

Socialist Challenge

LET THE SHAH'S HEAD ROLL



by Tariq Ali

IT COULD WELL turn out to be the political crash of 1978! Iran is in the grip of a massive popular upsurge.

The target of the masses is no secret: they want Reza Pahlavi's head and they might get it this time.

For 25 years they have been tortured, killed, arrested and harassed in every way possible. They have seen their country transformed into an intellectual desert governed by naked coercion.

They have been terrorised by the Iranian Gestapo, SAVAK. And now they want their revenge.

They are asking for human rights. The friend of Carter and David Owen is replying with bullets.

The struggle for human rights in Iran has already claimed the lives of nearly 300 martyrs. Yes, they are the real fighters for human dignity and for basic freedoms.

The leader writers in Fleet Street bleat on about 'religious obscurantism', trying to tar the whole movement with that particular brush.

True, many of the people are under the influence of religious leaders. When all other oppositions were brutally repressed some of the latter provided the only focus for struggle.

But whatever the form (and students of English history will recall that Charles 1, too, was overthrown by a movement which spoke with a religious voice) the content is clear. The masses do not like the monarchy.

They will be content with nothing less than full-blooded measures which cleanse Iran of the filth which has accumulated for a quarter of a century.

The Iranian workers, students and peasants have once again demonstrated the enormous reserves which an aroused mass has at its disposal.

Without any coherent political leadership they have dominated the stage. They have been fearless in the pursuit of their aims.

Their courage is born out of an experience that teaches them that they have nothing to lose and a great deal to gain.

They have the support of no state power: both China and the Soviet Union have wooed the Shah continuously. He was due to depart a few days ago to East Germany and Rumania for state visits.

Proletarian internationalism is a dirty phrase for the cynical practitioners of 'real-politik'.

From Carter, Giscard, Callaghan, Brandt and their friends there have been statements expressing concern — but for the Shah's predicament. And these are the hypocrites who twaddle on endlessly about democratic rights.

We do not know how long the Shah will last. It would be an irony of the first order if the CIA, worried lest the supply of oil is affected, decided that the time had come to remove him and whisked him off to St. Moritz in the Swiss Alps.

But the struggle shows no signs of abating. It will continue till Pahlavi is overthrown.

For socialists the key tasks today are for the establishment of a republic, restoration of trade unions and political parties, free elections on the basis of universal adult franchise to elect a Constituent Assembly in order to draft a constitution, total nationalisation of all the oil and the multinational companies.

Such a dynamic will pave the way for more lasting and fundamental social changes.

Iran has for 25 years been the lynchpin of imperialism in the Near East. The fall of the Shah will destabilise all Western plans for the region and will link in to developments in neighboring Afghanistan and Pakistan.

A lot more is at stake for the United States than the overthrow of a bloody despot.

In Britain we must ensure that real pressure builds up in the coming weeks. Labour must STOP supplying weapons to Iran and the issue should be debated at the forthcoming LP conference on 5 October.



**MASS RALLY
AGAINST THE REPRESSION**
Friday 22 September, 7.30pm,
Conway Hall, WC1

Organised by the
Campaign Against Repression in Iran
Torchlight march to Downing St.

**No
weapons
for the
Iranian
butcher**

EDITORIAL

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Labour's Grand Old Duke of York

CALLAGHAN'S DECISION to funk an October election is a reflection of British political realities. The election was postponed for one basic reason: the fear that Labour would lose an autumn poll. This was the advice offered to the Prime Minister by the private pollsters hired by Transport House. The question which arises is how Labour got to the position where it couldn't defeat an openly reactionary Thatcher and whether its position will be any better in the spring or (if they can hold on that long) the autumn of 1979.

It is true that there are marginal advantages to be gained in the shape of the new electoral register next February, but against that there are numerous other factors — factors which bourgeois politicians tend always to ignore.

The fact is that Callaghan has presided over a Government which has instituted savage cuts in living standards. All this has been done in the name of 'sacrifices' needed to keep the Tories out and ensure that Labour remains in power. Now — after the trade union leaders have loyally helped to police the class struggle — Callaghan decides that he couldn't win and there is to be no election after all.

So were the 'sacrifices' in vain or are more needed? Either way, there will be increasing resistance from the rank and file, who believe that one major function of their trade union is precisely to defend and raise their living standards.

Callaghan's gamble could explode in his face by the time the next election takes place. He clearly intends to continue the consensus policies which endear him to 'moderate' Tories, the City of London and the International Monetary Fund. These will presumably be aimed to drive the Tories even further to the right and appear as the 'extremists' who wish to exacerbate the political situation.

ABSTENTIONS

What this line of argument ignores is that many of Labour's traditional supporters cannot be persuaded to vote, let alone canvass enthusiastically for a party whose sole argument is that the Tories would be worse but which itself does nothing for the working class.

It is abstentions and a shift to the nationalists in Scotland and Wales that poses a threat to Labour. The pattern was shown clearly in 1970 when Labour lost because the turnout was the lowest for 35 years and millions of former Labour supporters couldn't be bothered to vote. And it is worth recalling that despite an unprecedented working class upsurge against the Tories in 1974, the popular vote gained by Labour that February was the lowest since 1935 and its share of the total poll was the lowest since 1931.

In October 1974 its popular vote actually declined further. This was after the experiences of the Heath Government and the confrontation with the unions. Is it totally foolish then to speculate that another spell of a Labour government practising austerity policies will lose rather than gain support? Callaghan's decision to postpone the election is thus a confession of political failure.

Four years of 'sacrifices' have not paved the way for a Labour victory. The lessons should be fully absorbed by the supporters of Tribune and their leaders who have also been toying a similar line. The utter crisis of perspectives for left social democracy has rarely been revealed in such a stark and cruel fashion.

The British ruling class, or the more influential sections of it, are now ready for a Tory government. Labour has done the dirty work necessary for many of its social and economic policies to be institutionalised by a set of bold Tory measures. The services of Squire Callaghan are no longer needed for the time being.

SHARP ATTACKS

Sharp budgetary attacks on the working class and tax relaxations for the middle and upper classes are what capital needs to boost the flagging morale of its own troops. This can best be provided by generals not too worried by the mutinous spirit of the foot soldiers in Scotland, the North-east, Merseyside, Wales and the Midlands.

So Callaghan will be lucky if he gets away with it for too long. He might not want an election, but by postponing one at the last minute he has weakened his own standing in ruling class circles. From now on they will determine the best time to get rid of him. We cannot totally exclude the possibility of an election this winter.

In the meantime Callaghan will be doing his best to demoralise and hold back the working class still further. What this means for us is an even firmer fight to project our socialist alternative all along the line.

Apart from solidarity with all those who will now prefer to strike rather than wait for the Squire to call an election, and with all those who implement the TUC line of opposing the 5 per cent wage norm, we will in addition be campaigning to have the maximum number of Socialist Unity candidates to project our politics in the run-up and during the election itself.

THE FIRST WORD

Labour's polluted foreign policy

Oil is thicker than blood

THE HUMAN RIGHTS industry has come a long way since Carter was elected President of the United States. His administration sustains military dictatorships throughout the world.

Of all Carter's camp-followers none has been more fervent and loyal than the doctor in the British Foreign Office, David Owen.

Owen's performance has proved the post-war adage that Labour's Foreign Secretaries need tongues which are both forked and long.

Long so that they can easily reach the posterior of whomsoever happens to be occupying the White House, writes TARIQ ALI.

There is something distinctly nauseous about Labour Foreign Secretaries. They have always been utter and complete toadies, servile to the needs of British and American imperialism.

Ernest Bevin, as Labour's first post-war Foreign Secretary, took the Cold War into the labour movement with a vengeance. A blustering Labour imperialist bully, Bevin was enormously popular with the Foreign Office.

He was succeeded by Herbert Morrison, another right-winger and cold warrior. Then there was Patrick Gordon-Walker, reactionary to the core, who was followed by Michael Stewart. Stewart defended American policy in Vietnam with a religious zeal much envied by the American State Department. He was succeeded by Callaghan (no comment necessary), then Crosland, and now there is David Owen.

SECURITY

There are a number of Cabinet posts which cannot be entrusted to people whose credentials are other than impeccable. Michael Foot could never have been made Defence Minister or Foreign Secretary. He didn't have the necessary security clearance!

So David Owen is now trying to win his spurs. It's his bad luck that Carter's demagoguery has led to the appointment of Andy Young, who is a much bolder and more intelligent bourgeois politician than the doctor. It should be a matter for reflection by LP members that the American Ambassador to the United Nations consistently outflanks the Labour Foreign Secretary from the left.

So Owen wrote a book. It was touchingly entitled *Human Rights*. The only problem was that the chapter on Britain had

no mention of Ireland or of the fact that Britain had been taken before the Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg.

But then it was a bit difficult to do that since the doctor supports British policies in Ireland.

IRAN

But what of countries farther away? What about Iran, where Britain's friend is currently in trouble? Owen is more critical than Lord Chalfont. That is all that can be said, and the book did go to press before the present troubles in Iran. Besides, Britain is blessed with His Imperial Majesty's shopping expeditions to buy the latest equipment to safeguard his country's integrity.

Against whom? Why, against the people of Iran, of course. No one else, to our knowledge, is trying to overthrow the Shah. Neither the Soviet Union nor the Chinese, leave alone anyone else.

Defending his book on TV, Owen said: 'It is fashionable to criticise the Shah. Some points are justified. But you must also recognise that there is merit in the regime that has operated there; as well as recognise the differences in culture in Iran, and recognise that the whole concept of the Shahanshah is rooted in history.'

GIBBERISH

This is pure gibberish. It is actually false and it could justify any dictatorship, including Nazi Germany. After all 'regimentation' and 'militarism' were supposed to be rooted in German traditions. What it shows is that oil is thicker than the blood spilt in the struggle for basic human rights.

The real struggle, that is, not the phoney one inaugurated by



the cold warriors of the West. The struggle which last week claimed the lives of hundreds of Iranians. Butchered in cold blood on the orders of the Butcher of Iran. And Owen tells us that this butchery is 'rooted in (Iranian) history'.

Inspect your own head, doctor.

POLLUTED

And while on the question of oil, the *Sunday Times* revealed last week that Shell and BP are still supplying oil to white settlers in Zimbabwe. Rarely has a revelation revealed the extent to which Labour's foreign policy had been polluted.

The notion that Wilson and the Labour Government were unaware of what was going on is a joke. And the loudest laughs will be heard in Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka, where all this was always an open secret, despite the denials of British Ministers and Prime Ministers.

It was a Russian revolutionary, whose name escapes me for the moment (it could have been Bronstein or Trotsky or something like that), who wrote that a country's foreign policy was always an extension of its domestic policies.

In other words, a country's external interests were closely

tied to safeguarding the status quo internally.

So when Labour surgeons are carrying out emergency operations to save British capitalism at home it is somewhat difficult to cut off the blood transfusions from Iran, Zimbabwe or Southern Africa. For capitalism is above all an international system.

And socialists forget this basic fact at their peril.

Of late there has been a disturbing tendency on the part of Labour Party activists to underplay Labour's foreign policy.

There is no real campaign to get Britain out of NATO; to remove nuclear bases and weapons from this country; to cut off all military aid to Iran; to boycott South Africa; to provide military aid to Mugabe's guerrillas; and to fight internationally to bring down the Pinochet regime.

ALTERNATIVE

Labour activists should not give Owen a free run at the party conference in October.

But, and this is equally important, socialists outside the Labour Party (especially Socialist Unity) must incorporate demands related to world politics in their election manifestoes. For a socialist alternative cannot be restricted to Britain's national frontiers.

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

* I am interested in more information about activities in my area.

* I would like additional literature and enclose 50p to cover costs.

[Delete if not applicable]

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

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

OUR POLICIES 2

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

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

* To build broad-based class struggle tendencies in opposition to class-collaborationism in the labour movement. These should be non-exclusive in character grouping together militants holding a wide range of political views.

* To begin to fight for the creation of a unified and democratic revolutionary socialist organisation which can, through an application of united front tactics, begin to be seen as an alternative by thousands of workers engaged in struggles. Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

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

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 statist models of 'socialism' in the USSR and Eastern Europe have miscredited victims in the eyes of the millions of workers throughout the world. We are opposed to them and will offer full support to all those fighting for socialist democracy.

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

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

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

Anti-racist reporter tells why he quit

Journalists intimidated on East End paper



JOURNALISTS on the Express Newspapers group in East London voted unanimously last week for firm opposition to the National Front and other racists.

They called for no platform to racists and fascists, and pledged to expose the evils of the Front; to deny the Nazis any right of reply; and to encourage readers not to vote NF in local and national elections.

A rare statement in the field of journalism, but hardly surprising, you might think, from a closed shop National Union of Journalists chapel, whose members produce among other titles the *East Ender* — a local paper which has gained a national reputation for its anti-racist stand.

In fact, the journalists were merely confirming

practices which had been going on for over a year in the group's four papers — the *East Ender*, *Stratford Express*, *Romford Express*, and *Thurrock Express*.

But the path to last week's unanimity is littered with bitter office rows about balance and objectivity, political bias and the fear of alienating white readers, together with explicit racist outbursts.

It culminated in threats of violence against three of the *East Ender's* most active anti-racist reporters — Barbara Jones, Nick Brett, and Oliver Duke — by another reporter on the paper.

The incident prompted the three to resign, six weeks ago. **NICK BRETT**, who was then father of the group NUJ chapel, tells the story.

When journalists show commitment and bias in writing against racism they always run the risk of getting out of step not only with their readers but also with some of their colleagues.

And that's exactly what happened to Barbara, Oliver and myself when we worked for the *East Ender*.

To our credit, but undebated, we exposed the evil inner-workings of the local National Front branch. We reported fully every racial attack we heard about in the *East Ender*.

We supported the activities of the Anti-Nazi League and Asian groups in Brick Lane. We questioned police motives when they arrested nine Asian pickets.

And, of course, we never gave the Front any right of reply.

SQUATTERS

We even had the temerity to splash a campaign over our front page on behalf of a family of Asian squatters who had been deceived and brutally evicted under last November's so-called GLC amnesty.

Our rival paper played down the story — Asians, let alone squatters, don't sell newspapers.

There was support for our approach. Militants held key positions in the chapel and on the news desks; the chief sub-editor, Aidan White, is on the NUJ executive and is a founder of the NUJ's rank-and-file group, *Journalists Charter*.

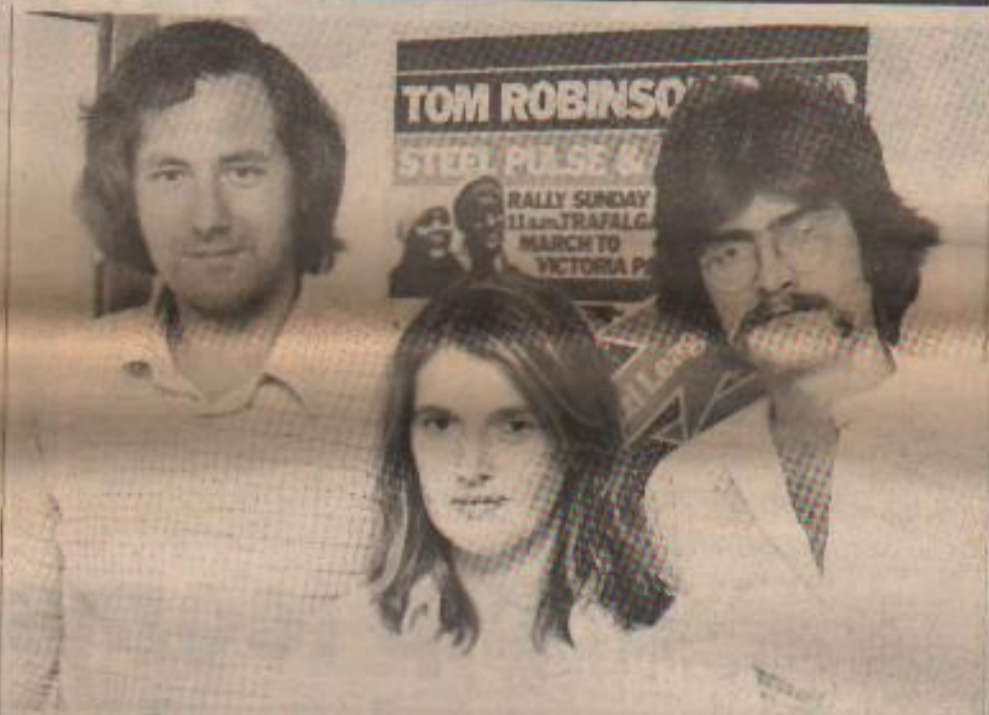
Until recently we had a Lord Thomson-trained group editor who could smell a good story and thought any sort of national reputation was good for a new paper like the *East Ender*.

