

# Socialist Challenge

BUILD A SOCIALIST OPPOSITION

FOR A UNIFIED REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION

12p

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# GRUNWICK D-DAY AUG 8

“One final almighty push and we will win the most important victory for our movement since the miners’ strike.”

— Grunwick Strike Committee

## Question Time in Ireland

Adrian Mitchell

1. If the devil had used all his ingenuity to damn Ireland, could he have invented a more devastating trinity than the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant Church and the English Houses of Parliament?
2. Why is it possible to withdraw from India, Kenya and Aden... but impossible to withdraw from Ireland?
3. Did Jesus say: Blessed are the poor, for they shall tear each other's throats out? Blessed are the rich, for they shall watch the tearing out of the throats and shall place bets on the outcome?
4. What's wrong with torture in a good cause so long as it's not reported on television?
5. What is the answer to the English question?

Pat Arrowsmith and Adrian Mitchell with more on Ireland p.4



Strawberries of Wrath p.3

## Dracula is In Rhodesia



We expose racist propaganda p.3



# Editorial

Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper Street, London N1.  
 Editorial 01-359 8189  
 News 01-359 8180  
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## The strange case of Comrade Jones

MAURICE JONES and his family returned to Labour's Britain last Sunday. The year was 1977 though Jones could be forgiven for thinking it was 1984. Hounded out by the Special Branch, he returned accompanied by miners' leader Arthur Scargill. Waiting for him was a reception committee consisting of five Special Branch operatives and a snatch squad of police toughs. The latter refused to let him talk to his lawyer. They manhandled him in front of his young daughter and wife, who were both reduced to tears. The police behaved in this fashion quite deliberately, thus symbolising the contempt of the state for the militant wing of the trade union movement. They chose to publicly insult the best-known militant trade-union leader in this country.

Jones' case is not that unusual. What is remarkable is the police's choice of victim. Because for Irish men and women as well as for black people in this country, what has happened to Jones is an everyday occurrence. The barriers at Britain's frontiers are the first and most obvious defences erected by the repressive apparatus of the British state.

British intelligence and the Special Branch are not merely an ordinary arm of repression. They are ideologically motivated and trained. Their enemy is the working class movement and especially the Marxists (of all complexions) active within it. Telephone tapping, job discrimination, Special Branch files on a broad layer of individuals (including left MPs and trade union leaders such as Jack Jones), and the regular opening of mail exists on a wide scale. In London alone there are seven area offices for opening mail addressed to 'suspect' persons and organisations.

Even an upright anti-communist social democrat such as Harold Wilson recently revealed that a strong anti-Labour current exists within British intelligence. Prospective applicants for jobs in the intelligence organisations can be pretty sure of employment if they have a right-wing record. Michael Foot, as Deputy Prime Minister, was not allowed to see the files on the Agee-Hosenball case because he himself had not received top security clearance. That is why no left social-democrat is allowed to preside over 'sensitive' Ministries (Foreign Office, Home Office and Defence).

As the social crisis deepens and as the Labour Government totters along on its last legs, the Special Branch and allied organisations become even more brazen. They and their bosses are eagerly preparing for a Tory return.

That is why Labour MPs concerned at these developments must not be pressured into silence. They should demand to see the relevant files. They should subject Fees to regular and merciless harassment in parliament. To put it briefly, they should make life hell for him.

The strange case of Maurice Jones has still to be unravelled. We would not be unduly surprised if it were subsequently revealed that he was being blackmailed by the Special Branch because of some 'indiscretion' in the past. We hope that Arthur Scargill and the miners' union will not be satisfied with a whitewash, but will continue to press with all means at their disposal for a full enquiry. Some good could yet come out of all this.

## All out for Grunwick 8 August the real thing

GRUNWICK is the most important struggle so far in the life of this Labour Government. And 8 August is the most crucial day so far in the course of this long struggle. GEOFF BELL reports.

That is the new date which the Grunwick strike committee has named as a day of mass action when it is calling on 'our entire movement to use its full power to compel a speedy and victorious settlement'.

The date has been chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the Scarman inquiry is expected to publish its findings on 5 August. There is widespread optimism among the strike committee that Scarman will find in its favour.

If that happens, said strike committee member Jack Dromey last Friday, 'We will give George Ward 48 hours to make up his mind to accept the recommendations'.

The second reason is that the following week is 'Wakes Week' in Yorkshire. So the mass picket was brought forward from 15 August as a way of securing the largest possible mobilisation from the Yorkshire miners.

