There are many gains yet to be made and fought for by the Mozambican masses. In this struggle for the extension of democratic rights we will support the masses even, if necessary, against FRELIMO.

We do not believe that all sections of the masses have unified interests in all aspects of their lives (political, social, economic or day-to-day problems). In order that free debate and discussion can take place the masses must have the right and freedom to self-organisation and self-expression.

In this way it would not only be possible to bring to fruit the creative energies of the masses in the struggle for their emancipation, but also it is a sure way to reduce the capacities of reactionary forces to organise against the gains of the masses. Free and open discussions are not the conditions for the growth of the seeds of reaction, which flourish only in dark oppressive corners that are fed with fear and restriction.

Racists and Lucas

THE IMPORTANCE of the campaign to boycott trade with the racist regime in South Africa has been brought home to at least a section of the trade union movement in Britain.

by JOHN GRAHAM

For several weeks now British Leyland has been trying to break the back of the Lucas toolroom strike by importing motor-starters from abroad. It is now clear that these components have been coming in from South Africa aboard passenger-scheduled flights.

International capitalist co-operation has been forthcoming from many airlines. British Air-

ways, Aer Lingus, Alitalia, Iberia, Lufthansa and others have been involved. This strike-breaking must be stopped.

Aircrews and airport workers internationally should be mobilised to boycott these components — not only to help win the Lucas toolroom strike, but also with a view to developing the campaign to boycott all trade with South Africa.

Zimbabwe settlement plan Owen and Young grab the limelight

Once again the British-American co-production of Owen and Young is attempting to grab the international spotlight with their 'new' Anglo-American settlement proposal for Zimbabwe.

In fact, there is very little in the package that has not been collected dust on one conference table or another for quite some time: agreement in principle on a long-term Constitution for an independent Zimbabwe, based on eventual majority rule; formation of a multi-racial interim Government, under British supervision, to handle the transition from the present set-up; a billion dollar fund to restore the ailing Rhodesian economy, compensate dislocated whites, and underwrite the creation of a propertied black middle class; dissolution of both the Rhodesian armed forces and the guerrilla army, with an international peace-keeping force to back up the agreement until independence.

So far the response from the main figures — the Smith regime and the Patriotic Front nationalists — has not been very warm. But the Owen/Young strategy is clearly to line up the powers-behind-the-scenes — the African 'front line' states and the South African Government — and to trust to them to bring 'their boys' into line.

The Smith regime, of course, is in the middle of an election, and thus cannot afford any dramatic turn-about in its position. It is a foregone conclusion that Smith will win hands-down, but the election has a two-fold aim: to strengthen Smith's mandate for future manoeuvres, and to test

out the relative strength of the die-hard and liberal oppositions in order to determine how far and in what direction he can afford to manoeuvre.

Of course, he has had to have something positive to take to the electorate — and that has been his scheme for an 'internal settlement' with moderate nationalists (i.e. those not directly involved in the guerrilla struggle). This has the merit of including both the principles of concessions to the black majority, and the retention of power by the white minority regime.

Its real value is, however, highly limited. Its meaning was recently spelt out by Smith's Foreign Minister, P.K. van der Byl, one of the most reactionary and popular leaders of the Rhodesian Front. He said that African cabinet ministers appointed as part of an 'internal settlement' would have a vote in the Cabinet, but would not be MPs or have any say in Parliament. They would be 'members of the government by invitation of the Rhodesian Front Government' and could thus 'be dismissed at a moment's notice'.

A scheme such as this could not be taken up by even the most opportunist of nationalist leaders without seriously jeopardising their popular support. Already Bishop Abel Muzorewa has been caught in this vice. Relying on the possibility of a deal with Smith by virtue of the big

by ROY ALEXANDER

popular support for his United African National Congress in the country, he has had to stick to the principle of 'one man, one vote' (sic) in order to retain his following, but is thereby unable to make any headway in dealing with Smith.

As a result his organisation is in crisis: so many members of his executive have resigned — six, including his vice-president, a former chairman, and the deputy secretaries in charge of women's affairs, and defence and legal affairs — that he has had to dissolve it (thus producing another resignation).

Many of the defectors from Muzorewa are rumoured to be going over to the organisation of Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, another grouping committed to 'internal settlement', but with a much smaller mass base, and thus more prepared to compromise with the racists. But it seems unlikely that even Sithole could accept the sort of proposals van der Byl outlined.

On the part of the Patriotic Front — the joint organisation of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe which is leading the guerrilla struggle and has the backing of the front-line states — the response to the Anglo-American proposals has been equally negative. As with the Smith regime, the principal sticking point is the proposal for dissolution of their armed forces.

But this is for Nkomo basically a political problem: the guerrilla army is his political base, and its dissolution would pass the initiative to Muzorewa with his much greater domestic political following. There is every reason to believe that if guarantees were given on this score, Nkomo's wing of the Patriotic Front at least would be prepared to compromise.

Already his right-hand man Josiah Chinamano, fresh from accompanying Nkomo at discussions in London, told a Salisbury press conference that the Army and the police were 'delicate issues' which 'have to be negotiated, but our position is negotiable'.

In any event, a settlement in Zimbabwe is far from imminent. There is bound to be a lengthy process of manoeuvre and negotiation after the elections. But, as one leading businessman recently pointed out, the recent statements of all the major firms operating in Rhodesia paint a uniformly gloomy picture, which can only be transformed by 'an equally political settlement'.

The one thing all the protagonists in the current negotiations have in common is a desire to reach an agreement behind the backs of the Zimbabwean masses which will leave the interests of Rhodesian capitalism and imperialism substantially intact. The significance of any such 'settlement' will be what comes afterwards — when the masses themselves begin to speak.



Joshua Nkomo of the Patriotic Front: confusion reigns supreme.

US Mid East Initiative One step forward, two steps back

August was meant to see big steps forward in the US 'peace initiative' in the Middle East. But the net effect of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's diplomatic shuttle is to put the Americans back where they started. And the decision of the Palestine Liberation Organisation to maintain its opposition to UN Resolution 242 (recognising the existence of the Zionist state), though inevitable, has put the initiative back even further, writes RICHARD CARVER.

Anyone could have predicted these developments except the bourgeois press, infected as it is by the unbalanced optimism of the 'dynamic' young men in the White House.

US imperialism's latest foreign policy debacle is being master-minded by the President himself, on the advice of the National Security Adviser, an enigmatic-looking gentleman called Zbigniew Brzezinski who is long on clever phrases like 'the new world community' and 'technetronic age' but, by all accounts, rather short on practical ideas.

The present overtures to the Arab regimes in no way contradict the underlying aim of US imperialism, which is the strengthening of the Zionist state as its political, economic and military agent in the area.

Carter sees this as best achieved in the context of 'political stability'. Israel can envisage no settlement with the Palestinians. Stalemate, since the US will not break fundamentally with its Zionist ally.

Carter and his team were desperately hoping that last week's central committee meeting of the PLO would accept UN Security Council Resolution 242, even if only in an amended form. Then, they reasoned, with the PLO explicitly recognising Israel,



Munch, munch! Chomp, chomp! The 'big four' chew over the Middle East problem at a White House breakfast. From left to right: Carter, Brzezinski, Mondale and Vance.

Nevertheless, the Syrian involvement is not insignificant. The Syrian-backed Saïqa seems to be on the ascendant within the PLO, hardly surprising when you consider that the Syrian army in Lebanon now has almost total control over PLO activity. The Palestinian camps now retain only their small arms, and these are kept in stores rather than carried by individual militants.

Despite all the rhetoric about 'the Palestinian can never be without his gun', the entire PLO leadership, not just Saïqa, has fallen in line with the Syrian plan to 'play the Palestinian card' as its sole diplomatic asset.

PROTECTION

The PLO leaders have opted for the protection of the army which it was fighting only months ago rather than the alliance of the Palestinian and Lebanese masses which so nearly won the civil war.

But then the PLO had never understood its involvement in Lebanon as more than the protection of its camps. To do more would have been 'interference' in the affairs of an Arab regime.

The Syrians have come out with a lot of radical talk to woo their former enemies, but their aim remains the destruction of the PLO. If that happened US imperialism might stand a chance of success.

But it is a long way from the world of diplomatic manoeuvres to a change in the real relationship of social forces.