But there was also continual opposition.

UNHAPPY

We were criticised for trying to 'educate' our readers. Our circulation department complained that newagents and advertisers were unhappy with the paper.

Journalists on the paper complained we were ruining their police contacts, and every publication day we were verbally pined in the corner and forced to justify our choice and treatment of stories that



The three who resigned (l to r): **OLIVER DUKE**, **BARBARA JONES**, and **NICK BRETT**

week.

Newsroom comments were sometimes: 'Not another Paki story'; 'Pity they didn't kill all the black bastards'. And after a story about racists running amuck in Brick Lane: 'I'd rather live next to an NFer than a coon'.

DEFACED

An ANL carnival poster was first defaced then ripped down. On another occasion an argument blew up over whether a chapel decision to support an anti-racist rally should involve taking our union banner along.

Our position was weakened by the disastrous financial state of the Express Newspapers group. We were obvious candidates in a search for scapegoats.

This antagonism ended very predictably six weeks ago in the worst office scene of all when two of us who were not present were actually threatened with violence by a colleague.

It was made known to us that the Front had our descriptions, and this delighted some of the journalists present.

The person concerned was given a written warning by the

management. The chapel demanded and secured written apologies and assurances of future good behaviour from those involved.

The three of us considered this a very moderate request. But even then support for the chapel's proposals was by no means unanimous.

The three of us decided to resign — which was, on reflection, a clear tactical error.

We felt intimidated and uncomfortable in our jobs; but more importantly we had become ground down, continually having to justify what we considered responsible journalism.

COMPLAINTS

Our only concern after we left was that the paper's anti-racist stance should continue. In an effort to keep the matter on the boil, we took out complaints with our union against two individuals concerned with the threats.

And this as it turned out proved the way of getting the chapel to unanimously endorse the anti-racist practices of the *East Ender* just five weeks after the threats incident.

An emergency meeting of *Journalists Charter* had come up with an unbreakable olive branch — present a motion to your chapel which calls for a total endorsement of the anti-racist position and in return the complaints should be withdrawn.

POLICIES

What chance had our opponents? If they spoke against the established policies of the *East Ender* they were merely giving substance to the complaints.

Complaints are a messy, lengthy business...and here were three people prepared to give up their jobs and throw an awful lot of shit at the fan.

Some of that sticks, and it's a healthy fact today that no one — except the Front — likes to be publicly tried as a racist.

The motion was carried unanimously. For some, it must have been a very bitter olive to swallow. But the crucial question now is what efforts will be made inside that chapel, by NUJ militants, and by the anti-racist movement in East London to ensure that the chapel's anti-racist policy is put into practice.

News from now here

To catch a thief

BEGUM NASIM Wali Khan is a prominent Pakistani politician. She is the wife of Wali Khan, the former leader of the country's Frontier province. In the past the couple have claimed to be 'progressives', but both tended to support the imposition of martial law in the country.

Recently Mr and Mrs Wali Khan visited Britain. Mrs Wali Khan was caught shop-lifting in Marks and Spencers. She pleaded guilty, was fined and in interviews with the British press expressed her sorrow.

On landing at Karachi airport, she changed her story. She was not guilty. She had been framed by Marks and Spencer as part of a 'Zionist-imperialist conspiracy'. Could it be that the Begum was worried lest people say that the fine was insufficient and her hand should be amputated? Or was it a lie designed to save her political skin?

As for imperialist conspiracies, they tend to be a trifle more subtle. But given the fact that Wali called on the former British governor of the Frontier province, Sir Olaf Caroe, and told a private meeting of MPs that British rule was better than what existed now, one wonders what need there is of a conspiracy...

Strange times in Kilburn

The Kilburn Times and Willesden Chronicle are local papers published from the same office in North-West London. On 25 August both papers carried a letter from a Mr J Striker. The letter purported to be from a Jew and called for the organisation of Jewish carnivals, just like the West Indians', to mobilise the Jewish community against the whites.

The following week 'J Striker' had another letter published, calling for an alliance between Jews and blacks against the whites. Another letter, equally lurid, was signed by Arnold Leese.

It takes little imagination to appreciate that 'J Striker' bears a remarkable resemblance to the name of Julius Streicher, the well-known Nazi ideologue who edited the main anti-Semitic paper in Vienna. Arnold Leese is fortunately dead, but as Searchlight readers will know he was one of the first [and pre-Hitler] British fascists.

The local ANL secretary, Lionel Rich, informed the editor of the two papers that the addresses supplied by Messrs 'Leese and Striker' were fictitious and that it was an obvious anti-Semitic ploy. The editor, Denis Sole, agreed to print a letter pointing this out, but forbade his reporters from investigating the story any further. Mr Sole is a Baptist lay preacher whose organs — as the publication of these racist letters indicates — have not gone overboard to upset the Nazis.

Ken ye be so scared

AT THE TUC last week, our reporter asked whether he could interview Ken Gill, a member of the Communist Party and of the TUC General Council. 'No', replied Gill. 'Not till your paper stops slandering me.'

Our reporter was adamant: 'You can say what you like in the interview. We are well-known for not distorting

Ken Gill in the past

views of people we disagree with. You can say how and where we slandered you.

But Ken wasn't having any of it. Naturally, we don't think that we have slandered Ken Gill. We made some sharp criticisms of him some weeks ago in relation to TASS's refusal to defend Mike Cooley.

Were these ultra-left criticisms? Gill probably thinks they were. In any case they have been repeated in an article by Chris Herd in the current issue of the *New Statesman*. Will that journal now be out of bounds too for Brother Gill?

Shadow spokesperson for contradictions

NFN's PRIZE of the week goes to George Gardiner, Tory MP for Reigate. At a speech made to the Reigate Conservative Forum on 6 September he stated:

'TUC delegates are voting at Brighton today for a return to free collective bargaining. This is exactly what the Conservative Party offers them.'

'We shall restore to trade unions the freedom to negotiate pay rises for their members.'

'In return, union leaders must be prepared to make the transition in a responsible way. The election of a Conservative Government cannot herald a mad wages scramble.'

'We shall have to proceed one step at a time. I believe we should state that, in the immediate future, a Conservative Government will strive to keep pay settlements in the public sector within the 5 per cent figure.'

The longest arm

AT A SECRET location in London a new computer is at work. It can 'accept loose interrogations and come up with a match'. The Home Office has stated that it can now accept an inquiry such as: 'Which red-haired Irishman on record drives a white Ford Cortina with M, R and 6 in the registration?'. The political implications of this are obvious, as are the possibilities of subsequent harassment by the Specials.

The Home Office is considering a computerisation of all the data normally held in manual form on files. Apart from the dangers posed to civil liberties by this scheme, there is the additional possibility that false information can be fed and used to harass people.

There is the famous example of the Honeywell 6040 computer based in Oxford and functioning since 1975. The system gained headlines when visitors were shown the centre and the machine computed a few 'facts'. A man who was named was supposed to be gay. The information, it was later discovered, was false and had been submitted by the relative of a policeman who had heard it in a shop. Even a visiting FBI officer was scandalised.

The NCCL would be well advised to investigate the new computer and mobilise Labour MPs to try and get more details from the Home Office.

Photos: ROY CUCKROW

HOME NEWS

TUC, Brighton 1978

Close ranks, stand together and vote Labour!



Blind Right to Work marcher, Terry Wells, after being felled in a police assault on the marchers' dinner.

Police attack RTW March

RIGHT TO WORK marchers lobbying the TUC on Wednesday of last week were subject to a series of attacks and harassment by Brighton police.

First the police seized the marchers' dinner. At 2.35pm, without warning, cops hauled out the driver of the van carrying the marchers' sandwiches.

The van was parked outside the Congress, in the same place it had stopped at lunchtime on the previous day. Then a policeman drove the van off with the marchers' dinners still inside.

Next, when the marchers sat down in a lay-by to protest at the food seizure, two police horses were ridden into the marchers. Several were injured. One was rushed to hospital with a suspected broken leg. A blind marcher was trampled beneath a horse. Two marchers were arrested.

Then, after the police had reluctantly agreed to release the dinner, a plain-clothes policeman arrested another marcher as he was listening to the singer Patrick Fitzgerald.

When the Right to Workers sat down in front of the police van in protest, the attack began in earnest. The police — some with truncheons drawn — waded into the marchers, indiscriminately punching and kicking them. Police dogs were also set on the marchers, seven of whom were arrested.

The Right to Work Campaign has called for a public inquiry into 'this police harassment and brutality towards the unemployed'.

Photos: J. Silberman (Socialist Challenge)

CALLAGHAN may be a little cleverer than he looks. **RICH PALSER** looks back on the events he observed at last week's TUC.

Monday: Congress opens with Basnett's Presidential address making clear the theme of the week — 'Work and vote for Labour'.

Tuesday: Callaghan makes his personal appearance, whetting delegates' expectations of an imminent general election by referring to speculation in the press, whilst carefully avoiding saying anything definite.

Up jumps Hugh Scanlon to move a motion for the return of a Labour Government, declaring 'when the time comes to close our ranks, we know who our friends are'. The 'pre-election rally' is at its height.

Wednesday: The main debates on wages policy and unemployment take place, but just in case delegates forget the events of yesterday, Murray reminds delegates that rejection of a 5 per cent limit does not mean the unions are 'hell-bent on confrontation' with the government.

Thursday: Callaghan announces, after the main TUC debates are over, that he does not intend to call an election.

Friday: Congress ends, not with a bang, but a whimper. Len Murray remarks — 'These days, two days is a long time in politics', perhaps remembering the pre-conference dinner given to TUC chiefs by Mr Callaghan.

The Congress certainly had been 'going through the motions'. Len Murray had told Congress that its job was to 'look for the common ground', and it went out of its way to try and find it.

On pay the common ground with the government was hard to find. The rank and file membership of the unions are

not prepared to accept TUC endorsement of a 5 per cent limit.

'Until we can reach more of a consensus the Government must state its views of what is most likely to keep inflation under control' Callaghan had said, making it clear they would try and impose a 5 per cent limit even when the TUC rejected it.

In reply Len Murray stated that there was agreement with the government on objectives, but not methods — the 5 per cent limit being too rigid.

In short the TUC were rejecting the 5 per cent wage limit in preference for self imposed wage restraint. Just to reinforce the point the motions like that from the CPSA, calling for support for those confronting the 5 per cent limit, were composed so as to remove such points of discord.

That having been done, only the most right wing supporters of the government backed Tom Jackson's plea for a continued contract with the government.

On unemployment the common ground was easier to find. The threat to jobs due to new technology such as the silicon chip was 'met' with a motion asking the General Council to bring back a report to the next Congress.

On the 35 hour week Callaghan had warned 'that any negotiated reduction in hours... should either be self-financing or be offset against the 5 per cent guideline'. In short, workers must either do the same work in shorter hours, or pay for a cut in hours through a smaller pay rise. The common ground motion passed by Congress called for 'a general campaign' for a 35 hour week without loss in pay but

avoids the thorny problem of 'productivity'.

Then there is the case of the disappearing motions. What did happen to the motion criticising the General Council for failing to support the firemen, calling for affiliation to the ANL, demanding a trade union demonstration in the event of restrictive legislation on abortion?

One motion however, refused to disappear. This was the motion from the NUJ calling for the dropping of charges against the journalists Aubrey, Berry and Campbell. NUJ delegates refused to 'renit' the motion, so Basnett ruled that conference could not debate it. The NUJ delegates challenged this ruling and lost, but the congratulations sent by the three journalists to the union delegation were deserved.

Now, with Congress over and the election a long way off, the TUC's 'agreement to disagree' with the government may prove more difficult.

It is clear how most of the union leaders will react. For those that see politics as what happens in Parliament, avoiding a confrontation with the government is the only way of achieving a 'political' solution on the issues facing the working class.

For those who want to fight for a socialist alternative, it is a matter of demanding that TUC policy against the 5 per cent limit and for a 35 hour week to defend jobs, are won in action. When Alan Fisher says that 'this year we must make an effective attack on low pay in the public services' by a fight for a decent minimum wage, we must see he is taken at his word.

Lump looms on construction site

WORKERS on a Kentish Town building site in NW London are fighting to save their jobs and defend their national pay award.

DEREK BROUGH, Transport Union steward on the site, reports.

The company, Malvern Construction, issued redundancy notices to two of the workers on the site. One of them is the senior TGWU steward, Dave Coull, who happens to have strong anti-abortion views.

The company claimed that there was simply not enough work to go round and that the

redundancies were necessary.

However, their real intentions became obvious when, a few days after the dispute started on 30 August, sub-contracted labour appeared on the site.

These new workers were being paid at substantially lower rates.

On the day that the lump labour first appeared on the site, the whole of the original work force, whose contracts expired that day, were laid off.

The sub-contracted workers agreed to withdraw from the site when the situation was explained to them. But it is likely that the company will try

it again, rather than reinstate the sacked workers.

The Malvern Construction employees are convinced that management is set upon destroying union organisation on the site. There has been 100 per cent union membership since April last year.

The company is refusing to yield, and the TGWU and UCATT members on the site are settling in for a long dispute.

Meanwhile, messages of support and contributions to the strike fund to: Mick Gay, c/o Bread and Wives, 30 Camden Rd, London NW1.

Social Workers' strike

SOCIAL WORKERS are to hold a one-day national strike in support of their colleagues in Tower Hamlets, East London, who have been on the picket line for a month, reports **TRINA SHANE**.

The Tower Hamlets council, controlled by Labour, refuses to acknowledge the social workers' main demand that they should be able to negotiate

a local agreement on pay. This would take into account the particular difficulties of working in a severely deprived area.

Their slogan is: 'Better wages for a better service', but one of the chief barriers to making this strike really effective is that many of the workers can already see real distress being caused by their action.

Social workers in the East End are having to cater for a growing number of elderly people and a high proportion of

children in care, when many of the existing facilities are under threat of closure.

Morale on the picket line is low, mainly due to this dilemma that social workers face when they take strike action.

The one-day national strike called by NALGO for 27 September is the kind of support that must be weeded up if the strikers are not to be defeated by their own lack of morale and the obstinacy of the council.

HOME NEWS

Union leaders tell P.O. Engineers 'You'd better accept our 37 and a half hour productivity deal'

DELEGATES from branches of the Post Office Engineering Union meet at a special conference in Birmingham this Saturday.

The only item on the agenda will be their executive's acceptance of a management offer of a 37½-hour week from December, reports JONATHAN SILBERMAN.

The original claim by the POEU was for an immediate 35-hour week with no loss of pay.

It was the conciliation report by Lord McCarthy which recommended the employers' present offer, and the report also tied the reduction of the working week to an increase in productivity, thus ensuring that no jobs would be saved.

Tens of thousands of jobs have already been lost to the industry over the past 15 years.

Developments in micro-electronics, especially the much talked about silicon chip, now threaten massive redundancies unless the principle is established that workers and not profit should benefit from improved technology.

This was the position adopted by the Trades Union Congress last week, which again endorsed its policy for a 35-hour week.