### SUPPORT

As well as the Yorkshire miners, already committed to a mass mobilisation, are: London printworkers, the Greater London Association of Trades Councils, the South-east Regional Council of the TUC, and a large number of delegations from the National Union of Public Employees. Hundreds of trade union branches and many constituency Labour Parties have, or are expected to follow suit.

Grunwick solidarity committees have been established in many towns and cities throughout the country — Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Coventry, Bristol, are some of the most prominent. With the date having been brought forward a week, such activity needs to be duplicated and accelerated.

The measure of support for 8 August is one indication of its importance. Another is to look at those who are opposing or staying silent about the picket.

The leadership of the TUC has to date maintained a sullen silence. When Socialist Challenge phoned Congress House to obtain the official TUC attitude we were told: 'That's a poser... We haven't got a view on it.'

### POMPOUS

But the TUC is likely to follow APEX General Secretary Roy Grantham, who within hours of the strike committee's statement had denounced it. This pompous bureaucrat announced: 'I shall make it clear to the strike committee that there will be no mass picket on that date. They cannot get a mass picket on that

date without my authority and no authority will be given.'

This attitude is not surprising considering the latest role Grantham has chosen to play — none other than an apologist for the police attacks on the picket.

### 'TROUBLEMAKERS'

Writing in the latest edition of the APEX newspaper, Grantham explains the police attack on the first day of the mass picket by saying:

'The police in London had no experience of handling mass pickets in London for 40 years.' He describes the repeated police attacks on the picket as an 'unfortunate misjudgement' which 'encouraged troublemakers to turn up'.

There need to be 'troublemakers' in their thousands on 8 August to put such crawlers in their place. Because now the strike is not only about the exploitation of Asian and women workers and about the right to belong to a trade union. It is about working people organising themselves and fighting for rights in opposition to the tactics of class collaboration.

For three years trade unionists have suffered loss of wages, high unemployment, and cuts in social spending on the promise from our leaders that everything will turn out alright in the end.

It has not, and now the revolt against such misleaders is showing itself in union conference after union conference. But the right-wing Labour Government and its fellow travellers in the TUC are not finished yet. They are saying that everyone must observe the '12 month rule' on



Photo: G.M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

wages.

The Grunwick picket has a real connection with all this. Just as the class lines have been drawn over the Social Contract, so they have been drawn over 8 August; and in the workers movement the same forces are involved on either side.

The latest move of the Labour Government on Grunwick is to supply the strike-breaking police with reinforced 'riot' helmets. The TUC says the mass picket is a 'poser'. The trade union leader-

ship in the shape of Grantham denounces it.

Moderation, moderation, and moderation again is spewed out in the same gutless tones as it was spewed out over the Social Contract — and from the same mouths.

But those who have led the Grunwick strike have no time for all that. In calling for a mass picket on 8 August the strike committee draws the correct lesson:

'It was mass action that got us where we are today. It will be that same determined action that will win this historic strike.'

Furthermore, in calling for an all-day picket on 8 August, the strikers are making it clear there will be no repeat of 11 July when the mass picket was trooped off to join the diversionary TUC march.

So 8 August is a test of strength — between rank and file trade unionists, and those who wish to limit their right to picket and organise; between those in the workers movement who are committed to class struggle policies, and those who seek to police the working class in the interests of their rulers.

Commenting on the 11 July mass picket, Socialist Challenge said it was a dress rehearsal. On 8 August the curtain goes up on the real thing. Be there.

## Grunwick snapshots

★ Union scab of the week is Bill Keys, general secretary of the print union SOGAT. He has banned any SOGAT banner from appearing on the Grunwick picket line.

★ According to one of the Grunwick drivers sacked last week by George Ward for going on strike, less than 40 people are working for Grunwick who were employed when the strike began.

★ The type of solidarity action being taken in Bristol is an example of what can be done throughout the country. There have been collections there at Number 4 shop Rolls Royce and at Welding Industry.

Printworkers at the Derek Robinson Group (Malago) plant have refused to shift a million envelopes ordered by Ward. And a solidarity committee arranged a successful factory tour by a member of the strike committee.

★ COACHES for the mass picket on 8 August: BIRMINGHAM: Leaves Hall of Memory, 4.30am.

BRISTOL: Leaves Christadelphian Hall, Cheltenham Road, 4.00am.

MANCHESTER: Leaves from Aytoun Street, midnight Sunday. NOTTINGHAM: Contact Vernon Gapper (Assistant Secretary, Trades Council), 218 Mansfield Road, Nottingham.