NUS protests Ukraine arrest

Some members of the National Union of Students Executive are preparing a campaign for the release of Andy Klymchuk, a student teacher from London arrested by the KGB on 1 August while on holiday in the Ukraine. He has been charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation' and 'participating in building an anti-Soviet organisation', 'crimes' which could carry penalties of 4 years' jail topped off with 10 years administrative exile.

According to Radyanska Ukraina (Soviet Ukraine), the KGB seized Andy Klymchuk because 'films with coded information and directives from one of the emigre centres of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism concerning the undertaking of hostile anti-Soviet acts' were found in his possession. This boils down to the charge that the British student was carrying written material hostile to the politics of the Soviet leadership.

Assuming that the charges are correct, there is likely to be a storm of protest from socialist and communist students in Britain since there is not a single organisation on the British left that advocates jailing people for carrying propaganda from one country to another.

Insofar as the Soviet authorities press home the charges the result will be to highlight in the most dramatic fashion the utterly reactionary character of the repressive laws in the USSR.

The arrest of Andy Klymchuk is probably part of a renewed campaign by the Soviet authorities against opposition forces in the Ukraine fighting for democratic and national rights in the USSR's second most important Republic.

The last big crackdown, in 1972, started with the arrest of a Belgian student whose confession was then used to smear hundreds of oppositionists with being linked to sinister foreign agencies.

All the evidence collected so far points to the conclusion that Klymchuk is not and never has been involved in political activity of any kind, English or Ukrainian.

His fellow students in Hull are reported to be shocked and bewildered by the charges which have been laid against him, and college officials have expressed disbelief about his possible involvement. This points to the likelihood that Andy Klymchuk has fallen victim to KGB provocation.

Discussions between NUS officials from Hull and various members of the executive, including Mick Antoniew, have resulted in a call for the formation of a committee for the release of Andy Klymchuk.

Representatives of student and other political organisations are being invited to a founding meeting of the committee that will take place at NUS headquarters in Eadsleigh Street on 5 September. More information can be obtained from Trevor Phillips, NUS, Eadsleigh Street, London.

VARIETY

Jimmy Carter has got his mentor's style down to a tee. 'I have to say that our own positions that have been spelled out in general terms deliberately are the ones we still espouse', he told *Time* in a recent foreign policy interview, which considering the infinite variety of Carter's statements on the Middle East, gets no-one very far.

Like his other adviser, Carter sees himself as all things to all men.

Cyrus Vance's Middle East mission was predominantly 'fact finding'. He learned nothing very new. The two salient facts in the Middle East are simple: the Zionist state can countenance no Palestinian state; the Palestinians can arrive at no settlement without one.

So the current US initiative, despite the apparent detente with the Arab regimes, adds up to only one thing: reconvene the Geneva conference, preferably with the PLO present.

Carter could hardly be more honest about where he intends to go from there: 'I can't anticipate now what our position would be'.

It is important to set the present moves in the context of the Geneva conference so as not to obscure a fundamental point.



Israel's Begin (left) and Cyrus Vance.

the latter would accept them at Geneva. Of course, Israel wouldn't, but nor was there any chance of the PLO changing the fundamentals of its position.

Syrian pressure is the conventional explanation for Yasser Arafat's rejection of the resolution and refusal to amend the Palestinian Charter. This ignores the fact that the PLO could never make such changes and remain the PLO. That is, it would be running against every aspiration of its social base.

Union action on South Africa

AT A MEETING in Geneva last month the trade union delegates to the International Labour Organisation — from organisations that include 200 million workers in 120 countries — adopted a tough resolution condemning the South African regime for 'making the African majority foreigners in their land'.

The resolution called on workers around the world to take industrial action against multinational firms who refused to deal with genuine black trade unions, and to organise 'a total boycott of air-planes, ships, rail and communications to and from South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia'.

It further urged Governments to stop public and private investment in South Africa by the withdrawal of credit guarantees and licences, to end emigration and tourism, and to increase support to the liberation movements.

The problem with this resolution — like similar statements in the past — is that it will remain a dead letter unless militants at the base of the unions start to make preparations for its implementation. It is with this aim in mind that the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain

has called for a trade union week of action for the early part of the new year, and has started propagandising and building for trade union action within the British workers movement.

This is a move which deserves the broadest support by socialists and trade union militants in this country, and hopefully will be taken up by the anti-apartheid movement in other countries.

* While the ruling South African Nationalist Party has been discussing a new scheme to extend the phony 'representative' bodies of the coloured and Asian communities, the real face of the regime was shown in the sentencing of black Soweto student leader Paul Langa to 30 years imprisonment on a trumped-up charge of 'terrorism'.

The fight to free Langa — and other victims of racist repression, like the Pretoria 12, similarly charged with terrorism for their alleged connection with the banned African National Congress — must be one of the main aims of the anti-apartheid movement in the coming months, and a central demand in the forthcoming trade union week of action.



A picket of the Sri Lanka High Commission was organised by Sri Lankan Tamils in Britain. They were protesting against the wave of communal rioting which has swept the island since the recent electoral victory of the 'Uncle-Nephew Party'.

Tamil leaders here claim that over 2000 Tamils have been killed and 100,000 made homeless in the recent riots.

Tamils in Sri Lanka have always been treated as an inferior caste by the majority community of Sinhala speaking Buddhists. The Tamils, who number 3.5m. out of a population of 13.5m. are now demanding a separate Tamil state in the northern part of the country to be called Eelam.

It was Bandaranaike's SLFP which, when in power, carried out racist measures and pandered to the strong communalism in the country. The left parties failed to wage any serious campaign to defend Tamil rights. The right-wing victory obviously fuelled anti-Tamil feelings, though Government sources allege that the rioting was begun by Bandaranaike's defeated followers to embarrass the new regime.

IN BRIEF

PORTUGAL: Prime Minister Soares has announced an austerity budget which includes many price rises and an increase in unemployment. Companies facing economic difficulties will be allowed to suspend their working contracts with the unions, cut wages and sack workers.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Government has reacted to a three week school boycott in Soweto against Bantu education by closing down forty secondary schools which are to be reopened as Government schools. This will give the Government direct control over enrolment and staffing.

BRAZIL: In a renewal of political confrontation in Sao Paulo, the student movement has forced the Government to release all but two of 197 people arrested in recent demonstrations.

USA: The position of the American Indian has worsened since the inauguration of the Carter Administration, according to an American Indian submission to the UN, dealing with discrimination against Indians in prison. The proportion of Indians in prison is four times as great as blacks. The average life expectancy of the American Indian man is 44 years — 20 years less than a black.

URUGUAY: Uruguay is the country with the highest proportion of political prisoners, according to a British representative at the UN. One in every 600 Uruguayans is a political prisoner, 400,000 out



Uruguayan prisoner on the caballete, a sharp iron bar which naked prisoners are forced to straddle for hours, with their feet dangling and hands cuffed.

of a population of 3 million have emigrated since 1973. And they are unlikely to be attracted back by the military regime's vague promises of elections in 1981.

CHINA: Hsieh Yu-chen has been proclaimed China's champion rail ticket clerk, for issuing 630,000 tickets without a mistake. According to the New China News Agency, she was inspired by the fall of the 'gang of four'.

LATE CAPITALISM: Marvin Mandel, Spiro Agnew's successor as Governor of Maryland, has been convicted on charges of political corruption.

SPAIN: The issue at stake in last month's 'strike' by bread proprietors was their attempt to introduce the '700 gramme kilogramme' — reducing weight by 30 per cent — as a covert price rise. After the 700 gramme kilo, suggested one Spanish paper, why not the 700 metre kilometre? That would substantially reduce transport costs which, in turn, would allow the bread proprietors to reduce their prices!

PHOTO: MORNING STAR

Spanish far left

1. PTE: 'A true party of government'



For the far left in Italy the elections of 20 June 1976 marked the point when the crisis it had been nursing beneath its skin broke out into an open sore. It will be no surprise if the Spanish elections of 15 June 1977 have a similar effect.

Nowhere is there the deep organisational crisis which marks the Italian left, but already there are signs of a deep-going crisis of perspectives. RICHARD CARVER begins a series on the Spanish far left with a look at the Partido del Trabajo de España (Labour Party of Spain).

WE CAN only guess at the confusion in the ranks of the PTE (Labour Party of Spain), when, at the outset of the election campaign, the Party's general secretary appeared at his press conference in a new suit to announce that the PTE, still illegal at the time, was a 'true party of government'.