VOCAL

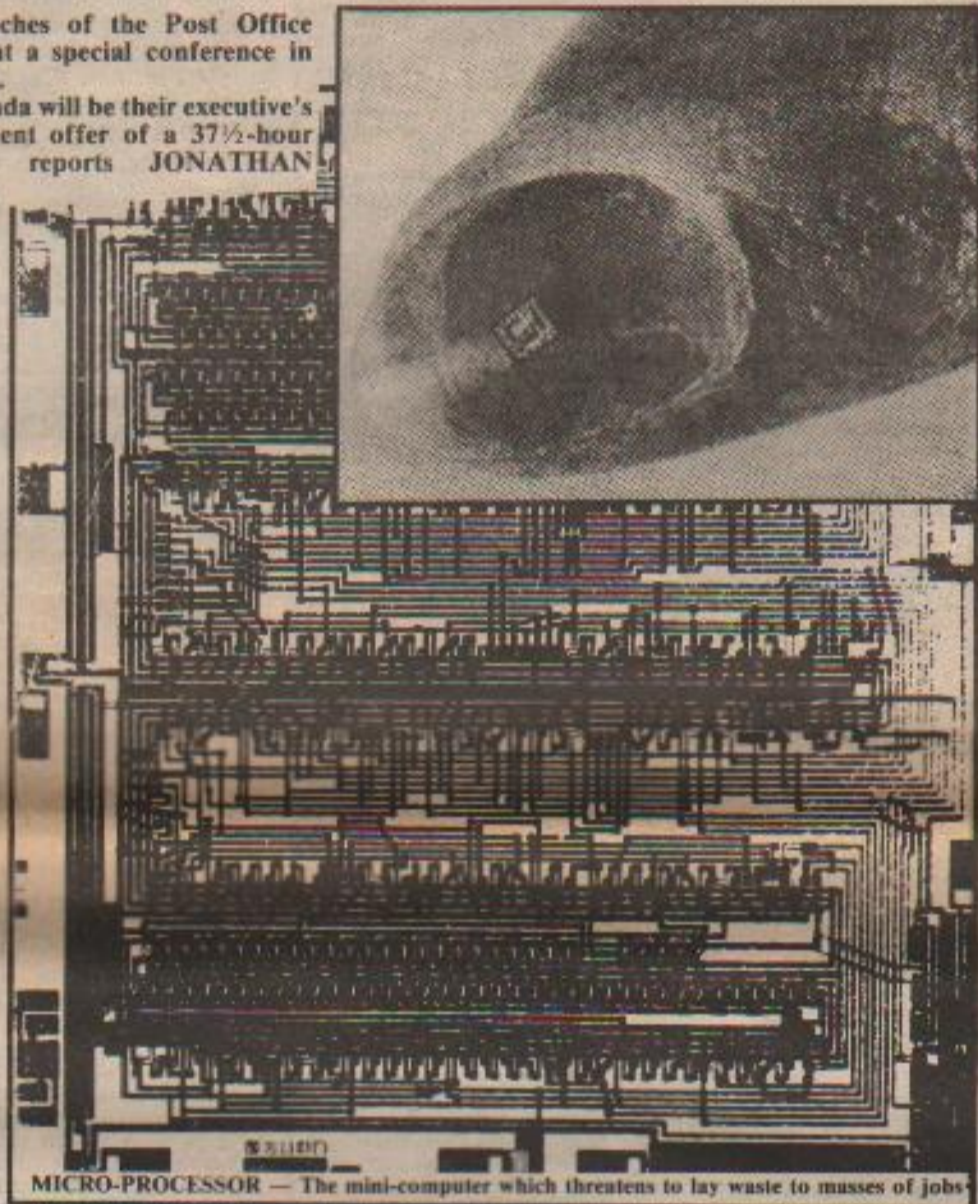
POEU general secretary Bryan Stanley was particularly vocal at Congress, speaking in favour of the 35-hour week as a way to ensure that technological advance benefits workers.

Meanwhile Stanley and others on the POEU executive have been touring the country organising mass meetings in an effort to sell the 37½-hour productivity deal to the membership.

This activity has been in sharp contrast not only to speeches at the TUC, but to the complete lack of such campaigning when the POEU conference voted in favour of industrial action in June.

Despite the executive's inactivity, the industrial action was strong and solid, and some areas are still maintaining it weeks after the executive called a halt.

Tyburne branch organised an unofficial national poll which indicated an overwhelming majority for rejecting the



MICRO-PROCESSOR — The mini-computer which threatens to lay waste to masses of jobs

offer and continuing the fight for the original claim.

By building on this sentiment through a prepared escalation of industrial action, combined with an attempt to turn the TUC's words into action, the claim could be won and a serious step made to winning the 35-hour week for the trade union movement as a whole.

This is not what Stanley and Co have in mind. The agenda at the special conference on Saturday has been arranged to rule out of order any propositions other than the

executive's. The only item to be discussed will be whether to accept the offer — not what to do in the event of rejection.

The right-wing leadership, organised in the undeclared right-wing caucus known as The Block, has tried to back-up this undemocratic move with a witch-hunt against the militant branches which have been campaigning for rejection of the offer.

Following a lobby of the executive when a door was smashed as union officials prevented the lobbyists from

entering their own union headquarters, the union leadership has issued a circular fingering a dozen militants by name and alleging that they and others almost ransacked the building.

Clearly this leadership means to stamp on any attempt to extend the industrial action.

Saturday's conference will need to reject the deal and discuss how to form a national dispute committee which reflects the membership's desire to fight.

Glasgow strike Police violence on picket line

VIOLENCE erupted on the picket line at the Caterpillar Tractor works in Glasgow when hundreds of police tried to force a path for management and scabs last week, reports MARTIN O'LEARY.

The size and militancy of the pickets supporting the production workers' claim for a £24 across-the-board increase escalated when the police were called in on 6 September.

John Gillan, a Boilermakers member at the plant, explained to Socialist Challenge how the dispute started:

'We decided for strike action in support of our claim on 12 August. The company asked for a deferment, implying that there'd be a productivity deal.'

'We were supposed to have a mass meeting on the Tuesday to discuss their offer, but on the day before we heard what it was.'

'A time-keeping bonus that would have given a top-rate increase of £1.60, and the conditions were so tough it would have been impossible to

attain anyway. We were so appalled we didn't wait for the mass meeting. We all walked out straight away.'

APEX and TASS, two of the white-collar unions at the plant, told their members not to cross the picket line that was immediately set up. But ASTMS, the supervisory staff union, refused to support the strikers.

John Gillan added: 'ASTMS said they would go back in if they had free access. In other words, if there's enough police to get them in.'

That's what happened on Wednesday of last week when police confronted 200 pickets. Since then the pickets have become larger and larger, gathering support from the local labour movement.

Violence occurred when police attempted to move a massive picket out of the way.

The strikers are calling for more help on the picket lines, convinced that mass picketing is the best way to win their claim.

Saving jobs at Plessey

TWO-THIRDS of the 1,800 strong workforce at Garrard in Swindon — a subsidiary of the multinational firm Plessey — are to be made redundant, reports ED WALLER.

They have been given 90 days notice after months of rumours and short-time working. One plant at Blunsdon is to close altogether. The majority of those affected are women, many of whom do part-time work.

Signs point towards an occupation, and action is already afoot to stop any movement of machinery. As a spokesperson for the joint staff committee put it: 'We are determined that the faceless men of the Plessey organisation are not going to write us off.'

But a successful struggle will require policies which can unite the workforce and inspire solidarity from workers elsewhere. This means adopting aims such as work-sharing, nationalisation under workers' control, and a refusal to seek the easy way out through import controls.

Plessey is a big firm with many plants in Britain as well as overseas. Socialist Challenge supporters who have one in their area are asked to ring Swindon 42967 so that the fight to save these jobs can be taken to the very heart of this multinational.

Bilston steel closure

THE PROJECTED closure of Bilston Steel works has roused

local trade unionists to fury, reports DAVE ASHCROFT, a delegate to Wolverhampton and Bilston Trades Council, which organised a 4,000-strong demonstration through the town on Monday.

Over the past two years there have been more than 7,000 redundancies in the Wolverhampton area.

A further 5,000 job losses are projected in the near future, apart from the thousands that will be put out of work if the closure of the steel plant goes ahead.

Members of the transport, engineering, and Civil Service unions joined Monday's march, together with a large number of the Bilston steel workers.

At the rally which followed a member of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation executive called for support for the programme of action which had been distributed on the march by Socialist Challenge supporters.

It calls for an alternative plan for the steel industry, work sharing, a shorter week and full nationalisation.

The programme also points to the importance of building links with European workers in the industry to stop lay offs.

Lucas plan on TV

'We've always done it this way, haven't we?' is the title of two ITV programmes on the plan drawn up by Lucas Aerospace workers.

The facts, on Tuesday, 19 September, 10.30pm. Then the debate, the following evening at the same time.

THIS IS A PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL FRONT...

NATIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE

of Teachers Against the Nazis

SAT 23rd SEPT
FRIENDS HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD, LONDON NW1
Opp. Euston Stn.

Exhibition and bookstall open 10am. Conference starts 11am, ends 4.30pm.

Teachers' packs available including poems, secondary, primary, infant, F.E., Nursery, women, youth, etc.

There will be food, drink and entertainment at the Conference.

CONTRIBUTORS
Arthur Scargill
David Edgar
(Author "Dad's Army")
Michael Lusk
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Sean Bonner
Stuart Chapman
Stuart Hall
Carol Aikens
Joan Leeson MP

SESSIONS ON
Workers' Remembrance and the Schools
The Nazi Threat to Schools
Hacker and Shaver
Fighting Racism in the Secondary School
Fighting Racism in the Primary School

ADMIT ONE

PULL the plugs on the National Front! The picket of BBC Broadcasting House, to be held today, received front-page publicity in The Times and Guardian on Tuesday. Both papers reported the campaign jointly organised by the ANL and the Campaign Against Racism in the Media to prevent uncritical coverage of the NF.

Peter Hain of the ANL says he is encouraged by the response from television technicians. Copies of the ANL/CARM leaflet

'No plugs for Nazi thugs' have been widely circulated, and the fact that Alan Sapper, general secretary of the TV Technicians' union, chaired the rally held on Tuesday indicates the level of support. Picket of BBC HQ, Thursday, 14 September, 4.30 — 6.30 pm, Broadcasting House, Portland Place, London W1 (2 mins. from Oxford Circus tube).

New youth paper launched Revolution... is coming



'THE ANL is about black people being oppressed and it's the same in Northern Ireland, the Irish being oppressed by the British. It's just people being oppressed — a different place, a different colour — it's just the same.'

So says Rick, 16, at school in Glasgow, writing in 'Revolution' No. 1. 'Revolution' is a new paper for youth, and it's out next week.

REDMOND O'NEILL, IMG youth organiser, talked to us about the first issue and what lies behind it.

So why Revolution? Why a 'youth' paper?

Something special has been happening over the last couple of years. It started in '76 and it's got really big this year.

Basically, a whole new generation, the girl generation, if you like, has woken up to politics, woken up to the complacency of community and union leaders and started to fight back.

And the music... where do you think that fits in?

First, it's allowed people to share their experience of the dole, racism, and authoritarianism — at home, school, and work. Punk's spoken out on those things, so kids know it's not just them.

That's something reggae has been doing for West Indian youth for years, helping to develop an identity, a basis for coming together to change things.

Secondly, things like Rock Against Racism, the music, the carnivals, and even the clubs have formed a basis for organisation, of collective activity. The first steps to independent organisation of the youth.

That shouldn't be underestimated. Young people are atomised in this society — at

school, on the dole queues, and even at work (where the unions often sort of base themselves on the 'family man' — so women, blacks and youth are basically ignored).

Where does Revolution fit into all this? Temporary Hoarding, the RAR paper, has quite effectively keyed into the whole music thing. Is there room for another paper, and, if so, with what objective?

Revolution isn't competing with Temporary Hoarding. It's different. We support RAR and we'll sell TH too.

But Revolution has a definite aim. It's not a music paper. It's a political paper around which we want to build a new youth organisation in this country.

It's not just about racism. It's about all the struggles of youth, worldwide. The first issue, for example, has articles on porn, Zimbabwe, NUS, life in the army, Right to Work March, Brick Lane and Czechoslovakia, to name but a few.

So it's a paper that will both build SKAN, ANL, the Right to Work and other campaigns in which young people are getting involved, and try to bring together the first groups of youth coming to revolutionary conclusions through their

involvement in these united fronts.

There are already a number of political youth groups in this country. Why a new one?

Basically because we're saying something new and different. The existing organisations have been by-passed, or, more precisely, rejected by the young people now fighting back.

The IPYS, through its inaction, has to a large extent become identified with the policies of Callaghan — or at least everyone knows it's not going to do a great deal about them.

The Young Communist League has been declining for years and has no solution to the problems of youth in 1978.

To take just one example, under YCU leadership the NUS has lost thousands of members during a year of massive activity in schools and the growth of the ANL.

That's because they try to win respectability within the educational establishment rather than fighting to defend the interests of school students and link them up with the workers' movement.

You've spoken of the LPYS and YCL. What about the 'far left'?

At the moment no single organisation of the far left has won the confidence of more than a very small number of the young people now looking for a socialist alternative. So the goal we've set ourselves is a united organisation of all of the revolutionary youth.

Such an organisation, in our view, would have to be completely autonomous of any

existing organisation. Not for any more general reason than that it would otherwise be stifled by orders-from-people-who-know-better.

Do you think this is realistic given the sectarianism of the left in this country?

The SWP have written to us saying the idea of an autonomous youth organisation is 'unlucky' and that a united organisation would result in 'sectarian squabbling'. We think they are wrong.

On the contrary, a united organisation would both greatly expand the audience of revolutionaries and, indeed, seriously contribute to overcoming much of the unnecessary squabbling that takes place on the 'adult' left.

In my experience many of the supporters of Rebel (the new youth wing of the SWP) agree with us, especially on the autonomy of the youth organisation.

What will be happening following the launch of Revolution?

As I said, it is a paper to organise a national youth group. Number One is really a sort of pilot issue, showing where we want to go.

In December there will be a national supporters meeting to establish a democratic structure round the paper, regularise its production monthly, and discuss its political basis.

After that the fight will be to move towards constituting an actual organisation, drawing in other far left groups and, when the whole thing really is self-indicent, to call a conference to establish an organisation and adopt a programme.

Crisis of leadership in NUS

CLOSE ON a million students are preparing for the new academic year.

They know that their school days weren't the happiest in their life, but few can believe that life in further and higher education will be any better, writes PAMELA HOLMES.

No accommodation, no library books, course closures, fees that are extortionate except for the wealthy — just a few of the problems facing most of those seeking a place in further or higher education.

Over the past decade, students have consistently turned to their union, the National Union of Students, as the means to organise around their demands.

But increasingly the NUS leadership, dominated by the Broad Left alliance of Labour and Communist Party students, has failed to meet this challenge.

It has failed to lead campaigns against the closure of teacher training colleges, the erosion of the purchasing power of the student grant, and other campaigns which students have taken up.

It is hardly surprising that many NUS members have begun to look away from the Broad Left for a lead. Students swell the ranks of the Anti Nazi League and the women's movement. They participated in the Irish prisoners march in July.

But that does not mean that the majority of students have turned away from their organisation; simply that they refuse to postpone their involvement in the campaigns facing the working class until the crisis of leadership in the NUS is resolved.

This question of leadership cannot be ignored, and the student movement may well have to face up to it sooner than was expected.

There is now a consensus to reject totally the Department of Education's proposals on student union autonomy and financing.

But there is no consensus on the basis on which the Government's plan should be rejected.

The Broad Left argues, in effect: 'Don't oppose the run-down of teacher training places. We will use the college for something else.' We will introduce new elements into the curriculum, so don't worry about leaving class sizes at an unacceptable level.'

This kind of project is excellent for gaining respectability with the Government and with the colleges, but it does nothing to develop the self-activity of students in their own organisation.

APPARATUS

The alternative to this which the Socialist Students Alliance puts forward is for a united student movement which is politically and organisationally independent of the State apparatus and is, therefore, capable of campaigning in defence of its interests.

Students cannot win their battles alone. For students, their alliance with workers is a practical necessity.

For the working class, this alliance poses the possibility of having an ally in confronting the problems of unemployment, of housing, of standard of living, of education, which face both students and workers alike.