## OUR POLICIES

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

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

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

★ To begin to fight for the creation of a united and democratic revolutionary socialist organisation which can, through an application of united front tactics, begin to be seen as an alternative force of political action in the working class.

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

**2** Our socialism will be infinitely more democratic than what exists in Britain today, with full rights for all political parties and currents that do not take up arms against the socialist state. The 'middle grounds' of 'socialism' in the UK and Europe have demonstrated the need for a radical alternative to the capitalist system. We are opposed to those who would limit our struggle to those who are not all those fighting for socialism.

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

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

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

### WANT TO KNOW MORE?

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

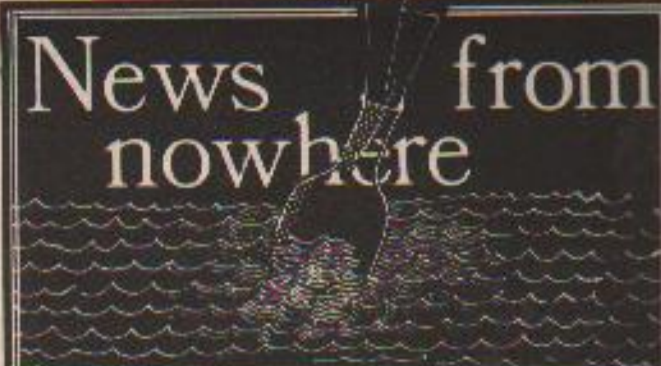
I am interested in more information about activities in my area. I would like additional literature and (enclose 50p in cover costs). (Delete if not applicable)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

Send to Socialist Challenge, 328/329 Upper Street, London N1.





## NF recruiter

A racist Rhodesian propaganda film is being shown commercially in Britain. Based on the book *Whispering Death* by the white Rhodesian Daniel Carney, it has been shown in London under the title *Death in the Sun*. Its theme is the pursuit by a white man of a black 'terrorist' who has raped and murdered the white man's wife.

The film glorifies this lynch-law action, which results in the deaths — some under torture — of some twenty Africans. Believe it or not, the film is implicitly very critical of the Smith regime for being 'soft' on the terrorists.

It was made with the assistance of the Rhodesian Government, which provided various facilities including military equipment and personnel. It stars Christopher Lee (taking time off from being Dracula to be a Rhodesian police commander); Trevor Howard as a Boer farmer 'who built the country up and won't give it up without a fight'; Sybil Danning as the blonde, blue-eyed and raped wife; and James Faulkner as the avenging husband.

Such is the vicious racism of *Death in the Sun* that it would not be surprising if the National Front were to show it as a recruiting film.

We are confronted with racist propaganda posturing as a commercial movie. Just as we do not tolerate National Front meetings, neither should we tolerate the showing of this film, which is probably a more effective form of propaganda.

Socialist Challenge readers should watch the film adverts to see if this racist filth is going to be hawked in their town. Once you learn of a cinema where it is to be shown, you should demand that the manager takes it off and, otherwise, picket the place.

up, the soldier gave the Labour Party member a description of the best way to deal with the pickets: 'First you'd drench them with warm water to open their pores. Then fire CS gas straight into the skin, and finally cold water to close the pores on top. After this we'd send a few pigs (armoured cars) in and that would be that!'

Our security correspondent writes: The information sounds authentic enough. The Government could act through the Civil Contingencies Committee, first set up by Heath to deal with the miners strike of 1973-74. The committee is authorised (not by Parliament though) to use the army to deal with terrorism, disasters (such as Flixborough), or to provide 'military aid to the civil power'.

It would be under the last category that the army could be used in Grunwick. The composition of the committee is a secret, but both Defence Minister Fred Mulley and Home Secretary Rees sit on it.

\* Those who are wondering why the National Front haven't shown their noses at Grunwick will be interested in the following.

Street sales of the National Association for Freedom paper, Free Nation, have been reported all over the country. In Cambridge two men selling in the market place were approached by comrades of the Socialist Workers Party.

The comrades recognised one of the sellers as a National Front member who had participated in assaulting an SWP member last November. The Free Nation sellers when confronted were first aggressive, then defensive and then took to their heels.

Let's hope Robert Moss, NAF's director, can be relied upon to expose this clear example of subversion within his ranks.

## Another mistaken identity

### FOOT - the the crowd



THE POLICE Federation journal's boob on Paul Foot — 'identifying' him in a picture of the Grunwick picket — is a classic example of how careless the police are when it comes to identifying people, as Peter Hain and George Davis know to their cost.