He meant it. He carried on to explain how many seats the party was going to win — 'at least ten in Catalonia' — and to condemn 'those who have demanded that we declare ourselves explicitly Republican and that we propose the nationalisation of the Bank and the expulsion of the Americans from Spain.'

That set the tone for the whole campaign, vindicating the party's

claim that 'the PTE does not consider itself to the left of the Communist Party of Spain.' The Spanish electorate — or a small portion of it — was treated to the sort of chatter about alliances with the 'democratic' bourgeoisie which is reasonable in the mouths of the mass reformist parties, but coming from the PTE is little more than laughable.

SEATS

In the event their dozens of seats never materialised. They got one, in fact. And that was not a party member but a leader of the bourgeois Esquerra, with whom the PTE teamed up in Catalonia. After the PTE had done all the leg work to get Heriberto Barrera

Casta, a notorious anti-communist, elected, the Esquerra turned round the day after the election and severed all links with its erstwhile electoral machine.

WHAT NEXT?

So, for the PTE, the question which confronts the whole of the Spanish left is posed with particular poignancy. What next?

The PTE is the largest of the far left organisations by a long way. It is hard to estimate its exact size — the Spanish left is very reticent about numbers, except when they are lying — but it probably has some 20,000 members.

Born out of a pro-Peking split in the Communist Party in the mid-60s, the party has outgrown its earlier role as the shadow of its parent organisation, though not its adherence to Maoism. For example, it has followed the recent twists and turns in the fortunes of Teng Hsiao-ping and the 'gang of four' with greater fidelity than the ORT (Revolutionary Workers Organisation), generally reckoned to be the 'official' Maoist party. Both groups have formal links



General Secretary Garcia Castro: 'jealousies and obscurantist sectarianisms'.

with the Chinese Communist Party. A rapprochement between the two seemed likely last year, until unity negotiations were broken off for reasons which probably fall outside the realm of politics.

Repeatedly in recent months one or other party has approached the other for talks — always studiously leaked to the press — only to be rebuffed. Politically there would hardly seem any barrier to fusion if the jealousies and obscurantist sectarianisms of the two leaderships are overcome.

The PTE now seems to tie its future almost exclusively to its front organisations, of which there are many: for women, in the neighbourhoods, in the army, among the youth and, most importantly, the party union federation. With the exception of the union, which is rather a different case, the only success has been the Democratic Soldiers Association.

But here, as in all the other

Free Apala

by CHRISO'BRIEN

Support is growing in Spain for the movement to free Miguel Angel Apalategui — 'Apala' — the Basque nationalist held in France and threatened with extradition. Apala is wanted for alleged involvement in the killing of a Basque industrialist earlier this year.

Last week saw almost continuous demonstrations in San Sebastian, which were marked by the utmost brutality on the part of

the Spanish police. In line with their support for law and order Suarez-style, the main workers parties, the Socialist and Communist Parties, have refused support to the 'Free Apala' movement.

Thirteen political prisoners in Carabanchel, in Madrid, and Martutene, in San Sebastian, have gone on hunger strike to demand Apala's release, incidentally giving the lie to the Suarez Government's claims to have released all political prisoners.

fronts, any gains are marred by the PTE's sectarianism. They refuse any collaboration or joint action with the other rank and file movement in the army, the Soldiers Committees set up by the Trotskyists, and seem to be building the walls of yet another ghetto. The soldiers movement is not so strong that it can afford such criminal wastefulness.

As soon as they manage to draw support from wider than the ranks of the party itself there is nothing but trouble. The women's organisation in Catalonia, for example, put up strong resistance when the PTE tried to pack the (non-elected) steering committee and the party was forced to back down. And all this in a situation where the chronic weakness of the women's movement is its division.

UNIONS

The CSUT — the Confederation of Unitary Workers' Trade Unions — has been the PTE's most successful venture and it is there that it pins its future. Originally a joint project with the ORT in the period of rapprochement, the Unitary Trade Union split as the parties drifted apart!

The purpose of the CSUT belies its name. Far from being 'unitary', it was set up as an alternative to the major union federations. It is only its right wing line which prevents the designation 'red union'.

CHOICE

Nevertheless, the CSUT has managed to recruit, particularly in the building industry and among the peasants of Andalusia, and now has some 90,000 members. At the moment many workers regard the CSUT as a serious project, if only because none of the unions are mass organisations in the sense we understand it in Britain.

But, as mass unionisation grows, the political space for a small Maoist union will disappear. Its leaders, nobody's fools, probably recognise this. Already it is an open secret that the UGT, the Socialist union, has made overtures to the CSUT, which intends to create a role for itself by playing hard to get for a few months.

Then there comes a stark choice — integration into one of the major unions or relegation to the status of the other front organisations. It is a question to which the PTE has no answer.

mation of the peasants with the anti-nuclear struggle. Support from Germany, Switzerland and Belgium was welcomed and firm stewarding was seen as the answer to events such as Malville.

DEBATE

As the debate rages in Paris over the 'Common Programme' between the Socialists and the PCF, it becomes evident that the left has received willy-nilly a certain fillip from the events at Larzac. Equally sure is it that Giscard received a little shiver from the South: the 'children of Marx and coca-cola' may well be coming of age.

* The last month has seen extensive public discussion of many of the issues of the Common Programme, throwing the future of the 'Union of the Left' into question. Next week we will give full coverage to this debate.

Gardarem Lou Larzac We'll keep Larzac

After the brutal attack on anti-nuclear protestors at Malville and in the light of the developments in the autonomist and anti-militarist movements, the meetings and demonstration on the Larzac plateau show up some interesting features of the class struggle in France as the Giscard regime crawls towards the 1978 elections. RONAN BRADY was there.

The Larzac is situated on the southernmost tip of the Massif Central. Dry and rocky sheep-shearing land, it is dominated by the military camp at La Cavalerie. This is the central pivot of the army's southern chain of command. In 1970 the Government announced the expansion of the camp from 3,000 hectares to 17,000. Although only 5,000 have been so far acquired, 540 people have been made homeless.

But the opposition to these evictions has resulted in the coalition of many different struggles in the past 7 years. First of all it must be understood that French farmers' cooperatives are more often scenes of serious political discussion than in many other countries. This political ferment has resulted in the formation of openly socialist peasant groups, such as 'Vivre et Travailler sur la Terre' (To live and work on the land).

SOLDIERS

The growth of the Soldiers' Committees has also been outstanding. Rank-and-file militants have built up a quasi-syndical underground structure within the conscript army. In spite of imprisonment and heavy-handed discipline by the army chiefs over the past year, we saw at Larzac that these committees were growing.

At a mass meeting on the night of Saturday 13 August we heard delegates from all over France testify to this growth. Indeed at the head of the following day's march on the tractors of the Larzac peasants, rode 15 uniformed members of the soldiers' committee belonging to the regiment then stationed at Larzac.

camp in Sunday saw only a lonely army helicopter to remind them of France's military might. This must have been of interest to the leadership of the French Communist Party (PCF). This party justified its absence by complaining of the danger of police harassment after the amalgamation of 'the problem of Larzac with that of nuclear energy' — this from a party which supports Giscard's energy policy.

However the heat generated in a non-nuclear fashion at Malville some weeks earlier left its mark on the demonstration. The local prefect felt unable to ban the march although it was to go over jealously-guarded army territory. The struggle has received too much support over the years for this to be tried.

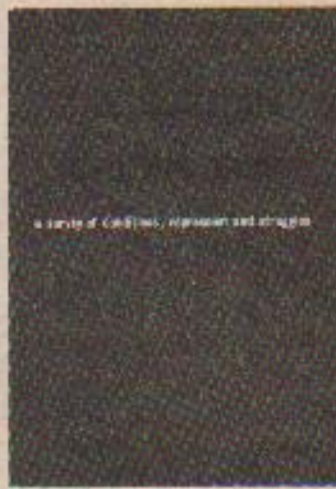
The human wave of 40,000-50,000 which appeared on the

For the militants at Larzac the principal task was the coordination of the farmers' struggle with these other issues. Unlike the PCF they didn't fear the amalga-



The gentleman on the right is Edward Gierak, first secretary of the Polish Workers Party. The friend he is greeting so enthusiastically is the Shah of Iran, mass murderer and self-proclaimed bulwark against communism, who was on an official visit to Warsaw last week.