What's so secret?

WITH PLACARDS such as 'ABC spells oppression' and 'SIGINT isn't secret anymore', a picket of more than 200 marched the start of the Official Secrets trial at the Old Bailey last week.

Defendants Aubrey, Barry, and Campbell all pleaded not guilty to charges under Sections 1, 2 and 7 of the 1911 Act.

Over a thousand pages of evidence have been gathered by the prosecution, falling into two categories. The first relates to Aubrey's and Campbell's interview in February last year with ex-soldier John Barry.

The other section deals with Campbell's collection of information concerning defence communications.

Much of the material that was found in his possession is readily available to the public, but the prosecution seems to be out to prove that as juxtaposition constitutes a dire threat to our life and limbs.

Campbell's defence is hindered by the fact that the charge under Section 1 forces the defendant to prove his/her

innocence. Normally the onus is on the Crown to prove guilty (that's the theory), but not in this case as John Leonard, the prosecution OJ, pointed out.

'I went to the Russian Embassy with the information we discussed they wouldn't even give me the tea form home — Duncan Campbell

Another peculiar aspect of this case is the way in which security vetting of the jury has taken place. Leonard admitted that 'anyone who is known to have been disloyal would obviously have been disqualified'. He failed to say how the Crown defined loyalty.

The TUC leaders' concern



for freedom of information was displayed at Brighton last week when journalist president Denis MacShane was

prevented from speaking on the ABC case. The NUJ delegation accordingly walked out of the Congress.

MacShane's speech was to have taken up the demand for a Freedom of Information Act, attacking the Labour Govern-

ment's record on journalistic freedom.

It was perhaps this suggestion that Callaghan and his cohorts see less than perfect which occasioned the security-fettered General Council's reply.

'Do you know who you're here?'
'I've been arrested — Crispin Aubrey, 14, 2, 7'

The would-be speech, which was distributed to delegates, argued that once again the Government had sided with the State security bosses to suppress free speech and comment. But when defence chiefs cynically look information about Britain's front-line defence aircraft they are not brought to trial.

'Knowledge is power?'
MacShane stressed, 'We ought to open the books of what the Government is doing in our name.'

Pickets of the Old Bailey. Every Tuesday, 12.30 to 2pm.

Cartoon: NEW STATESMAN
by R. Campbell, Aubrey, Barry

IRELAND

UVF man jailed

The bomber I knew

GEOFF BELL recalls his encounters with a Loyalist bomber who was jailed last week for 20 years for the murder of 15 civilians.

I first met Robert Campbell in the spring of 1971. I had been put in touch with him by a friend in Sandy Row — the Protestant heartland of Belfast.

The friend knew that I was trying to scratch a living as a freelance journalist, and that I had told him I would be interested in meeting someone from the Ulster Volunteer Force.

At the time, the official version was that the UVF didn't exist. The press, relaying the conventional wisdom of the Government and the security forces, dismissed the UVF as no more than a creation of Catholic paranoia.

MEMBER

Yet the UVF was quite easy to locate for any journalist who bothered to make the effort. It was Robert Campbell who made the contact for me, and although he refused at first to be drawn on his association with the organisation, he was to confirm later that he too was a member.

Campbell arranged a meeting in a pub just off Sandy Row. The man who turned up was podgy, bespectacled, and about 50 years old. From all appearances he was an alcoholic.

He made extravagant claims about how the UVF was about to move into action to defend 'Ulster'. The weapons the UVF had were detailed and the organisation's strength. His obsession was how the 'Protestant people' were being conspired against by all and sundry.

The only problem with this meeting, from a news angle, was the man's general incoherence. When I saw Campbell again I explained this to him.

BOASTED

A day or two later Campbell phoned and told me to come to the same pub later that day. This time I took along an *Observer* reporter with whom I was working at the time.

By the time we arrived at the pub the bloke I had talked to in the first meeting was already there. Sitting beside him was Campbell who then admitted, or rather boasted, that he too was in the UVF. The pair of



Loyalists marching through Ulster.

them were already near to drunkenness.

Essentially the conversation was a repeat of the one I had previously had. Said Campbell: 'The Protestant people didn't start this, but by God they'll finish it.'

He went on to talk about an execution list the UVF had drawn up, and how they would soon be going into 'action'. It had all the appearance of pub talk bravado.

But then at one point Campbell turned to me and said: 'You're a civil righter, aren't you?'

I explained in a bluster that I might have sympathies in that direction but that the meeting with him was a purely journalistic endeavour.

DRUNKEN

Then Campbell gave a drunken leer and produced a revolver. 'I could kill you in one fifth of a second,' were his words.

The *Observer* man and I soon 'made our excuses and left'.

Last week Robert Campbell was given 16 terms of life

imprisonment. He had confessed to his part in the bombing of the Catholic McGurk's bar in December 1971 — about nine months after my meeting with him.

ENCOUNTER

Although the story of my encounter with him and his mate finally found its way into the *Irish Times*, and although a similar story also appeared in the *Observer*, the UVF continued to be discounted by most of the media and the 'security forces'.

Indeed, when the bombing of McGurk's bar took place it was generally attributed to the IRA. The *Times* headlined the explosion, 'Blast that killed may have been IRA error'.

The myth was that the bomb had gone off in the bar while awaiting 'transit' to another destination. Not one scrap of evidence was offered to authenticate this story.

On the contrary, a young eyewitness described how he had seen bombers leave their bomb outside the pub and then drive on in a car with a Union Jack sticker.

The law, being the RUC and the British Army, ignored this testimony. Instead, as the *Irish Times* has put it, 'right from the night of the explosion British Army officers maintained the Provisional IRA had been the culprits'.

The intriguing question is just how much the Army and RUC really did know about the bombing.

Certainly both knew Robert Campbell, who himself was a former member of the infamous B Specials, the now disbanded all-Protestant auxiliary wing of the RUC.

More extraordinary was that at the time of the bombing Campbell owned and ran a gun shop. You don't get a licence to run such an establishment in Belfast unless you are very well thought of by the RUC.

Also interesting is that the British Army often visited Campbell's shop, ostensibly to buy equipment.

ILLEGAL

Yet at the time Robert Campbell was willing to put himself forward as a spokesman for the illegal UVF, and if an inexperienced reporter in Belfast knew that, it is stretching credibility to suggest that the security forces did not — the same security forces who blamed Robert Campbell's murder of 15 innocent drinkers on the IRA.



THE ANNUAL Birmingham show, held this year on 1 — 3 September, was marked by a strong British Army presence. As usual, recruitment and public relations were the order of the day.

As a protest against the British Army's involvement in Ireland, the Birmingham United Troops Out Movement called a picket outside the show. Members of UTOM also leafleted inside to put over to spectators the real role of the British Army as opposed to the glamorous one portrayed at the show.

The picket at the gates was well received by the public as they took the leaflets. The attitude of the soldiers, however, was characterised by such remarks as 'You've no chance', and, 'We'll get more

of you yet'. Inside the grounds the Army displayed its latest equipment. After leafleting one of the stalls, an attempt to debate with the soldiers about Ireland was stopped when two plainclothes policemen led away a UTOM member, physically warning him to leave immediately.

Other reactions from the soldiers — especially officers — were remarks such as, 'We'll get you next time in Ireland', and, 'We had a good day that day when we shot 13'.

Despite these attitudes the Army display was a real opportunity to bring the true facts about what the Army are doing in Ireland to the attention of the public. It was an opportunity effectively taken by Birmingham UTOM.

Terrorism Act Trades Council wants inquiry

THE 'HEMEL Hempstead Gazette' has retracted its description of a former national organiser of Provisional Sinn Fein as a 'terrorist organiser' writes FRED CARPENTER. This follows a picket of the paper's offices on 26 August.

The paper used this description of Michael Holden after he had been held for questioning at Heathrow under the prevention of Terrorism Act. The picket was only called at 10 pm the previous night, but some 25 people turned out. They included six members

of the local Labour Party General Management Committee and members of the SWP, IMG, and Anti Nazi League. Many more would have supported the picket but for the short notice.



Michael Holden

The most important thing was the labour movement response. The Hemel Hempstead branch of the cine-technicians' union, ACTT, of which Michael is chairperson, passed a resolution calling on the Trades Council to organise a labour movement inquiry into the workings of the PTA. A similar motion was also passed by the Apsley Mills chapel of the print union SOGAT.

This response results not only from Michael's own record as a trade union militant (he led a long union recognition campaign at Kodak), but also from the consistent long-term work done on Ireland around the Labour Party and Trades Council.

This work has made good use of national initiatives such as the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland and the International Tribunal, but has not relied on them exclusively. It has thus not been subject to so many ups and downs.

WHAT'S LEFT

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

TYPIST WANTED
Contract with fast, accurate typing needed immediately for full-time position. Be part of the Socialist Challenge team. Wages £55 a week. Send applications to P. Little, 329 Upper St., London N1 2XP stating experience, etc.

WIN A £450 HI-FI! Coventry Anti-Racist Carnival must sell 15,000 tickets to successfully fight the Tory council and hold a carnival in Coventry next year. Tickets 50p per book, cheques/postal orders with SEA to — Coventry Carnival Against Racism, c/o Wedge Co-operative, 13 High St., Coventry, W. Midlands. Draw 24 Oct. Licensed under 1976 Lotteries and Amusements Act.

ROOT AND BRANCH: A Libertarian socialist quarterly. Issue No. 6 now available. Articles on: trade unionism, Rosa Luxemburg, modern economics, plus more! 58p for 1 year sub; 52p for sample copy. Root and Branch, Dept CS, PO Box 238, Somerville, MA 02173, USA.



THE ABOVE, and other badges in red, black and white, available from Just Books, 7 Wintetavern Street, Belfast. 25p plus 7p postage. Cheaper bulk orders on request. Tel. Belfast 25828.

PICKET GARNERS: Main pickets every day, noon to 3pm and 5.30 to 11 pm at 399 Oxford St., London W1 (opp. Selfridges); 243 Oxford St. (Oxford Circus); 40-41 Haymarket, 56 Whitcombe St. (Leicester Sq.). Mass picket every Saturday at noon, 399 Oxford St. Donations urgently needed as strike pay is only 50p. All donations to Garners Strike Fund, c/o TGWU, Rm 34, 12-13 Henrietta St., London WC2. 01-2401058.

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Unity is holding a 'media' jumble sale (books,

tapes, records, posters, etc.) in the autumn. Bring anything suitable to The Other Bookshop, 329 Upper Street, N1 or phone 247 2717 for arrangements to collect.

CONNECTIONS: Britain and Southern Africa — a one day conference for trade unionist and youth. Sponsored by the North West TUC. Chaired by Colin Barnett (Sec NWTUC). Workshops on: action in the workplace, action in the Labour Party, an ABC of Southern Africa, Soweto and youth, women under apartheid, the media. Venue: Abraham Moss Centre, Crumpton, Manchester. Sat 11 Nov. 10-5pm. Details of crèche and conference from Manchester Anti-Apartheid, 58 Tintern Ave, Manchester M20 8NQ. Tel. 061-434 7549.

END the Tory Ban on the use of public halls by anti-racist and labour movement groups in Hambleton. Picket Hambleton Town Hall, King St, London W6. Sat. Wednesday 20 September.

SMALL room available in flat shared by writer and songstress. Sept-Feb. £24 per month. Ring 01-259 2097 on 18 Sept — 9pm to midday.

FATLIPS, leading playwright Arnold Wesker's first children's story with illustrations by prize-winning artist Oscar Zarate. £2.95 h/b. From The Other Bookshop, 329 Upper St., London N1.

ISLINGTON Campaign against Racism and Fascism one day conference 10am to 5pm on Sat 23 Sept at the Community Health Foundation, 108-104 Old St, London EC1 (1 min Old St tube). An official launching and a plan for future action, speakers and workshops. Creche. Food. All welcome.



NEW BADGE available. Defend Direct Works in three colours. From J Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 59, London N1. Cost: 15p each plus 7p p&p, or 11p each for orders of 10 or more.

OLDHAM Anti-Nazi League present Pinta Jenny Theatre Group in Peter Sheridan's *Emigrant*. St. Hugh's School Hall, Wildmoor Av., Hecla, Lancs. Oct 16 Sept. at 7.30pm. Tickets: 50p. Pensioners, unemployed, school students: 25p.

SOCIALIST PERFORMERS for plays: food, politics, unemployment, socialist party. 2 Oct-Knox, £50. State reasons interested. 225 Sparrowhawk Rd., Sheffield S11. Reply before 19 Sept. Auditions 25th.

NO ELECTIONS but Irish struggle goes on. Public meeting sponsored by Socialist Unity, 'End the Silence on Irish Prisoners'. Speakers from People's Democracy, republican movement, women's movement & labour movement. Wed 27 Sept., 7.30, Churchill Theatre, Bruntsfield, Edinburgh.

ROOM WANTED: male socialist with responsibility for a 3 year old son needs a home urgently in North London. Phone Andy: 01-226 2724.

SPEAKING OUT: A Woman's Right to Choose speakers school. Morning — general problems; workshops on voice production and delivery; how to stop being afraid — women's inhibitions about public speaking; using PA systems and megaphones; street meetings; phone-ins; handling hostility. Afternoon — speaking on

abortion; the facts; why abortion should be a woman's right to choose; structuring a speech; children's nurseries; schools; union meetings; debating with anti-abortionists, etc. Speakers kits, with sample speeches, speaking tips, texts and figures, etc. will be available. 16 Sept. 10.30-5pm, Room 36 ULU, Maitland St., London, WC1. Further details ring Sue at the NAC office 01-485 4303.

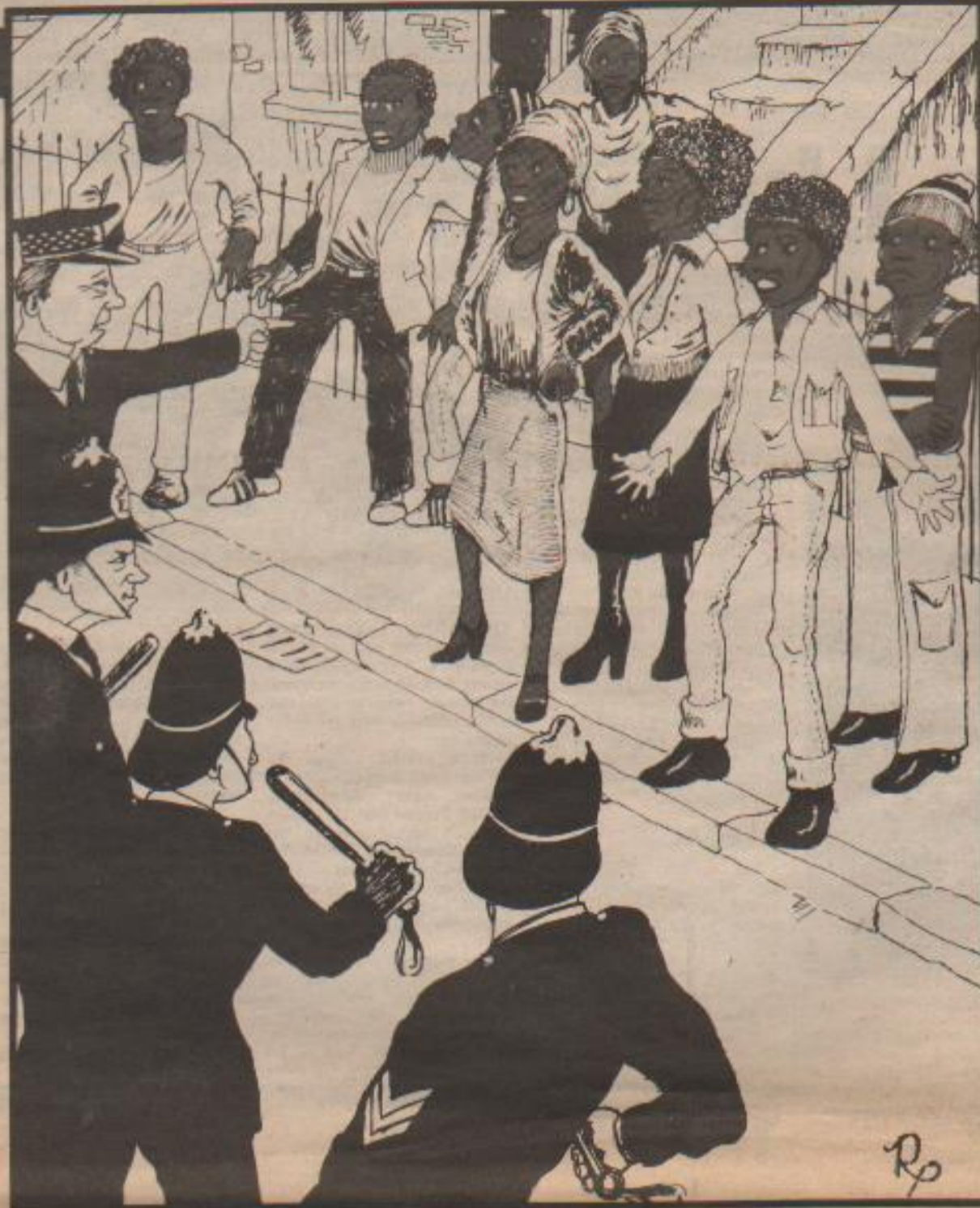
WORKERS ACTION meeting: 'Why the unions are clamping down on strikers'. Sunday 17 Sept., 7.45pm, at the 'General Ploton', Wharfedale Rd, Caledonian Rd, London N1.

SOCIALIST Campaign for a Labour Victory: London Rally, Friday 22 Sept., 7.30pm at Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd. Speakers: Eric Roberts (Prospective parliamentary candidate, Hackney North); Ted Knight (PPC, Homsey); Ken Livingston (PPC, Hemstead); Pat Longman (ISCLV Steering Committee).

LATIN AMERICA: IMG Day School, 24 Sept, open to IMG members and close contacts. Topic: the crisis of Castroist centrism, with special reference to Cuba and Argentina. Cost: £1 plus pooled fare. Possible reduction for wageless. Details from local IMG organisers or write to: LAF, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

ROOMS wanted urgently for Latin American refugees — one couple and one single. Phone Dave, 01-229 1750.

ANTI-RACIST NEWS



BRITISH IMMIGRATION themselves a few weeks ago. The liner and arrested 16 Indian seamen strike against low wages. They went to prison. The ensuing protests won their release. The seamen were fined and their air fares paid to the owner and their air fares paid to the owner.

The incident highlights once again the racist immigration laws made of the racist immigration laws.

How the

THE DETENTION of the 16 Indian seamen resulted in an official protest from the Indian government. It also saw a long report on BBC TV news, which explained the arbitrary character of the Immigration Acts.

The immigration laws are increasingly being used to harass black people, which is hardly surprising since Scotland Yard has a specially-created Illegal Immigration Squad under the supervision of Commander Arthur Haywood.

INFORMATION

The squad works with police officers from every station in the Metropolitan area, whose main task is to supply information on 'illegal immigrants'. One does not need too strong an imagination to grasp how these officers

elicit information.

In a recent meeting with Brynnoir John, Labour's office boy at the Home Office, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants stated that of 172 recent cases, the majority were victims of raids, random questioning, and arrests on the streets.

There have been numerous round-ups of Asians, who have been asked to produce their passports.

The JCWI gives the following instances of the way in which the Act is used. It is in fact the only way in which such an Act can be used:

*In a dawn raid in Plumstead, SE London, Asian families were woken up by seven police officers demanding to see their passports. After their MP complained and an investigation was held by Scotland Yard's A10 department, the Asians received an

Bradford hits back

THE ATTENTION of the Bradford Asian Youth Movement was drawn a few weeks ago to the plight of a local Asian trade unionist, Saed Rahman, who was in Armley jail awaiting deportation. Further investigations established that there were 23 others in Armley, and the Campaign Against Deportations & Racist Immigration Laws was launched.

We were horrified to learn of the conditions in which those awaiting deportation were living:

*Six to a cell of 13ft x 8ft (think about the size!).

*They were not allowed to work.

*They had no recreational facilities.

*They were kept in the cell 23 hours a day.

*They were subject to constant abuse.

What did we do?

First we called a public meeting, then we put pressure on the Home Secretary and MPs. We involved the Trades Council and some local Labour Parties. We contacted the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants to provide a qualified person to deal with these cases. Finally we organised a picket of Armley jail.

Result? Saed Rahman was released. But the fate of 15 or 18 others is uncertain. They have disappeared.

Why were they in jail?

Because of the 1971 Immigration Act. This Act divides people into patrials and non-patrials. Patrials are those people who are either born in the UK, or whose parents or grandparents were born here.

This concept, at a stroke, freed millions of white Commonwealth citizens from immigration controls. Simultaneously, thousands of black people who are British passport holders were made stateless through the concept of patriality.

ALL WHITE

The justification for this Act was to reduce the number of people who could come into this country. In fact that number has been greatly increased, but now they are all white, of course.

What does the 1971 Immigration Act mean in practice?

Virtually the only black people allowed into this country permanently are dependants. This group has come under tight administrative and arbitrary control. Officials have powers to investigate the most intimate details of people's lives.

These questions humiliate and

degrade Asian women, who often have to travel hundreds of miles from their home villages to Delhi for the interviews. Women and children are harassed. Officials can decide whether a child or wife is genuine on the basis of questions which are often incomprehensible to the dependants.

This Act means that wives are separated from husbands, and children from their fathers, for long periods of time by force. Would you put up with this if it was your family?

The police have been given widespread and arbitrary powers over the black community. The police can search any black person's house for so-called 'illegal immigrants'. A black person can be arrested and imprisoned without trial.

—S/he can be held indefinitely

—There is no appeal

—There is no bail

This is a complete reversal of the due process of law and a denial of human rights.

Do these laws decrease racial tension?

No. The passing of racist immigration laws, more than any other single incident, has intensified racial tension. These laws discriminate against black people. Because white people can be allowed in while blacks must be kept out, they imply:

*Somehow blacks are inferior to whites.

*Somehow blacks are responsible for the economic ills of this country.

None of this is true, but if the State says this, then no wonder racism is increasing; no wonder the National Front is growing more bold; and no wonder that black people are dying in the East End of London because of racism. These laws must be changed. Support the actions below and pass resolutions of support in your organisation. Affiliate to the campaign.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Saturday, 23 September. A national day of action against deportations. All jails where deportees are being held will be picketed. We shall picket Armley jail.

Saturday 21 October. The Asian Youth Movement has called a demonstration in Bradford against racist immigration laws.

Sunday, 8 October. A public meeting will be held in Bradford on the question of Immigration Controls. Tariq Ali will be speaking.

Further details are available from: Campaign Against Deportations & Racist Immigration Laws, c/o R. Goldberg, 14 Southgate, Bradford. Tel. 305927. Or from the Asian Youth Movement, c/o 1 Marlborough Road, Bradford 8.



FIGHT THE IMM

OFFICIALS excelled they boarded a Greek seamen, who were on were sent to Pentonville ultimately secured their ally paid by the ship India. again the use which is laws.

They are a major weapon used to harass, detain, and deport black people. They institutionalise racism in this country. They must be fought against.

COLIN TALBOT spells out what is going on in Britain because of the Immigration Acts; anti-racist activists in Bradford discuss their new campaign against deportations; and DAVE WAX reports on the racism debate at last week's TUC.

Law works

apology. For these small mercies, O Callaghan, many thanks!
 *Kwame Akin-Seye reported a burglary to the police who came to investigate. The following day they turned up again. This time they had not been invited. Their mission was sinister. They had come back to arrest Kwame's wife. She was eight months pregnant. When Kwame went to the police station to report her missing, he was arrested for 'overstaying'.
 *George Ezeabor was stopped for a minor traffic offence. He was not charged, but he was asked to produce his passport. Although Ezeabor was accepted as a refugee from Nigeria, his wife was charged with overstaying. Tower Bridge magistrates recommended her deportation.
 Ezeabor was later found not guilty at

the Inner London Crown Court of 'harbouring' his wife. Judge Garfitt was worried at the decision of a magistrates court to recommend deportation for a non-criminal offence when they had no legal right to do so. Hundreds of similar examples can be got from different parts of the country. What they reveal is not just a problem of administering the immigration laws, but the fact that the Acts are themselves

a vicious attack on black people. They are racist to the core. Nor can it be otherwise. It is necessary to demand their repeal and to campaign on behalf of Britain's unknown prisoners — the victims of State-sponsored racial prejudice. The campaign launched in Bradford is an important development which must be supported by all those interested in a long-term fight against racism.

...and the TUC

THE TUC GENERAL COUNCIL distributed a statement on racism to delegates in Brighton last week. It was much the same as their statements in previous years, offering a profound insight on the question of racism.

It was evil and had to be fought. The TUC were fighting it and would continue to do so. Great stuff, isn't it?

Moral declamations are soothing, but have nil impact. Yet it is unfortunately a fact that the TUC bureaucrats are much more hostile to racism than shop-floor unionists.

There have been numerous instances of shop-floor racism in recent months, and there are many examples of racism within the labour movement generally. How many full-time black officials are there in the Transport Union or the Engineering Union? How many are being groomed for officialdom?

To pose the question is to answer it, for the figures are pathetic when compared to the numbers of black workers there are in unions. On these questions nothing was said at the TUC. They were too close to home.

Bill Keys made the most militant speech. He called for a fightback and urged people to back the Anti Nazi League. On this, too, the TUC ducked the question. The platform refused to allow discussion of a motion calling on the TUC and its affiliated organisations to back the ANL.

Keys, chairperson of the TUC's race

relations committee, went on to denounce the Tories for exploiting the issue. He was also the only one to mention the Select Committee report which was drafted jointly by Tory and Labour MPs (including our old friend Syd Bidwell).

'I was appalled at this report which did not concern itself with race relations, but only with immigration', Keys declared. 'It was a report directed to immigration and not towards building a multi-racial society.'

'To me it was a document legitimising the opportunism of the politics of race,' he continued. 'It was in so many ways a racist document.' But Keys' speech was, after all, only a speech.

The inability of the TUC generals to mobilise their foot soldiers against racism on the streets tells us much more about the real problems we confront than even the best speeches on the subject.

In that sense, once again, the brothers (and a few sisters) had no plan of action to fight racism and fascism, except by moral exhortation.

Defending the Wolverhampton 4

THE CAMPAIGN to demand the dropping of charges against Dave Stevens and three other Wolverhampton anti-racists took a new turn last week. Campaigners took their case to the TUC and lobbied numerous delegates. They were shown the dossier produced by the defence committee, and virtually all the delegates approached signed the appeal.

Among the new signatories are Yorkshire miners' leader Arthur Scargill, and Reg Birch and Terry Duffy from the Engineering Union. These and other labour movement signatories will enable the campaign to take a tremendous leap forward in the coming weeks.

The case of the Wolverhampton 4 has now been published in almost every labour movement newspaper. *Tribune*, *Labour Weekly* and *Socialist Worker* have published reports appealing for solidarity.

Ayrshire blacks firebombed

ON MONDAY 4 September a council house in Stevenson, Ayrshire, was firebombed. In the house at the time was Dulcie Fegan and her three children. The Fegans are originally from St. Helena. They are black.

Fortunately none of the Fegans were hurt. But their living room has been gutted. Furniture and curtains have been destroyed.

Mrs Fegan told the press that her family had been subjected to a long campaign of verbal abuse by local whites. She is convinced the bombing is part of that same campaign.

Stevenson has a large Orange population. Ayrshire has become notorious for the activities of its local UVF. Loyalist gun runners are regularly arrested there. The National Front has just introduced members into the Glasgow area from London. Some of them have been attempting to photograph people visiting left wing bookshops in the city.

Knowing all this we can feel sure the

bombing of the Fegans is not an isolated incident. MARTIN O'LEARY

ANL without elections

AT THE national conference of the Anti Nazi League in July, the feeling was that an October election was definite. As a result there was no forward planning for any actions after September, writes DAVID JONES.

Speaking from the floor, Tariq Ali suggested that the steering committee make some provisional arrangements in case the elections were postponed. He suggested that in the event of no election taking place in 1978, the League should besiege the Labour Party conference and by its presence insert the struggle against racism on the agenda.

At the same time, Ali argued, it should organise an anti-Nazi camp at the conference, with the help of numerous constituency parties which are affiliated to the League.

The Labour Party conference begins in Blackpool on 5 October, shortly after Carnival 2 on 24 September, which will make a major national mobilisation somewhat difficult. But the ANL steering committee should definitely consider mobilising its supporters in the North for a presence at the conference.

NF Football

THE NATIONAL Front has entered a football team in a local Sunday league in Tameside, whose match was picketed on 3 September by a few anti-fascists. They were not received well by the Front supporters. One was attacked and suffered minor injuries.

Last Sunday, over 50 anti-fascists delayed the start of the game, which eventually continued under police protection. At one stage during the match, the referee ran off the field and struck one of the pickets in the face. The police did not intervene.

Plans are being made to attempt to stop further matches.



Bill Keys — came up with fine words but no action

IMMIGRATION LAWS



Vietnamese stone Chinese troops on border

Effects of 'semi-war' strike home

Vietnam digs in

The consequences of what is already a state of semi-war are many and run deep. Balancing the budget is one problem.

The gradual suspension and then abrupt termination of Chinese aid puts a question mark against about 80 development projects. Some of these are vital for the economy: the modernisation of the Mao Khe coal mines, the extension of the Thai Nguyen steel plant, the construction of a bridge over the Red River, and of a railway workshop near Hanoi.

The departure of 160,000 Hoas for China also has serious implications, as Chinese labour is traditionally more skilled. For example, the Hoas of North Vietnam made up 60 per cent of the workforce in the coal mines, they dominate sectors of the fishing industry, and play an important role in the port of Haiphong.

Vietnam is heavily dependent on coal for the production of its domestic energy. Not only that but coal, like the fishing industry, is a vital export sector and thus a source of foreign currency.

The creation of 'new economic zones' has had to be abandoned in the areas close to Cambodia. Many of the 200,000 soldiers demobilised in 1975 in order to work in the fields have now been called up again.

The army, which was supposed to turn its energies towards production and the creation of an infrastructure, is tied up on the borders.

'OPPORTUNISTS'

The objectives of the second Five Year Plan will therefore most probably not be achieved. Yet they were considered to be vital.

Political tensions are also apparent. The press recently called for a struggle against 'opportunists'.

In spite of the previous successes of its policy towards minorities, Hanoi clearly fears Peking's overtures towards the Montagnard population, which originally came from Southern China.

Important leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party such as Tay and Nung have

been deprived of most of their functions. So have generals Chu Van-tang, Le Hien Mai and Le Quang-ba. Other leaders of the VCP thought to be close to the Chinese, notably members of the Central Committee, have met with the same fate.

It is a time of reinforcement of the control of the party over all spheres of activity. And, one fears, of the organs of political security and the military hierarchy.

In a very difficult economic and social situation, marked by a general shortage of basic products, the bureaucratisation of the regime can only accelerate. And that is one thing Vietnam does not need!

In these conditions it is hardly astonishing that Vietnamese diplomacy has evolved towards 'realism' and 'moderation'. The Vietnamese leadership's room for manoeuvre, already limited in 1975, has been further reduced.

Vietnam has found integration into Comecon unavoidable, since only the latter can restart a number of the development projects aban-

doned by Peking.

All the conditions for the 'normalisation' of relations with the USA — notably the payment of three million dollars in war reparations — have been set aside by Hanoi, which now finds itself in the position of supplicant.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, fearing diplomatic isolation, is multiplying its approaches to the member states of the reactionary Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Indochina is a powderkeg. The Sino-Soviet and Sino-Vietnamese conflicts have become major factors in the world and regional situation, to the great benefit of imperialism and the neo-colonial dictatorships.

DIFFICULT

As for the Vietnamese revolution, it is today going through one of the most difficult periods of its history. A large part of the responsibility for this rests with the policy of the Chinese leadership.