Talks centred on an agreement for Iran to supply Poland with oil. Poland has already bought 400,000 metric tons of Iranian oil this year. The reason for this sudden enthusiasm for Iran is an instruction from the USSR, the main oil supplier of the East European countries, to seek alternative sources. So the Shah has been touring the East European capitals cashing in.



New pamphlet on the conditions, repression and struggles of the Iranian working class. Detailed information on living standards, Labour Laws etc. From Committee Against Repression in Iran, Box 4, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1. Price 30p plus 10p p&p. 33 per cent reductions for bulk orders: write for details.

8, 9, 10 & 11 September

The dates to remember for the first

MARXIST SYMPOSIUM

Preparations for the Marxist Symposium sponsored by Socialist Challenge are in full swing. It will take place on 8, 9, 10, and 11 September.

Details were published in preceding issues of the newspaper, but there have been further additions to the agenda. Ernesto Laclau will be introducing a discussion on Fascism on 10 September as part of a panel with Julian Atkinson and Robin Blackburn, and the concluding round-table discussion on 11 September will be on 'Our Democracy and Theirs'.

The completed agenda is as follows:

- DAY ONE: Women, Capitalism and the Family;
- DAY TWO: The Originality of Trotskyism (Robin Blackburn) and Trotskyism and Revolution (Geoff Roberts/CP, Geoff Hodgson/LP, Paul Thompson/Big Flame, question and debate with Ernest Mandel).
- DAY THREE: 'Late Capitalism' and its Critics (David Yaffe, Bob Rowthorn, Ian Gough; Reply by Ernest Mandel). Gramsci and Eurocommunism (Quintin Hoare).
- 'Illustrious Corpses' — film by Francesco Rosi at The Other Cinema at 8.45pm. (A benefit for and new film on Socialist Challenge. Tickets £1.50)
- Seminar on Fascism (Ernesto Laclau, Julian Atkinson, Robin Blackburn) at 7pm.
- DAY FOUR: Lenin, Trotsky and the Party (Norman Geras). Our Democracy and Theirs (Round-Table discussion).

On Friday 9 September at 7.30pm: Socialist Strategy for Western Europe (Debate between Ernest Mandel [Fourth International] and Monty Johnstone [CP]) at St. Pancras Assembly Rooms. No extra cost for Symposium participants. Non-participants 75p.

I wish to register for the Marxist Symposium to be held at the LSE, Houghton Street, WC1 between 8-11 September. [Tickets for 'Illustrious Corpses' at Symposium or on the door of The Other Cinema.]

NAME

ADDRESS

Amount enclosed
Rates: £5.00 for entire symposium and CP/PI debate; rate per day £1.50.

There is an alternative to nuclear power

Arthur Scargill

(Arthur Scargill's testimony to the Windscale Inquiry has been abbreviated slightly for reasons of space.)

I am here as a result of the unanimous decision of the National Union of Mineworkers' Yorkshire Area Council and my views reflect the decision of 66,000 Yorkshire miners who are sponsors and co-founders of Energy 2000, which is an umbrella organisation developed to co-ordinate the efforts of the various anti-nuclear power groups which exist in Britain today.

The main argument for developing and extending the nuclear power programme in Britain is that it is essential, if we are to meet the energy demand of our nation, particularly between 1980 and the year 2000.

There has been considerable speculation about an 'energy gap' by the end of this century and it is also claimed that unless we can continue to extend our nuclear commitment, we shall fall behind the rest of the world in technical expertise.

I reject both these arguments whilst, at the same time, accepting there will be a continued increase in energy demand.

1. We have sufficient alternative fuel available to fill any energy gap which may develop in future years, provided the massive investment presently being pumped into nuclear energy is diverted into the alternative fuel industries.

2. We do not need to extend our nuclear energy programme from its present 12% of electricity generation to the anticipated 40% to keep pace technologically.

The argument of those who support the development of nuclear power is not for one experimental power station; it is for the widespread application of nuclear power through an extensive system of nuclear power stations.

I submit there is no need for a nuclear power programme to meet Britain's energy demand over the next 50 to 100 years. The evidence available, in my view, confirms that it would be a disaster for human life if the nuclear power programme is allowed to continue, develop and expand. I am sure it will be conceded that, provided we can meet the energy demands of Britain between now and the year 2000, any decision on the future development of nuclear power can be postponed without any detrimental effect — economically or technologically to Britain.

The many and varied reasons for opposition to nuclear power from a safety point of view will be ventilated by other expert witnesses and it does not require me to give evidence on this matter.

I will confine my evidence to demonstrate to this inquiry that we have the energy to meet all our demands in Britain over the next 50 to 100 years whilst we develop new sources of energy, in particular solar power which, I firmly believe, is the energy of the future. I will only refer to nuclear power, therefore, insofar as it is directly connected with the point I am making because other witnesses will be dealing, in depth, with the various safety aspects.



The photograph above shows how nuclear power stations were defended in West Germany, when 55,000 people marched against it earlier this year. Similar demonstrations took place in France a few weeks ago and in Australia last week over 50,000 marched against the Fraser government's decision to mine uranium for export. Similar developments can be expected in Britain if government policy remains unchanged.

In considering future energy demand in Britain, it is essential to deal with it in two parts.

1. To analyse present energy consumption and, also, the historical development of energy demand since the second world war and project on the basis of all available evidence, the expected minimum and maximum demand between now and the year 2000 and into the second half of the 21st century.

2. It is then essential to examine the energy resources we have available to see if we can meet this projected demand.

Energy Consumption

In 1976, the total energy consumed in Britain, was 324.7 million tons of coal equivalent. If

we anticipate an annual uninterrupted growth rate in energy consumption of 2% per annum it will result in an annual consumption rate, by the year 2000 of 522.24 million tons of coal equivalent.

I think it is necessary to state, quite firmly, that the total energy demand between now and the year 2000 could, if there is a will and determination to do so, be met by the coal mining industry and other indigenous fuels, particularly oil and natural gas.

It is true that the level of output in the year ending March 1977 in the coal industry was 118.9 million tons out of a total of 324.7 million tons of energy demand. It is important to remember, however, that as

recently as 1959, Britain was producing over 200 million tons of coal. We should not forget that the coal mining industry at this time was an industry with out of date equipment when compared with the sophisticated techniques now employed. It was also a period which saw widespread pit closures and the reversal of policy as far as the National Coal Board and Government were concerned.

In 1957 the coal industry produced 223.6 million tons and, during the following year, we witnessed a rapid decline in terms of coal production, the number of collieries operating and manpower employed. If the Coal Board produced the same amount today as was produced in

1957, it would be sufficient to meet the expected energy gap between now and the year 2000.

In the period when total production fell from 223.6 million tons to 118.9 million tons, output per manshift rocketed from 24.9 cwt. to 43.6 cwt. in March 1977.

There are sufficient coal reserves based on current consumption rates to last for a minimum of 300 years and, most probably, well over 600 years. If one takes into account the vast unclassified coal reserves that exist in Britain today, the total could be higher.

It can be seen from this that if we were to increase coal production from its present level to

approximately 250 million tons per year, we would be able to supply, on the basis of the projection of 2% annual growth in energy consumption, 50% of our energy needs by the year 2000.

I recognise that there are many other forms of energy which can, and must, play their part in the energy requirements of Britain and I also recognise that you cannot turn the coal mining industry on like a tap.

There has been criminal neglect in terms of investment in the British coal industry and the effect of this was felt most severely in the period 1974/75/76 when the oil crisis literally doubled Britain's balance of payments overnight.

The overwhelming need, however, is for a planned energy programme which recognises the part each fuel industry has to play in the overall energy pattern for Britain during the course of the next 50-100 years.

There has to be synonymous development in the market for coal sales. The production of coal, and power station development, must correspond to the kind of plan I have outlined to this Inquiry.

In overall terms I see the demand for energy by 1980 being in the region of 351 million tons of coal equivalent.

With proper investment there is no reason why the coal industry should not produce 170 million tons by this time.

This means there should be no pit closures. This will preserve jobs at a time when we have 1.6 million people without work.

We should, by 1980, be able to produce 100 million tons of oil, 80 million tons of gas, and 2 million tons of hydro-electricity, which would meet the energy demand.