RADIO HANOI has broadcast an appeal to insurrection against the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. At the same time Peking has accused Vietnamese troops of occupying a section of Chinese territory.

The Indochina conflict is thus getting worse. The Vietnamese army is now involved on three fronts: Laos and the Cambodian and Chinese borders.

This is taking an inevitable toll on the ambitious objectives laid down by the Vietnamese leadership to consolidate the victory of 1975. **PIERRE ROUSSET** reports.

Popular Unity and the solidarity movement

IN THE second of three articles, **JOHN BALL** discusses the evolution of the solidarity movement in relation to developments in the Chilean political parties.

The Chilean defeat had a profound effect on European workers. It struck a raw nerve. Millions of people understood that the coup was a tremendous defeat for socialism.

Even if they still believed in the possibility of a peaceful road to socialism, they realised that what had happened in Chile could happen in any country.

They realised that the longer the junta survived, the more encouragement it would give their own bosses. And so they built a solidarity movement which has become part of their tradition, deeply rooted in their organisations.

Their ranks were swelled by the tide of refugees from Latin America now, at nearly two million, the largest emigration since the Jewish migration of the 1930s. And they began to ponder and absorb the lessons of the defeat.

But the lessons were too hard to take for the Communist parties.

It was their great hope, the living proof of their strategy. They could not afford to admit that their strategy had failed.

They threw themselves into solidarity, but wanted the impossible from it. They wanted to prove that the peaceful road could be saved by international solidarity — that this could be so strong that it could defeat reaction without the need for revolutionary action.

Their whole tradition, ideology and bureaucratic organisation have stopped them learning any lessons from the defeat.

Instead, they have lined up with the manoeuvres of the Popular Unity (UP) leaders, their deals with the very Christian Democrats who conspired to lay the basis for

the coup, and the attempt to isolate or smush up dissenting opinion.

How has this affected the Chile Solidarity Campaign, which has played a quiet but crucial role in awakening British workers to the dangers of the line of their own leaders, and in building a tradition of internationalism which has been sorely lacking?

The CSC is now strongly established. Many independents are in central positions. The campaign remains open and federal in its structures, with a strong activist base, rooted in the 75 local committees.

EXILES

The CP has not sewn up the campaign. It has not committed itself openly to support the UP's manoeuvres. Instead, it hides behind the mask of the exile community.

As long as the anti-democratic policies of the UP parties conceal the dissent amongst Chilean workers, they can maintain the fiction that all Chileans support the UP.

This was made very clear at the Chile local committees conference on 19 August, where there was a farcical interlude in which three 'reports' on Chile were given.

The first was from a representative of the National Union of Students, Alan Christie, who had been allowed into Chile. Much of what he had to say about the development of the struggle was heartening and important.

But large chunks of his 'report' were a highly slanted account of the growth of the parties in Chile, which made no mention of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the Co-ordinadora (former members of the Socialist Party), the MAPU (a Christian party which went over to the workers), or the Liga Com-

unista (Trotskyists) — after which he passed off the views of the UP as the 'views of the Chilean people'.

In reply to questions, he explained that he had not come into contact with the other parties because the 'Chileans in Britain had made no arrangement for him to see them'.

The phrase 'Chileans in Britain' means the Chilean Anti-Fascist Committee, which has excluded all opposition voices from its ranks.

The CAFC speaker came third. He topped a boring and patronising speech with an insulting attack on the very Chilean revolutionaries who had been so neatly carved out of Alan Christie's visit!

If Pedro Cornejo of the CUT (Chilean trade union federation) had not lent some dignity to the proceedings with his account of the new trade union co-ordination, we would have been better off with the three wise monkeys.

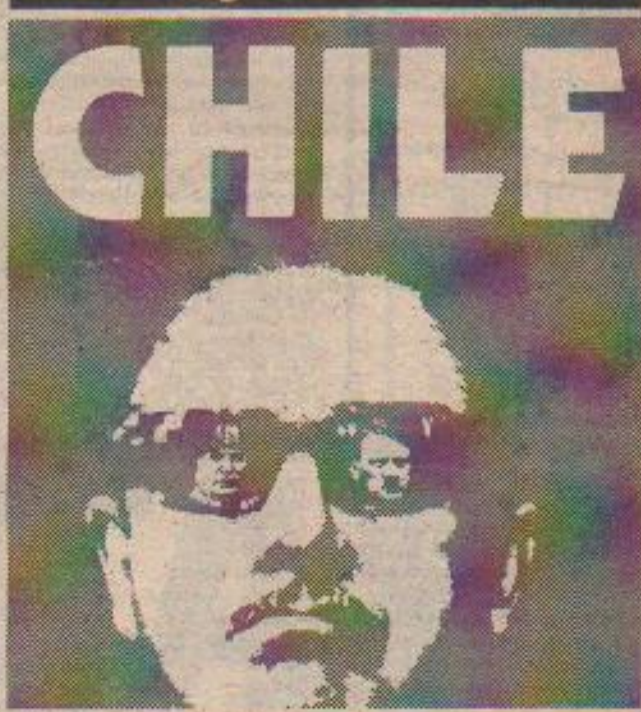
Of course, if this is what happens in an activist conference, you can imagine what public meetings are like.

For the same reason, the leadership is extremely wary about bringing Chileans in struggle into any kind of relation with the base of the campaign.

Strong independent committees like Sheffield have set up direct links with organisations in Chile, and have concentrated on trade union boycott and labour movement solidarity actions in the Sheffield working class.

But the campaign leadership has done little to help this. Instead it has concentrated on either 'consumer boycott' tactics or prestige tours of big name speakers, which are fed in through the network of Chilean bureaucrats in Europe and are rarely seen by the local committees.

NEXT WEEK: The support that is needed.



Intercontinental Press combined with Inprecor

A REPORT by Parvin Najafi on the demonstrations throughout Iran is one of the articles in this week's issue of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor [Vol. 16 No. 34].

Also featured are interviews with Petr Uhl on Czechoslovakia and Bala Tampoe on Sri Lanka; reports on Brazil, Nicaragua, and Peru; material on China looking at the split with Albania, the dispute in Indochina, and the new treaty with Japan; and a document on 'The Coming Revolution in Taiwan'.

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Masses rise against dictatorship 'Death to the Shah'

IN A BRUTAL attempt to crush the growing tide of mass opposition the Shah has placed Tehran and eleven other Iranian cities under martial law for six months, A. HAMZEH reports.

Large numbers of heavily armed troops supported by tanks have occupied all the country's major cities. A night-time curfew has been imposed and gatherings of more than two people banned. Hundreds of people have been killed by the troops, and a number of prominent oppositionists have been rounded up by the army.

A life and death struggle has now begun between the dictatorship and the masses, the outcome of which is by no means certain yet.

Much will depend on how well the Shah's army stands the new strains it faces — at least one officer has already been shot by his own troops.

Also crucial will be the reaction of the radical wing of the Moslem clergy, towards which the masses have increasingly looked for leadership.

The recent appointment of a new government of 'national reconciliation' by the Shah and renewed promises of reforms did nothing to solve the regime's political crisis.

On the contrary, the masses saw this apparent climb-down

by the regime as a victory for themselves, and stepped up their action accordingly.

Appeals by the various bourgeois opposition groups and the moderate wing of the Moslem clergy for the masses to be patient and give the new government a chance had no effect either.

VIOLENT

The Moslem clergy called for demonstrations throughout the country on Monday 4 September, a religious holiday marking the end of the month of Ramadan. The response was enormous.

Even the government-controlled press in Iran admitted that more than three million people took part in demonstrations throughout the country.

For the first time the centre of the mass struggle moved from the provincial cities to the capital, Tehran, where more than half a million people are estimated to have taken part in demonstrations which began early in the morning and continued until late at night.

After months of violent clashes, the huge demonstra-

tions in Tehran were completely peaceful. The large number of troops on the streets made no attempt to stop the demonstrators as they marched through the streets chanting 'death to the Shah'.

There were even emotional scenes as soldiers burst into tears when confronted with demonstrators chanting 'brother soldiers, why do you kill

'Democracy had to be saved'



and throwing them flowers.

The growing influence of the radical Moslem clergy on the mass movement was reflected

in the widespread calls for an Islamic government and the return of the exiled religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini.

But there were also widespread calls for the release of political prisoners and democratic rights. Significantly large numbers of women took part in the demonstrations.

A call was made then for a general strike on 7 September. The government responded by putting a ban on demonstrations. The 'moderate' religious leaders backed down and called on the masses to go on strike but stay at home 'to avoid unnecessary bloodshed'.

No one took any notice of either the government's warnings or the advice of the religious leaders. Hundreds of thousands of people came onto the streets of Tehran once more on 7 September in another massive show of opposition to the Shah.

TRIUMPH

The regime did not carry out its threats, making no attempts to stop them.

As the demonstrations ended late in the evening there was a mood of triumph. Many people felt that they had already won the struggle against the Shah.

They almost felt that they

would wake up the next morning and find that the Shah had 'disappeared'. But they woke up instead to find that martial law had been declared.

Despite the declaration of martial law, however, thousands of people gathered in one of the working class districts of Tehran last Friday for a demonstration called on the previous day.

When the demonstrators refused to disperse, troops fired shots into the crowd and a violent clash developed which rapidly spread to other parts of the capital.

Throughout the day there were bloody clashes between unarmed demonstrators and soldiers on the streets of Tehran. Several hundred and possibly more than one thousand demonstrators are believed to have been killed.

Eyewitnesses reported seeing truckloads of bodies being taken away by the army and hospitals are said to have been full of wounded demonstrators.

The army has also begun rounding up prominent oppositionists. But many seem to have avoided arrest by going into hiding.

If the Shah thinks the revolution will solve all his problems he is gravely mistaken.

FRANCE: The Communist Party (PCF) has brought out a book, *The USSR and Us*, which includes a call for the rehabilitation of both Bukharin and Trotsky, described as undoubtedly representatives of 'important currents of the workers movement'.

Much of the blame for the party's previous pro-Soviet stance is shoved onto former general secretary Maurice Thorez (conveniently dead). But PCF dissident Jean Elleinstein has put the leadership on the spot by demanding the rehabilitation also of leaders expelled by the PCF in the past.

The latter include Roger Garaudy, whose exclusion in April 1970 took place well after the death of Thorez and at a time when the present general secretary, Georges Marchais, was already in control of the party.

FRANCE: The PCF must also be embarrassed by what has happened to the small bourgeois parties it paraded as 'allies of the working class' at the time of the March elections.

The leader of the Left Radical Movement, Robert Fabre, has now accepted an assignment from President Giscard d'Estaing to act as his investigator into unemployment. Although the Left Radicals say that Fabre has excluded himself by this action, he still has his parliamentary seat — won with PCF votes — and others may follow him.

Meanwhile, 'progressive Gaullist' leader Dominique Gaffet, for whom the PCF withdrew its candidate before the first round of the elections, now says that he is seeking an alliance with the mainline Gaullist RPR for the European elections. They are more 'national' opponents of 'national independence', it seems.

EAST GERMANY: Six journalists on a paper in Cottbus have reportedly been arrested. In printing a speech by head of state Erich Honecker extolling the government's efforts to advance the cause of working people and defend socialism and peace, they apparently added at the end: 'In doing so it has failed and will also fail in the future'.

PERU: Several people were killed when five thousand miners and their families were forcibly evicted from Lima University last week by police using teargas, water cannons and armoured vehicles.

The miners and their families had marched to Lima to highlight the nationwide strike by 45,000 miners to win the reinstatement of 320 militants fired after previous strikes. Public sector workers are also now on strike against the announcement of redundancies and are openly linking their struggle to that of the miners.

KOREA: Among those attending the 10th anniversary celebrations of the now Communist pro-Chinese Korean Democratic People's Republic is Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo. Carrillo is already rumoured to have had a secret meeting with Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung in Rumania, where he was holidaying at the time of the latter's state visit.

POLAND: The Polish dissident group Charter 77 has issued in Warsaw a statement by the Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia announcing the joining of three dissidents. Charter 77 representatives in Prague had been unable to make contact with Western journalists to release the statement. KGR and Charter 77 agreed to help each other last month.

Save Argentinian revolutionaries

AN INTERNATIONAL campaign is being waged for 22 people arrested in Brazil on 23 August at a meeting of the Socialist Convergence group. Nine have so far been released.

Among those still held are two Argentinian revolutionaries: Hugo Bressano (pen-name Nahuel Moreno), a leader of the PST (Socialist Workers Party); and Rita Strasberg, a militant in the same party.

If Bressano and Strasberg are extradited to Argentina their death is very likely. Over 50 PST members have 'disap-

peared' (i.e. been murdered) and the same number are held in jail by the Videla regime.

However, the response to the arrests internationally suggests that the Brazilian junta may be forced to grant Bressano and Strasberg the right to leave for the country of their choice.

In Portugal, 61 deputies from all parties have so far signed an appeal demanding the release of Bressano and Strasberg as well as that of a Portuguese socialist, Antonio Su Leal, arrested at the same

time. In Spain, the Socialist Party (PSOE) has sent a telegram demanding the release of all those arrested in France, a trade union delegation has visited the Brazilian Embassy.

In Switzerland, an appeal for all those arrested has been signed by 12 Socialist deputies and the general secretary of the Communist Party. And the Young Socialists in Austria have also taken up the case.

In Venezuela, the national bureau of the left-wing party

MAS has appealed for a mobilisation by all workers and student organisations to free those arrested.

In Britain, too, everything must be done to achieve this end — and in particular to assure Bressano and Strasberg the right to leave Brazil for the country of their choice. Please send all telegrams, etc., to: Brazilian Embassy, 32 Green Street, London W1. A picket of the Embassy will also be held at 6pm next Monday, 18 September.



HUGO BRESSANO

TUC 'imperialism' exposed

Blood on whose hands?

'THERE'S BLOOD on their hands', said Jack Jones, former general secretary of the Transport & General Workers Union, last Thursday. He was talking about the conspiracy to break Rhodesian oil sanctions.

Brother Jack is dead right. But according to a new book produced by War on Want, the leaders of the TUC have made their own, not insignificant, contribution to the cause of imperialism and racism in the Third World. **TOM MARLOWE** elaborates.

Don Thomson and Rodney Larson's *Where were you, brother?* has the provocative subtitle, 'An account of Trade Union imperialism'.

It traces the association of the TUC and its American counterpart, the American Federation of Labour/Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL/CIO), with CIA and British Foreign Office sponsored 'trade unions' in the Third World.

'Trade unions' is inverted commas because Thomson and Larson reveal that the unions in question were often set up in opposition to genuine, usually left-wing orientated unions; that they were financed by the CIA or British Foreign Office; that their leaders were often trained by the CIA in special colleges in America; and that the unions involved were encouraged to organise by the various dictatorships.

More than this, the authors show in one of a series of startling revelations how the Inter-American Regional Office (ORIT), the Latin American offshoot of the TUC-backed International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, worked hand in glove with the CIA in organising 'union' resistance to Allende in Chile and even participated in the actual coup.

But Chile is only one example. Even an inquiry conducted by the American Senate in 1968 records how the TUC-backed ORIT endorsed and organised in favour of anti-democratic coups in Guatemala, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic.

As the Senate inquiry itself commented: 'Too many Latin

Americans this looks like ORIT is an instrument of the US', or as the authors of the War on Want publication put it: 'Supporting dictatorships and splitting left opposition movements was to become the principal ORIT role on the subcontinent.'

Yet since the end of the 1940s the British and European trade union leaderships have poured hundreds of thousands of pounds into ORIT. According to the *Washington Post*, another funding source for this organisation is the CIA.

ORIT gets union money as the South American branch of the ICFTU, to which the TUC gives as much as one third of its own annual budget.

The effectiveness of American trade unionism in organising workers in the Third World is illustrated by the list of those who donate to the 'overseas work' of the AFL/CIO.

Donors include the Standard Oil Company, ITT (another participant in the Chile coup), Mobil Oil Company, International Mining Corporation, United Fruit Company, and many other multinationals who operate in the Third World.