The significant feature of this projection is that it completely eliminates the need for any nuclear energy whatsoever, and I am firmly of the view that consideration should be given to terminating the nuclear programme, and phasing the present stations out.

By the year 2000, I estimate that the 525 million tons required can be supplied in the following way:—

Coal	250m. tons
Oil	120m. tons coal equivalent
Gas	100m. "do"
Solar	25m. "do"
Hydro-Electricity	5m. "do"
Wind, wave, tide, geothermal (with proper investment)	25m. tons coal equivalent

In other words we can supply all the energy we require without having to resort to nuclear power generation. There is a built-in guarantee insofar as coal could account for more than the projected 250 million tons if any of the other sources of energy fail to produce what is indicated; or if we decide we want to lower the consumption rate on oil and/or gas in order to preserve them over a longer period.

It should be remembered that, even with an annual production rate of 300 million tons of coal per year we have sufficient reserves on a conservative estimate for well in excess of 200 years.

The cost of this programme is something which can be predicted with reasonable accuracy — unlike the cost of a nuclear power programme, which has to take into account the associated costs of waste disposal, armed personnel to protect the plutonium, and nuclear waste, and the massive research and development programme over many years.

Zionism and the CP

I CAN ONLY assume that H.M. El-Ghanem, the author of the letter published in your columns on 4 August, is unaware of the Communist Party's attitude to the PLO, or the PLO's appreciation of our Party's relation to them, despite the fact that in signing the letter he described himself as a member of the Executive Committee, General Union of Palestinian Students in the UK and Ireland.

There is no reason for anyone who looked up the record to be unclear of our policy towards the PLO. We have always recognised the PLO as the only body entitled to speak on behalf of and to represent the Palestinians. A representative of the PLO was a fraternal delegate to, and addressed, our last Congress in November 1975.

Comrade Said Hammami, on behalf of the Executive Com-

mittee of the PLO, said that his presence at the Congress was of great significance, because the British Communist Party was the first political party in Britain to invite the PLO to attend a conference and give a platform to its representative to speak. He brought a personal message to the Congress from Yasser Arafat.

As for Fred Halliday's article on Zionism and racism, I too think that it is a well argued one.

I would merely add that if H.M. El-Ghanem were to look up a pamphlet I wrote in 1967, 'The Middle East - Crisis, Causes, Solution', published by the Communist Party, he would find that Fred Halliday's presentation of the issue is very similar to the view expressed in that pamphlet ten years ago.

BERT RAMELSON (CPGB, 18 King Street, WC2).

Zionism and Racism

IN RELATION to the debate on whether or not Zionists should be allowed a platform, I would like to take up some of the points made by H.M. El-Ghanem (Socialist Challenge, 4 July).

El-Ghanem asserts that 'as far as the PLO and the Palestinian struggle is concerned, all Communist Parties, including the Israeli CP (Rakah), have a clear policy'. They certainly do have a clear policy - one which is opposed to the abolition of the Zionist state and in favour of a deal between Israel and the present Arab regimes along the lines of the Security Council Resolution 242.

When I was in Israel some years ago I personally witnessed the not altogether exhilarating spectacle of a Rakah-dominated march in which the mainly Arab participants were carrying Israeli flags (no doubt part of the 'Israeli road to socialism'). So much for a clear policy! This does not of course detract from the courageous day-to-day struggles waged by Rakah members against the occupation, for the rights of the Arab population and so on.

Moreover, Zionism did not, as he alleges, develop at the universities and higher education colleges in Europe and the USA (rumours about a Zionist plot at North London Poly notwithstanding). It was born among the im- arished and persecuted Jews in the ghettos of Eastern Europe. Ignorance has never been a weapon of liberation.

El-Ghanem not only distorts Fred Halliday's argument (Halliday was at pains to point out that by Israeli he referred not to the Jews of the whole world -

how can Jews in Britain or the US be regarded as Israelis? - but to the Jewish population of the State of Israel), but calls, in effect, for the expulsion of those Israeli Jews who are not 'indigenous', i.e. those who were born after 1948.

This is a somewhat curious definition of 'indigenous' which implies that Begin, who was born in Poland, is more 'indigenous' than an Israeli child born yesterday or today. Far more serious is the fact that he speaks of a new state in which all the indigenous people of the land would live together, having characterised the indigenous people as 'those living in Palestine before the creation of Israel'. This is simply racism. Admittedly, it is only ideological racism, as opposed to the real, concrete, everyday racism of the Zionist state, but it is racism nonetheless.

The problem is to ensure the integration of the new Israeli nation created by Zionism into the Arab world. This is Zionism's Achilles heel: it has brought the nation into existence, but it impairs that nation's survival by its policies. Only by breaking with Zionism can the Israelis secure peace, but that break itself can only come about if they are convinced that their rights, as individuals and as a nation, will be respected. The Jews themselves are the best examples of how the oppressed can turn into oppressors - this is surely something we ought to learn from the experience of Zionism.

ALAN ADLER (West London)

details of 'manoeuvres and expulsions in political groups'.

Well, I can certainly give details of such manoeuvres, but there wouldn't be much point sending them to Anarchist Worker - the group concerned was the AWA, and the bloke who made that appeal was one of those who did the expelling.

Come to think of it, I'm not sure if there's much point writing to Socialist Challenge. You have a connection, admittedly tenuous, with these manoeuvres and expulsions.

Those who were expelled objected to the organisation orienting itself, as they saw it, towards 'middle class Marxist intellectuals' instead of towards 'ordinary workers'.

Those who did the expelling adopted policies similar to those of the IMG in some respects, and decided to 'consider participation in Socialist Challenge'.

The May 77 conference of the AWA at which these events took place was poorly attended. There was no hint that an expulsion motion was to be put, but members of the 'Programme Tendency' - which the previous year had been the 'Minority Tendency' (and was not expelled) - came prepared to expel

Anarchists and internal democracy

I'M WRITING to you for three reasons:

1. Because I've got something to say which may interest your readers;
2. Because, while having major political disagreements with you, I share your view that 'internal democracy' and the 'right to organise factions and tendencies' is vitally necessary for revolutionary organisation, and
3. Because it could be a few months before I have a better forum for what I have to say.

As you probably know, the Anarchist Workers Association recently split. This was a small affair compared to the other recent changes in the left, but significant nevertheless.

The 7 September issue of Anarchist Worker carried an appeal for readers to send in

ISAAC DEUTSCHER, who died ten years ago, appears as one of the most important Marxist authors in the second half of our century. The more time passes, the clearer his importance and merits become and the more the inarticulencies of some of his political positions fade into the background.

Deutscher, like so many other socialists of the tragic thirties and early forties did not succeed in solving on a personal level the basic contradictory task of that period of deep historic defeats of world revolution and the deep decline of proletarian class consciousness. This was the task of maintaining organised revolutionary activity when the immediate political efficiency of that activity was extremely reduced and when, in the best of cases, one could only hope that the unbroken continuity of the revolutionary organisation would later to bear fruits at a much later date.

He understood the premises far better than most, probably even better than Trotsky himself. But this led him to dismiss wrongly the proposition itself. That is why, after a courageous and coherent fight for the ideas of the Left Opposition inside the Polish CP and, after his expulsion, for the building of a Trotskyist movement in Poland, he took his stand against the formal founding of the Fourth International at the 1938 conference. His position rapidly evolved to the point where he thought that all the Old Man's efforts in the Thirties to build the FI had been a waste of time and that he would have done better in just concentrating on writing books. That is what Deutscher himself did after his break with the FI.

Today it is evident that, in spite of the long weakness and stagnation of the FI, Deutscher was mistaken. Without Trotsky's party-building efforts in the Thirties, without the enrichment of contemporary Marxist politics and programmes resulting from the active participation of organised revolutionaries in all the tumultuous mass struggles of the Thirties, the Forties and the Fifties throughout the world, without the basic internationalist and program-

matic cohesion which the creation of the FI gave to these revolutionaries, without the patient, obstinate efforts of training cadres in that political and organisational framework, the conditions for a new upsurge of the movement which emerged in the late Sixties could not have been exploited. The growth of the world Trotskyist movement which is a reality acknowledged by both the Stalinists and the social democracy as well as the ruling classes, would have been obstructed by a tremendous handicap.

It is true that under conditions of prolonged stagnation and isolation, the losses through sectarian in-fighting, rigid factionalism, and senseless splits were doomed to play an important part. Deutscher, who had no use for this type of activity, saw these weaknesses as a further justification for abandoning party building. But if the balance sheet is drawn today we have no

Mandel on Deutscher

doubt that without the existence of the FI the dispersal of active militants, theoretical practice and disposable revolutionary energies would have been considerably higher.

Towards the end of his life, Deutscher led the coming change and drew nearer again to our movement. He used to say that the FI was starting to get out of the tunnel into a landscape where it could finally display its potential strength. His active involvement in the defence of the Vietnamese revolution against US imperialism, an involvement which culminated in his leading role in the Russell Tribunal, brought him closer to the day-to-day activities of the FI, which too, played a vital role in the fight against the Vietnam war as a global scale. We have no doubt that he would have been proud of the role of the French comrades in helping to trigger off the explosion of May 68 in France.

The evolution of the USSR after the beginning of the Sino-Soviet conflict and the fall of Khrushchev led him to abandon most of the defenses in a self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy which he had nurtured in the Fifties. This again brought his closer to Trotsky's thesis on the need for a new political revolution in the USSR, to end what he described as 'the unfinished revolution'.

However, regardless of his subsequent evolution, which made his death an even bigger loss for us because if he had re-joined the movement it would have been a tremendous gain, the overall balance sheet of his literary work is immensely positive. One can say without hesitation that no other book has brought so many people to break with Stalinism and to move towards Trotskyism on a world scale in the Fifties and Sixties as his monumental three-volume biography of Trotsky. Even today this widely-acclaimed and read scholarly account of the Russian Marxist movement from its beginning of the century till the end of Trotsky by Stalin, remains a powerful weapon against Stalinist and bourgeois mystifications and falsifications of history. His writings on many other subjects ('The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays', 'Ironies of History', etc.) show a powerful analytical mind at work with that irreplaceable analytical tool - the method of Marxism.

Today we must mourn the fact that comrade Deutscher is no more among us to contribute with his outstanding knowledge, experience and intelligence, to a Marxist analysis of what occurred and changed in the world during the last ten years. We honour his memory by acknowledging the important contribution he made, also in his own way, to the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in our time and the first emanation of the word proletariat and all of mankind.

ERNEST MANDEL (Brussels) August 1977

This tribute was delayed in the post and missed our copy date for the previous issue.

Lewisham lessons

Six comrades from Bath Socialist Unity Group were present at the Lewisham demonstration of 13 August. In the light of our experiences on that day we would like to raise the following points.

1. We applaud the organisation and effectiveness of the diverse elements united under the Socialist Challenge banner. This group held Chilton Rise in well-ordered ranks, and, [despite contrary reports in the press] waited with restraint until the stewards were certain of the fascists' movements.

Our march down New Cross Road was conducted in an exemplary manner, with our

united weight and momentum enabling us to breach the police cordon and inflict a severe defeat on the Front. It should be noted that this collective action, carried out by a united and tightly packed body enabled this victory to be achieved without recourse to the individual actions in which knives, etc. were later used.

2. The major problem arose after this initial success, with the almost complete failure to regroup the formation which had proved so effective. By the time we arrived in Lewisham High Street, our collective action had been reduced to individual groups fighting small and pointless actions against the police [who were by this time fighting viciously to regain 'control of the streets']. These localised actions were doubly futile because the Front march had been forced

to disperse and, secondly, even if the fascists had still been marching, we could never have broken through to them as disorganised individuals.

A successful regroupment would have helped to solve both these problems. This formation would have been further strengthened by making sure that our heavies were at the front of the column (and not us 5'2" weaklings!) All-in-all we consider the demo to have been highly successful; our comments are aimed primarily at drawing attention to the organisational defects that were shown up at the same time.

BATH SOCIALIST UNITY GROUP

* The Group meets every Monday at 7.30pm in the Ring of Bells pub, Wildcombe, Bath. We are active in a wide range of campaigns and activities, and all socialists united on a broad class struggle line are most welcome.

Spanish Anarchism

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE sometimes gives full-page coverage to events in Spain. However, what seems surprising is your total (except for a passing mention in an article on the Roca strike) lack of coverage of the growth of the Confederation Nacional del Trabajo (National Workers Confederation - CNT), the anarcho-syndicalist union that had the allegiance of millions of Spanish workers up to the victory of Franco.

The first public meeting of the CNT (in Madrid) was attended by over 25,000 people. This was followed by meetings in Valencia (40,000), Barcelona (200,000) and a recent International Festival called by the Catalan CNT attended by 500,000 people (figures based on number of tickets sold).

We know you have deep criticisms of anarcho-syndicalism. This should not be allowed to result in a clamp-down on reportage of the CNT.

We ourselves, as libertarian communists, have criticisms to make of syndicalism and its variant, anarcho-syndicalism.

This doesn't prevent us from seeing the growth of the CNT as an important event for the Spanish and international working class.

The CNT has given full support to the strikes at Roca, Barcelona docks, Madrid building sites, and Eurostil. A libertarian communist current, with strong criticisms of the Old Federation Anarquista Iberica and classical syndicalism, is developing within the CNT. The development of a body of revolutionaries inside the Spanish working class, fighting for workers' autonomy, self-management of struggle and society and direct action should be a source of inspiration to all those on the left not blinkered by sectarianism.

Socialist Challenge has a duty to these comrades to supply them with information on all aspects of Spanish working class struggle.

NICK HEATH (London Anarchist Workers Association)

PCI and the Labour Party

THERE IS considerable lack of clarity in that part of Richard Carver's article on the far left in Italy which deals with Big Flame. The point that he seems to be making is that our mistaken relationship to the Labour Party (which is a tactical one) is on the same lines as Lotta Continua's failure to see the Italian Communist Party (PCI) as an 'independent organisation of the working class'.

I haven't got the space to develop a scientific characterisation of the PCI. Perry Anderson, for instance, has decided that they are 'centrist'. But I do not find convincing an argument that puts the PCI and the Labour Party in the same category. It may well be that in time, the PCI enters government and its position in Italian politics more and more comes to resemble that of the Labour Party today - but that is not the situation at the present time.

The hold the Eurocommunist PCI has over the sectors of the Italian working class its hegemonises is very different from the way the social-democratic Labour Party controls its working class followers. And this point is not countered by showing that at the level of their programmes, there is little difference.

One other point. Carver implies that Lotta Continua's (Big Flame's) failure to relate correctly to the PCI (the Labour Party) is the other side of the coin of its (our) spontaneism - the refusal to lead the spontaneous mass movement. There is no doubt that how to relate correctly to mass movements is one of the most difficult questions facing revolutionary organisations today and it would be stupid arrogance for Big Flame to claim that we had the final word on the subject. But this is not the same question as our relation to the Labour Party which we see as neither a mass movement nor as 'an independent organisation of the working class'.

PETER ANDERSON (Manchester Big Flame)

More on Ireland

WE IN the East London Troops Out Movement were concerned about Socialist Challenge's lack of coverage of news from Ireland. We were therefore pleased to see the '7 Days' column of the Red Weekly reappear in Socialist Challenge. We hope that this is not merely the result of popular demand for Socialist Challenge to include 'a bit on Ireland', but will reflect the general political programme.

Living as we do under a total media blackout on Ireland it is vital that the socialist press takes up the responsibility for reporting Irish news. However, we hope that if Socialist Challenge attempts to seriously report on Ireland it does not fall into the trap of separating Ireland from British politics. Many left papers have accepted this false division which the British ruling class itself fosters.

We welcome the fact that the last issue of Socialist Challenge pointed out that the repression of the nationalist population has increased massively since the April 'Loyalist strike'. It is important that such coverage continues and that the imperialist nature of events in the whole of Ireland be linked through your paper with the day to day struggles of the working class.

G. BROWN (E. London TOM)



by JANET MAGUIRE

I was about eight or nine when I first glued my backside to the seat in our sitting room in Morecambe to watch Coronation Street. Even now, 15 years later, the 'counter culture' of Lenin and Socialist Challenge have a habit of losing out if I am at home on Monday or Wednesday evening around half past seven.

For years I was fascinated by its 'realism'. In our streets we always had an Elsie Tanner around the corner and the shops were just like the one Concepta ran. Me and me mates felt a real sympathy with Lucille Hewitt, Dennis Tanner, Irma

Ogden and all those other youngsters who rebelled against the stifling atmosphere of their street.