As for the TUC's own 'international' work, this is subsidised by an annual grant of £75,000 from the British Foreign Office.

Despite the fact that the TUC in turn contribute as much as £420,000 a year of British trade unionists' money to the ICFTU, and despite the large amount of written evidence which exists on the anti-working class role of this organisation in the Third World, the TUC leaders



ALLAN HARGREAVES, TUC international secretary.

interviewed by Thomson and Larson disclaimed any knowledge of the murky business.

The TUC's international secretary, Allan Hargreaves, claimed that its international programme was 'non-political' and that he did not know about the role of his sister organisation in the Chile coup.

But Hargreaves himself has some interesting connections, representing the TUC on the British Atlantic Committee. The latter's Committee for Transatlantic Understanding offshoot is associated in turn with the US National Strategy Information Centre, whose board is made up largely of business and military personnel.

RESPONSIBLE

In just under 140 pages, the authors of this study can only scratch the surface. They relate how many of those responsible on the TUC refused to talk to them, and issued instructions that nobody else should either.

But enough information is supplied to warrant the fullest possible investigation into the role of the TUC in setting up tame 'kept' unions in the Third World, and in playing the role of standard-bearer for the CIA and the Foreign Office.

A final example is an interview a TUC delegation visiting South Africa gave in 1973. Their reply to suggestions of an economic boycott of South Africa gives a flavour: 'There will certainly be boycott suggestions, notably from Australia, but they won't get very far. The TUC has decided that the only way to achieve its aims is to encourage people to work hard in South Africa, within the political framework, to promote black trade unions.'

CORRECTION

Last week's 'Confessions of a Chilean agent' contained one important error in footnote 10. 'El comandante Raul' was never a member of the MIR, but was a member of UPOPU (Socialist Popular Union). This DINA infiltrator was, as we said, responsible for the death of many MIR members. Sincere apologies to the MIR comrades for this slip.

Soweto students need your help

ON 18 SEPTEMBER eleven black student leaders will appear before the South African Supreme Court. They are charged with 'sedition' for their role in leading the Soweto rebellion against apartheid in 1976.

TORTURED

All eleven are members of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which was banned in October 1977. Topping the list is Sechaba Daniel Montsitsi, SSRC president at the time of his arrest in June 1977.

Montsitsi had been held incommunicado for 422 days by the time of his first court appearance on 28 July. There have been reports that he and other students activists were assaulted and tortured during this time.

The charge of 'sedition' that they face has not been used in South Africa since 1927. Conviction carries a possible

death sentence. Christian Science Monitor correspondent **Jane Goodwin** has described the trial as perhaps 'the most important political trial in South Africa since the 1964 trial of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela'.

As exiled SSRC member **Majakathata Mokoena** pointed out in these columns three weeks ago, a mass campaign to force the release of these prisoners is urgently needed. But the response so far has been patchy.

SOLIDARITY

So start organising now. What would you feel like if you faced a possible death sentence for organising your union members — and no-one lifted their little finger to save you?

Please send all resolutions, details of solidarity action, etc. to: **M. Mokoena, c/o 1 Cambridge Terrace, London N1.**

Socialist Challenge

All-out effort on 14 Oct

Our target: 50 per cent more sales

WHATEVER your plans for Saturday 14 October, we would like to guarantee that if you don't personally sell the paper, your path will cross with that of a 'Socialist Challenge' seller.

14 October is the first of three days in the coming months when each and every supporter of the paper will be asked to give some time to selling 'Socialist Challenge'. **DODIE WEPPLER** outlines the plans that are under way.

This first 'National Sales Day' will mark the beginning of a 10-week period when we will aim to get the paid sales up by 50 per cent.

However, it's not enough to make extra sales just for 10 weeks. That's why every person who buys a paper during this period will be asked to take out a special introductory subscription. We're aiming to win regular readers from the sales drive.

Besides the £2 special offer for a 3 month subscription, we plan to introduce a new 6 month offer.

For £5, new readers will get not only a 6 month subscription, but also a choice of either: Zed Press 1979 Pan Africa diary or the Pluto Press 1979 diary on nuclear power free. Both are normally priced

at £1.50.

Reaching our targets depends very much on local supporters' groups. In some towns, like Coventry, there is no such group. The paper sellers in Coventry are almost exclusively members of the International Marxist Group.

In other towns, there are very few members of the IMG — or none at all. Independent socialists or comrades of the International Socialists Alliance sell the paper.

If the sales drive is to be successful, we need to get all supporters of the paper in every town meeting on a regular basis with the sales drive as an item on every agenda. And resources well beyond those of the IMG will have to be involved. Furthermore, the planning

of the drive will have to begin now. Is it possible to get a local stall at the market for the National Sales Days?

Can marquees be set up to advertise and sell the paper at local anti-racist carnivals?

How can the paper become better known and more visible locally?

Are fly-posting expeditions being planned? Where are supporters going to meet on each of the National Sales Days? How can we publicise the venue well in advance?

If the sales drive is planned in this way, it will very much help the local groups. They can begin working together as a group around the very immediate interests of the paper.

The Editorial Board is really counting on the sales and subscription drive. It's a central part of our financial plans for the autumn.

We have generally had a good response to our appeals for funds. If that's maintained, and if the new readers we are aiming to win turn out to be as responsive as the present ones, we should be thinking about expansion in the spring period.



WHERE WERE YOU, BROTHER?
A War on Want investigation by Don Thomson and Rodney Larson

How Western TU funds have been used to split or weaken Third World unions or have been associated with the downfall of democratic govts. like Allende's Chile, while rank and file trade unionists have little information about how their money is spent on international work.
£1.20, from War on Want, 467 Caledonian Rd, London N7 9BE.

OPEN FORUM

15,16&17 September. The dates to remember for the second

MARXIST SYMPOSIUM



Day One

Friday 15 September

Registration 9.15AM - 9.45AM
Plenary Session:

Bourgeois Democracy and Socialist Revolution 10AM - 1.15PM

Presentations: Nicos Poulantzas

Workshops 2PM - 5PM

Presentations: Nicos Poulantzas
Michael Lowy
Marxism and the National Question — Michael Lowy
Gramsci's Politics — Quintin Hoare

Day Two

Saturday 16 September

Plenary Session:

The English Bourgeois Revolution 10AM - 1PM

Presentation: Perry Anderson
Workshops 2PM - 5PM

Class Analysis and Political Strategy — Robin Blackburn
Scottish Nationalism — Neil Williamson
[Tom Nairn unable to speak]
The Women's Movement and Socialism — Val Coullas
The 'British Road to Socialism' — Clive Turnbull
Revolutionaries and the Labour Party — Julian Atkinson

Day Three

Sunday 17 September

Plenary Session:

The Party and the Women's Movement 10AM - 1PM

Presentations: Sheila Rowbotham
Ben Campbell (CP)
Celia Pugh (IMG)
Joan South (SWP)

Plenary Session:

Eurocommunism 2PM - 5PM

Ernest Mandel

Venue: Goldsmith's College

Creche: Trained childminders provided by Symposium. Parents must supply food and toys.
Cost: £5 for all three days
Any single session £1



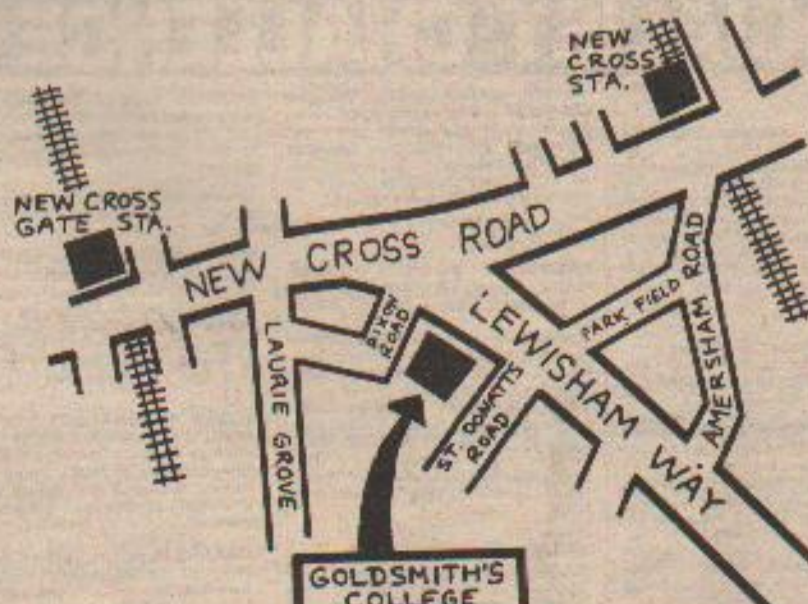
HOW TO GET TO THE SYMPOSIUM

GOLDSMITH'S COLLEGE IS ON LEWISHAM WAY LONDON SE14

The easiest way to get to Goldsmith's College for those coming from out of London is to travel to New Cross Station (either Metropolitan line, or British Rail from Charing Cross, Waterloo East, or London Bridge). On coming out of the Station cross over New Cross Road and go down Amersham Road. Take the first right down Parkfield and Goldsmith's College is directly in front of you.

Total walking time from New Cross Station is less than 5 minutes. There are trains every 10 minutes from Charing Cross to New Cross. Time of train journey is 15 minutes.

Goldsmith's College is also on the following bus routes from main line rail stations: 36 — Paddington, Victoria; 21 — London Bridge; 171 — Waterloo.



Style and Content

SUPPORTERS of the paper are a bit concerned with the style and content of the Under Review page...

While we do not doubt the importance of the paper, the latest advice is to not believe...

We think that the paper should cover subjects accessible to most readers, such as widely available books...

Finally, we would ask the editors to exercise greater vigilance in ensuring that review copy is written in clear, simple English.

MARTIN O'LEARY [Glasgow]

Reformism not fascism

STEVE SKAITH (7 September) asks whether the PRP in Portugal really equated social-democracy with fascism in 1975...

On 7 November 1975 the PRP's paper Revolucao described the Socialist-dominated government as 'an authoritarian regime that will assume fascist forms...

The PRP systematically failed to understand that the difference between social-democracy and fascism is more than a question of form...

But the working class actually faced not a fascist counter-revolution but a bourgeois-democratic counter-revolution...

It did not aim to crush the workers movement in a bloodbath. On the contrary, the social-democrats relied



the industry and study of the movement. The recognition that the motives and purposes of individuals or groups are not explicable simply by reference to their explicit statements and declared attitudes...

A good illustration of this can be seen in the period 1974-78 in Britain, when virtually all sections of the left believed that a mass working class fightback was on the agenda...

The failure even to consider that the working class might be unwilling to break free of its bureaucratic leaderships is based on an inadequate understanding of ideology as a material, structural force in society...

BOB SIMPSON [London]

The Ghosts of the dead?

JOHN ROSS's article 'Crisis of the Far Left in Europe' (24 August) mistakenly assumes that those who in any way distance themselves from 'classical Marxism'...

Fortunately this is not the case. On the contrary, it is possible to enrich and indeed transform that tradition, to surmount some of its undoubted weaknesses...

For example, post-Einsteinian physics has completely undermined the mechanistic view of science as absolute, certain objective truth, verified by the impartial observer...

Similarly with psychoanalysis and

nor is it true that such choices are simply the result of not seeing any alternative. Choices to support pay controls or tolerate the cuts, for example, are based partly on rational considerations...

This is a more sophisticated version of what Marx meant when he said: 'The ghosts of the dead lie heavily on the brains of the living.'

Thus the determination of working class consciousness and politics is more complex than 'classical Marxism' would have us believe.

CARL GARDNER [London]

Not the whole truth

THERE ARE a lot of points in Steve Skaith's letter (7 September) on my article on 'The Far Left in Europe'

which would be a mistake — and I hope that the Socialist Challenge readers will do so in the space available. I cannot take up one point — the very important and safe question of whether Trotskyists consider that they have made major mistakes and have anything to learn from other revolutionary currents.

This is obviously also a very practical question — if Trotskyists considered that only they had 'the whole truth', then obviously moves for unity with non-Trotskyist forces would be little more than a manoeuvre.

It would of course be easy merely to protest that 'of course' Trotskyists learn from other people. So I think it is therefore better to give a few concrete examples.

A particularly relevant contemporary one is what has become known as 'autonomous movements'. Here the basic 'Trotskyist' position was outlined in Trotsky's writings on black nationalism...

But although Trotsky's writings on black nationalism are an anticipation of genius they are only an anticipation — a first preliminary guide to action on the necessity to support and build autonomous black organisation...

Indeed he couldn't have given a precise answer because the type of movement he had envisaged didn't come into existence for another 20 years until the break of Malcolm X from the Nation of Islam...

'Trotskyism' learnt from a great non-Trotskyist revolutionary, Malcolm X, how to develop what were a few outline ideas on autonomous organisation into a real part of a revolutionary programme.

It is pointless to ask where 'Trotskyism' ends and ideas developed by Malcolm X and learnt from the women's movement begin, precisely because there isn't any contradiction between them.

Every serious revolutionary organisation has in fact drawn on and learnt from many different traditions and currents. Anyone who believes that

they have things to learn only from themselves is not merely a fool but rejects the whole way Marxism develops.

I hope that Steve and other comrades in Big Flame realise, however, that the same applies to them. They should consider, perhaps, whether they have not also quite a lot to learn from Trotskyism.

JOHN ROSS [North London]

Spot the sectarian

TALK ABOUT the pot calling the kettle non-white — and your article (7 September) on the 'non-sectarian sectarians'.

The IMG's policy on what theme its paper should prioritise has gone through a number of gyrations over the years, but according to my recollection the bit about 'no true socialism without open democratic debate' merged some time ago into the ongoing obsessional criticism of other groups from a stance characterisable as 'less-sectarian-than-thou'.

So unlike the old days, when there would be a series of articles denouncing other left groups for being, in their various manifestations, 'incorrect', we readers have been getting used to seeing a series of articles knocking the same groups for being — sectarian. And your side-swipes at The Leveller and its supporters are just the sort of thing I mean.

The analysis in the same article of the estrangement felt by some non-aligned militants from organised groups — and the hostility towards them shown by others — was good. But no way was it the whole story.

ALISON McNAIR [London W11]

THE LENGTH of letters printed will usually be kept down to 400 words in order to encourage as wide a range of contributions as possible. All letters may be cut at the Editor's discretion. Unsigned letters will not normally be published, although we will withhold real names from publication on request.