After all Coronation Street spoke our language; it even had our Lancashire dialect, and it seemed to mirror our lives and

Mind your own business in the Street

that of the grown-ups that we knew.

No other series has ever been as successful in portraying working class characters and in exploiting the deep uncertainties felt by millions of ordinary people as they see traditional community life disintegrating before their eyes.

It is this combination of 'realism' and nostalgia that has made Coronation Street the longest-running series in the history of British TV.

Although the characters are working class, they are seen through the prejudices of middle class script writers. Stan Ogden is a caricature of the unemployed, lazy indolent and stupid. Thus unemployment is not a social thing but is a form of delinquency.

HAIR CURLERS

Hilda Ogden — that female Andy Capp with hair-curlers — is an object of ridicule. Like a lot of working class women of her age, she is lonely, her kids have left her, her sex life is non-existent, and seeing no hope of change she seeks company in gossip.

When politics appear they do so in the shape of Alf Roberts the Labour councillor, whose only political activity seems to be

doing favours for the customers of the Rovers Return. His constituents are passive — they never discuss how he should vote about cuts in schools, hospitals and housing. Just now a brewery strike is causing chaos for the regulars at the Rovers Return, so the local 'intellectual', Ken Barlow, mutters words of wisdom about 'the more obscure the issue the longer the strike is likely to last...'

Whenever someone rebels against the Street and its values you know that it is almost certain they are going to leave the series. It took me a long time to cotton on that the Lucilles and the Irmas, whom I sympathised with, were not going to change anything.

They were written out and despatched to some candy-floss land like London or Australia. The other youngsters like Deirdre and Ray Langton who had their kick-back, succumbed in due time, and quietly became younger versions of Len Fairclough and Ena Sharples.

Elsie Tanner, the Street's woman of the world, has had at least three marriages and Christ knows how many affairs. All have ended in disaster, generally because she has set her sights on men 'above' her social status. After each failure she goes back to her place in the Street and the

Rovers Return.

Nobody can change the values of Coronation Street. Newcomers are either assimilated or they go away. This is the old community where the door is never on the latch. The Street is a secure oasis of terraced houses, where you all know your neighbours. What few coppers are around are nothing like the ones that tried to knock our heads in outside Grunwick.

SUBSERVIENCE

There are no West Indians or Asians. It is a regulated, unchanging world of working class subservience. Its message is loud and clear: as long as the working class stays with its own and does not get involved in things which do not concern it, everything will be all right.

Despite the fact that it gets the accents right, and often astutely focusses on both the problems and bigotry of working people — particularly the self-employed, the publican and shop assistants who make up most of its cast — it never credits working people with any ability to change their lives.

But then why should it? The picture of a rather quaint, passive and essentially patriotic working class is pleasing and reassuring to our betters.

Missing link

by STEVE POTTER

'Simplifying greatly, we can say that in the West, Marxism has become a purely cultural and academic phenomenon; while in the East, revolutionary processes developed in an ambience too retarded to permit a realisation of socialism, and hence inevitably found expression in non-Marxist ideas and traditions.'

This passage from an interview with the Italian Marxist Lucio Colletti sums up neatly the reason why New Left Books have decided to produce a critical reader on Western Marxism.

There are undoubtedly other motives. The book will be valuable to those seeking precise critical summaries of the positions of theorists including Lukacs, Horkheimer and Marcuse of the 'Frankfurt school', Gramsci, Sartre, Althusser and Della Volpe. In particular it contains that rare thing in such books — an index.

But the book is also part of a consolidation of a systematic critique of the positions advanced by the majority of the radical left in the 1960s. The majority of the articles appeared in *New Left Review* from 1970 onwards. The notably uncritical articles, Gorz on Sartre and John Merrington on Gramsci, precede that date.

Gorz's vigorous defence of Sartre is equally vigorously rebutted by Ronald Aronson. However, there is no such critique of Gramsci's work, or reply to John Merrington's article, the tone and content of which (it was written in 1968) will be familiar to most readers of *Marxism Today* in its categorical rejection of Trotsky and Luxemburg.

Given the pre-eminence of Gramsci in the pantheon of 'Western Marxism', the book is therefore curiously imbalanced as a critical reader. This is not to say that *NLR* has not carried such a critique of Gramsci. An essential complement to this book is Perry Anderson's article 'The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci' in *NLR* 100.

Another absence from the collection, as with Perry Anderson's book *Considerations on Western Marxism*, is a critical assessment of one important component of 'Western Marxism' — *NLR* itself. The fact is that such an article has yet to see the light of day.

* *Western Marxism: A Critical Reader*. Edited by New Left Review. Published by New Left Books at £3.50.

Tyndale — the back-stage drama

by TERRY ELLIS, ex-head Tyndale School

PLAYS THAT deal with immediate issues involving living people cannot be treated as dramatic abstracts or considered outside the context of the issues originally raised. Sir is Winning, Shane Connaughton's play about the Tyndale affair, is no exception.

It raises important political and educational questions, but it is equally important to consider both the critical reactions to it and the stages of development through which the play went before it ever reached public performance.

Fleet Street reaction has been varied. It is significant that some of those newspapers most vehement in their attack on the Tyndale teachers and their educational philosophy have been most destructive in their criticism of the play, one even going so far as to hint at Connaughton's supposed connections with the Socialist Workers Party.

Others attempt assassination on the grounds that the play is dramatically 'boring'. Newspapers which in the past have worked so hard to bury the Tyndale teachers and their ideas are obviously incensed that anybody should wish to resurrect them and make a contribution to the Great Educational Debate that might not meet with the approval of Rhodes Boyson or Shirley Williams.

COMMITMENT

Criticism has, however, been made, and no doubt will continue to be made, about the writer's absence of 'commitment'. It is true that the play lacks a clearly defined political and educational focus although its general emotional tone works in favour of the Tyndale teachers. But it would be wrong to blame this on the playwright.

The Cottesloe Theatre program-

me states: 'The National Theatre believes that our stages should be open to the presentation of plays which deal with social and political problems of the moment'. This seems to imply that writers are free to say what they like since the board also adds the disclaimer that it does not necessarily agree with the views that might be presented. In the case of *Sir is Winning*, however, this statement of liberal worthiness hides a multitude of dishonesties.

Two major speeches in the original text that would have given a focus and revealed the author's

commitment have been cut to insignificance, and other parts have been amended — ostensibly to produce a 'balanced' view. Plays in general are not balanced. All writers have a world view, a vision of society and the forces that shape it.

No-one censors *Macbeth* on the grounds of 'balance'. The National Theatre has presented plays by Griffiths and Brenton, and is at the moment staging Bolt's play about Lenin. There has been a suggestion that these should be censored. But there is a great difference between plays which

are works of imagination dealing with 'left' issues and those which present a precise living debate of political significance, especially when the latter are being staged in a State institution like the National Theatre.

BLACK PAPER

This is not to say that Shane Connaughton's play is totally emasculated. Dolly Walker, the first person to campaign against the Tyndale teachers, is shown as a Black Paperite hunting for Reds under the desk. Extreme tradi-

tional ideas are ridiculed in the character of a cane-wielding 'sergeant-major' dressed in a mortar board and gown who controls the audience as if it were a class of unruly children.

The way in which large bureaucrats can be manipulated to crush individuals is explored in detail. The play also hints at, although unfortunately does not fully explore, the basic contradictions in the attitudes of middle class social democrats towards 'progressive' education and its suitability for working class children. We are left to speculate on what Connaughton might have produced had he had enjoyed that artistic freedom that we are told writers do enjoy in our society.

His play was attacked before it reached the stage in two ways which exactly parallel the original attack on the Tyndale teachers. First Dolly Walker campaigned against it, and secondly so did certain sections of the national press. The stage drama and real life drama have become joined together. But the real life drama is not a liberal document. It lacks balance. All the other participants in the Tyndale affair are in employment. The Tyndale teachers are on the dole.

Sir is Winning is at the Cottesloe Theatre, South Bank, London SE1. Tel: 01-928 2252.



A 'sergeant-major' teacher controlling the cast and the audience as if they were unruly children

Socialist Challenge Benefit

Saturday 10 September, 8.30pm at The Other Cinema.

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MUSIC FOR SOCIALISM: Sun Aug 14, 8pm. Women and Rock. Film Janis, on Janis Joplin, plus live performance by Carol Grimes and band. JANIS Each night Fri Aug 12 to Wed Aug 17, 8.45 (over Sun). Definitive documentary portrait of the best white blues singer of this generation, the late great Janis Joplin.

THE BATTLE OF CHILE 'Not only the best films about Alliance and the coup d'etat, but two of the best documentary films ever made' (Time Out). Part 1: Fri Aug 12, 6.30; and Sat Aug 13, 4.30. Part 2: Sat Aug 13, 6.30; and Sun Aug 14, 8.45.

SOUTHERN AFRICA IN STRUGGLE A programme of two documentary films shot clandestinely in Southern Africa, Namibia Armed, and All we want is Freedom (on Zimbabwe). Each night, Mon Aug 15 to Fri Aug 19, 8.30. Followed by speakers from SWAPO (Wed Aug 17 and Fri Aug 19), and ZAPU (Thurs Aug 18 and Fri Aug 19).

Socialist Challenge

FIGHTING FOR SOCIALIST UNITY

Since the Ladywood by-election we have had a lot of queries regarding Socialist Unity, what is it and what are its aims? Here RAGHIB AHSAN, who was the Socialist Unity candidate in Ladywood, explains.

SOCIALIST UNITY is a coalition supported essentially by the International Marxist Group (IMG) and Big Flame (BF). It promotes the idea of a united slate of left-wing candidates for the next General Election. That is its first main aim. We believe that the crisis which affects British society at all levels has forced people to question their traditional loyalties and ideas.

The appalling record of the Labour Government on virtually every question at home and abroad — cuts in living standards, wage-restraint, Rhodesia, Ireland, to name but a few — necessitates the building of a socialist alternative. This must be based on policies designed to solve the crisis in a socialist way. Anti-capitalist policies which are based on methods of class struggle.

CP MEMBERS WELCOME

That is why Socialist Unity does not exclude Labour Party or Communist Party members from its ranks. The only condition is that they support the policies which are in the interests of the working class militants and aid a fightback against the Labour Government and those waiting anxiously to succeed it — the Thatcher Tories.

In our view it is possible for militants to unite around Socialist Unity while maintaining dif-

ferences on a number of questions and even belonging to different organisations. That is why we designate Socialist Unity as a coalition.

LEFT UNITY

The left is always talking about the unity of the working class, but if it can't even unite itself on specific issues, how will it be seen by working class militants? The short answer is: not seriously. We have to unite on issues such as racism, women's rights, fighting against wage-restraint, Ireland, southern Africa — issues which come up every day in the course of practical activity. Electoral interventions help to concentrate these issues and enable us to take them to the masses. They give us badly-needed experience.

Some progress has already been made. At the first meeting in July the representation went beyond the IMG and Big Flame. Apart from other political groupings there were also local organisations like the Hull Socialist Alliance and independent militants, many still in the Labour Party. An encouraging sign at the meeting were delegates from areas which have already formed Socialist Unity committees.

From this meeting a National Steering Committee was formed with one of its main jobs being the organisation of the Novem-



Socialists unite to picket fascist meeting in Ladywood

ber national conference.

The conference will democratically decide and discuss the programme, name, candidates and constituencies of the united slate. It will also discuss and decide on its attitude to the Labour Party and candidates of other working class organisations. The conference will be open to all those who see the need to build an alternative to Labour's betrayals — and are capable of standing candidates in elections.

The conference will have to be built locally. Committees already exist in Merseyside, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield and London. These consist of delegates from political organisations as well as individual activists from various movements on the left.

A national speaking tour to build the conference is being organised for October. Speakers from Socialist Unity will be available for meetings in the following areas on the dates

indicated.

NORTH WEST 3-6 October
SCOTLAND 3-6 October
YORKS AND NORTH EAST 10-13 October
MIDLANDS 10-13 October
HOME COUNTIES 17-20 October
SOUTH WALES AND WEST 17-20 October
 Write to Socialist Unity c/o 14 Piccadilly, Manchester 1.

Basque unity in Pamplona

by JUAN AGUIRRE

UNITY of a different kind in Pamplona, in the Basque country, on Sunday, when 75,000 people from various nationalist and far left parties rallied to demand an amnesty for political prisoners and independence for the Basque country. 'ETA, the people are with you', they chanted.

This was the culmination of a six week 'march for freedom' through the Spanish and French Basque provinces, an initiative that attracted wide support despite the opposition of the Communist and Socialist Parties.

When the marchers arrived in Pamplona they were greeted by the Civil Guard who fired tear gas and rubber bullets in time honoured fashion, confirming many suspicions that recent changes in Spain have been more cosmetic than real.

The rally which ended the march was addressed by 14 Basque political exiles, including some of those sentenced at the Burgos trial in 1970. In one of the most bizarre episodes in Spanish politics, the 14 turned up at a meeting in the Basque country a few weeks ago and have since led a strange semi-legal existence. It is a mark of the strength of the Basque nationalist movement that they have not been arrested.

This demonstration comes in marked contrast to the proposals presented by the Socialist and Basque Nationalist Parties last month for a limited autonomy for the Basque provinces with Madrid's agreement. We have many disagreements with the parties which organised the march, but at least they are clear on one thing: it is the Basques themselves who must determine their future.

* One of the main slogans heard in Pamplona was for the release of Apala, the Basque nationalist held in France. See page 12 for news on the campaign to free Apala and the first of a series on the Spanish far left.

Socialist Unity National Steering Committee meeting in Manchester on Saturday 3 September, 12 noon at 14 Piccadilly, Manchester.
 All supporters of Socialist Unity are invited to attend - make sure your area is represented.

— When Socialist Challenge reached Scotland via Australia —

DURING OUR summer break two interesting letters arrived from supporters in Darlington and Perthshire. The first gives a brief report of the activity of local Socialist Challenge supporters: 'A Socialist Challenge forum now meets fortnightly in Darlington.

About 10-12 people attend, including members of the Labour Party and Communist Party.

'Our first meeting was on "The left and the elections", introduced by speakers from the International Marxist Group and the Communist Party. We discussed when to

stand 'left' candidates and the correct approach to the Labour Party.

'Our second meeting was "What is the freedom of the press?", introduced by the film critic of the Northern Echo, who is currently on strike for a closed shop. A very good discussion followed.

'A CP member commented afterwards: "We have been trying to get these sort of meetings going for years. We feel the forums have been a success so far and are confident that they will continue to be so".

The second letter from a Scottish subscriber is in a more humorous vein: 'Socialist Challenge reaches parts no other papers can reach. I have just received Socialist Challenge Number 2 — only two months late! Perth, Scotland, is many a mile from London, but not quite as many as Perth, Western Australia, and that is where Socialist Challenge Number 2 had been!

'However, this proved to be only a temporary aberration on the part of the Post Office as all the other editions of Socialist Challenge arrived safely and on time. Congratulations on the new paper.'

This final sentence has been echoed in the pages of the Guardian newspaper. In an article

on Saturday 20 August they commented that Socialist Challenge was an 'extremely well-produced paper'. We hope all our readers would agree. If you do then think how dull life would be without Socialist Challenge.

£973.64 IN

To survive we must raise £1,800 by the end of September. By the end of last week £973.64 had come in. A good figure, but £183 short of the £1,156 needed to keep on target to slay the dragon by the end of the month.

Dig deep into your pockets and send us whatever you can afford. This week our thanks to the following supporters who remembered us during the paper's summer break:

- S. Little 1.00
- G.L. Youldon 1.00
- J. Walker 2.00
- Anon 20.00
- P. Reams 2.25
- N.P. Hewlett 20.00
- C. Gardner 5.00
- J. Coltas 1.00
- R. Winn 1.06
- J. Bumpstead 2.50
- L. Holley 1.00
- J. Beacham 7.50
- York readers 15.00
- West London supporters 20.00
- Bristol reader 4.00
- Anon 1.00
- N.P., Norwich 0.42

C.H. Norwich	0.58	Southampton supporter	1.00
Hartlepool reader	0.30	Southampton readers	5.50
Birmingham readers	5.00	Leeds reader	1.30
'Berserkers'	7.00		
'Newshounds'	8.00	TOTAL	£128.41



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