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

- NORTH WEST: WARRINGTON Socialist Challenge group meets regularly. Ring Manchester Socialist Challenge offices for details. 061-236 2352. GREATER MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge. School students who support the paper and would like to get involved in anti-fascist activity, please contact Chris (273 6847, day) or Steve (226 4267, evening), or write to Manchester SC Centre, 14 Piccadilly. SALFORD Socialist Challenge supporters can be contacted at the Manchester Socialist Challenge offices. Tel 061-236 2352 or, by writing to Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre, 14 Piccadilly, Manchester. LEIGH Socialist Challenge group will be holding regular meetings shortly. For details ring Roy on Atherton 88 2830. LIVERPOOL Speke Socialist Challenge Group meets every Wednesday at Nash's Ark pub, Speke. 8pm.
- SOUTH MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge group meets every other Thursday at the Albert Inn off Wilmslow Rd. Help sell Socialist Challenge between 11.30am and 1pm at Moss Side shopping centre or Longsight Market, Dickenson Rd.
- NORTH EAST: NEWCASTLE Socialist Challenge local supporters are active! If you want to join them, phone Pete on (0632) 29057. DURHAM Socialist Challenge Supporters Group. For details contact: Dave Brown, 2 Pioneer Cottages, Low Pittington, Durham. MIDDLESBROUGH Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside entrance to Cleveland Centre (opp. Woolworths), 11am-1pm. Socialist Challenge is also available from Harriens (Newspaper) in Linthorpe Road.
- LONDON: HARROW Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly. Details from Box 50, London N1 2XP.
- HACKNEY Socialist Challenge supporters meet next on Weds, 20 Sept, at 7.30 pm in the Britannia pub, Mare Street. Discussion on Iran with invited speaker.
- SOUTH WEST London Supporters Group meets next 20 September, 7.30pm, Clapham Library.
- WALTHAM FOREST paper sales every Saturday, 11am-noon outside the post office, Hoe St, Walthamstow, London, E17.
- TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge supporters meet at the junction of Brick Lane and Bestnal Green Road every Sunday at 10am to sell the paper.
- TOWER HAMLETS NEWHAM joint Socialist Challenge meeting on 'A Workers Plan for the Upper Docks', 8pm, Tuesday 19 Sept., Broad Street and Ravensdale Club, Dellow Street, E1 (close to Shadwell underground station).
- CAMDEN Socialist Challenge supporters sell papers every Saturday at Inverness St market in Camden Town from 11am-2pm.
- WALTHAMSTOW readers can buy Socialist Challenge regularly from Sheridan's Newsagent, 85 Hoe St.
- LEYTON readers can buy Socialist Challenge from Faint's Newsagent, 326 Lee Bridge Road, Leyton.
- HARINGEY Socialist Challenge public meeting 'Socialist Alternative to Labour's bankruptcy', West Green Community Centre, Stanley Road, off West Green Road. Nearest tube: Tumpkin Lane, Thursday, 21 September, 7.30pm.
- SOUTH WEST: SOUTHAMPTON Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday from 10am-1pm above bar, Post Office, Bargate.
- PORTSMOUTH Socialist Challenge sales, Saturdays, 11.30am-1pm, Commercial Road Precinct.
- BRISTOL Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday, 11am-1pm in the 'Hole in the Ground', Haymarket.
- YORKSHIRE: NULL Socialist Challenge supporters need lots of Jumble for a sale soon. We can arrange collection. Offers of Jumble to Annette 443243. Have a clear-out and help build the paper.
- Huddersfield Socialist Challenge sales regularly Saturdays 11am-1pm in the Piazza.
- YORK Socialist Challenge is on sale at the York Community Bookshop, 73 Walmgate or from sellers on Thursdays (£2.30-1.45) at York University, Vanbrugh College; Saturdays (11.30-3.30) at Coway Street.
- MIDLANDS: For details of activities of local supporters throughout the Midlands contact the Socialist Challenge Centre, 78b Digbeth High Street Birmingham (021) 643 9209.
- SOUTH EAST: BRIGHTON Socialist Challenge sales regularly on Saturdays at the Open Market, London Road, from 11am-1pm.
- COLCHESTER Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly. For details phone Steve on Wisenhoe 2949.
- BATH Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday 2pm-3.30pm outside Mac Fisheries, Ring Bath 20290 or 28871 for further details of activities.
- ISLE OF WIGHT readers can buy Socialist Challenge from the Os Shop, 46 Union Street in Ryde.
- SCOTLAND: For information about the paper or its supporters' activities throughout Scotland please contact Socialist Challenge Books, 64 Queen St, Glasgow. Open Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday afternoons. Phone for alternative arrangements (221 7481). Wide range of Fourth International publications.
- EDINBURGH Socialist Challenge supporters group meets regularly. Phone George at 031-346 0486 for details.
- DUNDEE Information about Socialist Challenge activities from 64 Queen St, Glasgow. Join in SC sales outside Boots (corner of Reform St) each Saturday, 11am-2pm.

UNDER REVIEW

'Holocaust' Slipping from memory: the six million and others

A WOMAN interviewed on a local radio station about her reactions to the American television series 'Holocaust' said: 'I thought that it was a bit one-sided. I mean, they didn't give the other point of view, did they.'

This extraordinary comment on a fictionalised account of the decimation of European Jewry gives an indication of why the programme was made. In less than half a century, the memory of one of the most terrible crimes in history is becoming distinctly vague, writes DAVID BEER.

The 'other side of the story' is the lies of present-day Nazis and their allies, who — while reveling in the glorious past of the Third Reich — find it expedient to question the truth of the accounts of Nazi atrocities.

The true story of fascism in power seems to have been lost on those in Britain and even Germany who are beginning to re-discover the same old myths and tactics which brought Hitler's National Socialists to power.

A popular version of the Nazi Holocaust, broadcast by major TV networks throughout the world, is timely.

Holocaust is strong on action, heavy with soap opera, weak on historical fact, and positively misleading in some of its central contentions. Yet, by TV standards — especially American ones — it is a harrowing account and devastating attack on the Nazi record.

Many critics have observed that the programme was at fault because it focuses on the fate of the Jews. What about the socialists, trade unionists, gypsies, homosexuals and others, they ask? Didn't they also suffer under the Nazis?

Of course they did, and Holocaust acknowledges this, albeit fleetingly. But its main concern was to explain why one third of the world's Jewish population was slaughtered and how the Jews reacted to their fate.

This has its merits, but there is a strong implication in the programme that the Nazis' rise

to power and subsequent popularity can be explained by anti-Semitism. It accepts the Zionist myth that anti-Semitism is somehow inherent in non-Jewish societies and that any political force which can mobilise hostility against the Jews has discovered the key to power.

This misconception is combined with a reluctance to accept that Jewish resistance to Nazism received assistance from Gentiles. While it is true, for example, that the bulk of the Polish and Ukrainian resistance showed a despicable attitude to their Jewish comrades, Holocaust ignores the fact that the closest co-operation which developed was between the Communist resistance and fellow Jewish Communists.

Indeed, the instances of Jewish resistance depicted in the programme show the Zionists playing a leading role. The fictional Weiss family join the Lodz Ghetto uprising and, so it appears, learn the folly of their non-Zionist past.

Yet Holocaust fails to mention that the leadership of the Jewish fighters came not only from the Zionist groups — mainly the left wing ones — but also from the Bund (Jewish socialists), the communists and others.

Resistance was not only of the armed variety. There was the resistance of those who, under the most difficult circumstances, found ways of observing Jewish religious ritual. Others, like Emmanuel Ringelbaum, Mendel Gross-

man and the fictional son of the Weiss family showed resistance by keeping a record for posterity of Nazi crimes.

Ringelbaum kept a meticulous diary and Grossman, at great risk, took photographs of all aspects of life in the Warsaw Ghetto. Weiss, like his real-life counterparts, made drawings of life in the concentration camps.

Others responsible for burying bodies committed the numbers tattooed on the victims' arms to memory and wrote them down, burying their record in the ground. None of this, however, makes for good television.

Within days of the screening of Holocaust in the United States earlier this year, the Israel lobby was despatching letters to influential people in Washington arguing that it demonstrates Israel's need and desire for security; an attempt to make propaganda out of the programme which is as contemptible as the stupidity of anti-Zionists who dismiss the sufferings of European Jewry as a factor in the current Middle East conflict.

The shadow of the Holocaust is very real for many Israelis and other Jews who cannot forget the fate of their families and friends. They recall that this tragedy occurred against a background of almost universal indifference — a point made strongly in the programme — and conclude that the Jews can only rely on themselves for their own survival.

The Palestinians, who have suffered the horrors of the destruction of the Tal al Zaatar refugee camp in Beirut, persecution in Israel and the seeming indifference of the rest of the world to their fate, might be forgiven for dismissing the Jewish preoccupation with the Holocaust as paranoia or cheap propaganda.

The fact is that Nazi crimes against the Jews are a factor in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, and it is too glib and unnecessarily offensive to equate Israeli behaviour with that of the Nazis. Holocaust comes down



Rudi Weiss (Joseph Bottoms) and Helena Stomova (Tovah Feldshuh) witness destruction of Klev

firmly on the side of Zionist views about the future of world Jewry. The hero is seen heading for Palestine. But the real tragedy of the Jewish people is ignored.

Jews are still being killed today, because they are Jews, in Israel. The creation of an exclusive Jewish state has not ensured the security of the Jewish people. Even borders stretching from Damascus to the Suez Canal will not do that.

It is a terrible irony that Jewish leaders have failed to learn the crucial lesson of Nazism.

The security and well-being of one people can never be secured at the expense of another. As long as Jewish security is seen as being achieved at the expense of the Palestinians, it will remain as much of a dream as Hitler's thousand year Reich.

After the broadcast



...a suicide

SOON AFTER watching the first episode of Holocaust, Fanny Gedall, an 81-year-old Jewish woman, killed herself. Fanny, who lived in St Annes, Lancs, left a note saying she 'wanted nothing more to do with this world'.

Her son Hector told the Daily Mail: 'She hated human destruction. She could not believe the terrible things people did to other people.'

'My mother was also frightened that the same situation would happen again here,' he added. 'She was terrified of the rise of the National Front — just last week we had leaflets from them.'

...attacks

ONLY HOURS after the showing of the final episode of Holocaust last week, Manchester was the scene of a number of anti-Semitic attacks.

Jewish communal buildings, newspapers and a synagogue were the targets. Windows were broken and anti-Semitic slogans were daubed on the buildings.

This is the latest in a series of attacks on local Jewish property.

'Cosmopolitan' Rhapsodising a racist

JUST ABOUT everyone is sexy according to Cosmopolitan magazine. This includes Rocky Woodbridge — 'stunning grey eyes and a dusting of freckles' — whose physical attributes, homely background, and racist views are rhapsodised in this month's issue, writes GEOFFREY SHERIDAN.



'I think they are betraying Britain by encouraging immigration, encouraging the breakdown of our race, our culture, our morals.'

Woodbridge is featured in an article headlined 'What's a nice young girl like you doing in politics?', a perusal of the political spectrum which extends as far left as Communist Party member Sue Slipman.

The writer, Sally Adams, believes in the personal approach, and to judge by her treatment of National Front activist Rocky Woodbridge, Adams would have found Hitler's companion Eva Braun quite irresistible.

Sample: 'Her idea of a good day is to get together those she loves, all her favourite people, and have a party. "I'm very affectionate", says Rocky. And suchlike drivel.'

After describing how tiring it is to attend meetings and go out leafleting, Woodbridge spews out the NF line: 'I think they (politicians) are betraying Britain by encouraging immigration, encouraging the breakdown of our race, our culture, our morals' etc.

Sally Adams nowhere introduces any criticism of these views, and Cosmopolitan editor Deirdre McSharry is concerned to defend the article.

'We are a magazine with an enormous circulation and we would have had millions of letters complaining if we hadn't included the Front,' McSharry

told Socialist Challenge.

'Some people have been outraged, of course,' she added. 'I'm delighted that they are. I don't like the NF, but we are not in the business of promoting anyone's policies.'

Did she think that the way the article was written helped to reinforce fascist views by making them respectable?

'Woodbridge was very normal, according to our reporter.'

Was she familiar with the NUI's code of conduct, which instructs journalists not to produce material which encourages discrimination?

'Yes, but you're not going to tell me how to run my magazine. If you have a view we'd be happy to publish it. I'm not going to indulge in a schoolboy conversation,' McSharry concluded, slamming down the phone.

A complaint under the NUI's code is likely. Readers who might care to let the magazine know their view should contact Cosmopolitan at: Chestergate House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SW1. Tel: 01-834 2331.

If you write to the editor, send a copy to the NUJ father of the chapel, David Coombs, at the same address.

PICKET 'COSMOPOLITAN' RACISM

No uncritical coverage of the NF!
Picket 12.30-2pm, Friday 15 September
Chestergate House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London SW1.
(2 mins from Victoria tube)
Called by Fleet St Against the Nazis and the
Campaign Against Racism in the Media



Berta Weiss (Rosemary Harris) and her husband Josef (Fritz Weaver) after their arrival in Auschwitz

Socialist Challenge

Leyland workers face lockout

Edwardes threatens mass sackings

WHOLESALE SACKINGS at Leyland is the latest idea dreamt up by management to frighten off support for the 32 toolroom workers at SU Carburettors, reports GEOFF BELL.

On Tuesday night, a crucial meeting was taking place in Birmingham over the SU toolmakers affair.

Alf Fleming - fighter for left unity

ALF FLEMING, who died last Thursday at the age of 59, was a life-long socialist and trade union militant in Manchester, writes VICKY ANDERSON. Alf was an Engineering Union member for many years, and was chairperson of the branch which started Hugh Scanlon on the road to union president. From 1946-52, Alf was in the Communist Party, but he could see the growth of Stalinism in the party and internationally. Recently he worked in the Health Service, where he was a

shop steward and came into contact with Trotskyism for the first time. He became an active fighter for unity of the left, supporting Socialist Challenge and Socialist Unity. Sadly, he was isolated from his contemporaries and felt acutely his domestic, financial and political problems. When these became too much to bear, he took his own life. For nearly 40 years, in spite of Stalinism and the Cold War, Alf Fleming remained unfailingly convinced of the need to fight for socialism.

The meeting of the Birmingham East district committee of the Engineering Union, was expected to confirm the expulsion from the union of the 32 toolroom workers at SU Carburettors. Should this happen it is likely that the strikers will be sacked for not belonging to a union. After leaving the 'disciplining' of the strikers to the AUEW bureaucracy, Leyland management in the shape of Michael Edwardes has now entered the fray and threatened wholesale sackings should other toolroom workers throughout Leyland come to the aid of the victimised SU workers.

In a letter sent to Leyland's workers, Edwardes has threatened severe 'restructuring' if the toolroom workers do not toe the line.

Leyland management has been rushing around telling tame journalists that a toolroom workers' strike throughout the company could cost the company £80m.

That can be contrasted with the £3,000 it would cost them to meet the claim of the SU workers for parity - a claim to which management agreed in principle four years ago.

Edwardes' threats of mass sackings is a further example of the tactic adopted by the AUEW leadership to break the

strike - to divide the toolroom workers from other Leyland workers.

Nor is the union bureaucracy relenting in its efforts. Its mouthpiece in Birmingham, district secretary Ken Cure, introduced a new, though hardly original ploy last week. 'There are sinister elements involved in this dispute,' said Cure.

Union and management are determined to pay any price to smash the type of shop-floor rebellion which the toolmakers dispute typifies.

If the toolmakers win, the ability of the union leadership to 'police' its members will be severely questioned. This would be a particular blow for the new right-wing leadership of the AUEW.

The craven enthusiasm of that leadership to act as public relations officers for Leyland management was illustrated at the TUC when AUEW president Terry Duffy proposed a motion denouncing 'continual attacks' by the media on British Leyland.

What he meant by this is the 'continual attacks' on Leyland management. As Cure showed with his talk of 'sinister elements', the AUEW bureaucracy is quite happy to fuel attacks on Leyland workers.



OUR FUND DRIVE

FOR THE second time this quarter, the monies sent in to our fund drive amount to less than £100 in a week. The cumulative total has now reached £1537.17, so we have just under £1,000 to get in four weeks.

In the final four weeks of last quarter well over that amount arrived in our offices, and we are confident readers will make the same effort this time.

Bath supporters have made a number of suggestions about how we can reach the target. At

the Walcot Festival recently organised by Bath Arts Workshop, supporters organised a Socialist Challenge stall - complete with displays of articles, front pages of the paper, cartoons and so on.

Many badges, books, pamphlets and T-shirts were sold, and new supporters of the paper's policies discovered.

Bath supporters have also produced a book of 'Subversive Verse'. The 82 poems and songs included have been drawn from a variety of socialist sources -

about a quarter of them from Socialist Challenge or Red Weekly.

The book is 30p and the comrades tell us that the 50 they have sold already cover the production costs. The remaining 200 they have printed will bring about £60 to the fund drive.

If you want to give a small donation to the paper, here's a good way to do it - and get a book of Subversive Verse at the same time. Order from Dick Whitcomb, 21 Melcombe

Court, Oldfield Park, Bath, Avon.

Bath supporters have also suggested a nationally produced book of verse from Black Dwarf, Red Mole, Red Weekly and Socialist Challenge.

This would be a good project for a local supporters' group and complete files of these papers are available in our offices. We could help with distribution nationally, so why not consider this as a way to reach the paper's target?

A £5 monthly bankers' order

arrived in our offices this week from London readers with the message: 'Socialist Challenge is the best paper on the left'. If you feel that way, why not ring today on 01-359 8371 and we'll send you a bankers' order form to fill out.

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Raymond, SE London	0.67

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