What is even more galling is that the person they mis-identified is none other than Peter Grist, a militant of APEX (the union which has called the picket), a member of the International Marxist Group, and an ardent supporter of Socialist Challenge.

Grist told News from Nowhere: 'I am not amused.'

## McLean vs MacDonald

THE LETTER we publish on page 14 from Ursula McLean complains about the article on Hungary by our East European correspondent Oliver MacDonald.

What Ms MacLean omits to mention is what we discovered quite by accident — that she works for the press department of the Hungarian Embassy in London. Not that this does not entitle her to state her views in our paper; merely that it was a bit naughty to conceal the fact.

'The foreman was armed with a shotgun...'



# Wild strawberries

Circled is a foreman; strike breaking 1977 style — with a shotgun.

R&JM PLACE LTD is one of the largest fruit growers in East Anglia. They supply all the large canning companies — Smedleys, Robertson, Birds Eye. Their main farm complex is at Church Farm, Tunstead in Norfolk.

Earlier this month a strike took place at the farm. Socialist Challenge has just received this report from one of the strikers involved. His story is one of strike-breaking, shotguns, and attempts to run strikers down with tractors.

It is a story of exploitation many think doesn't exist in Labour's Britain. It does.

This year the strawberry crop was late. The main picking didn't start until Monday 4 July. Some 'travelling people' had been waiting at the site at Castle Farm for weeks without any source of income, waiting for the crop to ripen. The small amount of picking on the previous Friday was paid at 6p per pound, but the rate on Monday was down to 3p per pound. You picked two-and-a-half pound baskets and got paid 25p for every two baskets. For a full day's back breaking work most people earned four or five pounds.

## FOREMAN

The next day the buses took us to the same field near Brundall on the other side of Norwich. After about two hours work the foreman changed all the baskets from 2.5lb. ones to 6lb. baskets. After weighing in each 6lb.

basket you were paid 24p. There had been a 20 per cent cut in our wages.

Everybody started to get angry about it. Young lads were the first to shout that they had had enough. They walked off the field, we joined them straight away and everybody started walking off, cheering each other.

Everyone was together — the students, the travellers, even the local people came off — about 150 in all. We gathered around the weighing scales where there was a short-wave radio used to



coordinate the picking with orders from the central farm office. All we were demanding was to go back to the old rate.

The reply was soon radioed back — No.

We were all resolved to keep our stand going but we had three main problems. One was money. With only one day's picking behind us most people only had about four or five pounds to live on. A second problem was our remoteness from the central office. The third was our isolation from the foreign workers at

their camp in Tunstead.

So we mobilised every available vehicle we could get hold of. We were able to transport about 50 of us to Tunstead where there was both the central office and the foreign workers' camp.

When we arrived we spread the word of our strike in the different fields and areas of the camp. Sometimes it took a long time to explain, but once they understood there was always an eruption of joy, a real gladness that something was being done.

## ORGANISED

Japanese, Polish and Turkish workers immediately came out. A meeting was held in an open space with about 200 people there. We became more organised. Our first purpose was to explain our reasons for striking to all the different groups of foreign students, which meant everything had to be repeated in many different languages. There were students from France, Italy, Holland, Scandinavia, Turkey, Poland, Japan, Malaysia and other countries. The rates had changed for them as it had for us. They had other grievances. Each paid £8.80 a week in rent, yet they slept in dormitories, with 20 metal beds to a dormitory. They received breakfast but no other meal. The only shop in the area to buy food was owned by the company, the only bar was a company bar. A member of the bar staff told me they reckoned to take everything paid out in wages back over the bar and shop counter.

The next day about 50 pickets from Castle Farm were again transported over to Tunstead at about 7.30am. They arrived to find about 300 people on the

picket in the main yard of Church Farm. The stoppage was almost complete.

During the morning Mr. Place, the head of the firm, agreed to see a delegation of strikers. The only suggestion which came from the management was that they'd rather let the crop rot than give way to a strike.

As the delegation returned to the picket, news came that in a field about a mile away two busloads of scab labour recruited through an agency in Norwich had arrived and were picking. The picket moved in a column to the field, where about 100 people, largely housewives and unemployed from Norwich, were picking.

Attempts to persuade the people to stop work failed. The picket then occupied the weighing tables at both ends of the field. At one end arguments broke out between pickets and farm foremen, camp wardens and the farm manager, Norman Clements.

## DRAGGED

A tractor stopped at the picket. Clements climbed into the drivers seat and drove it towards the picket. Only because pickets dragged each other out of the way did people avoid being run into.

Then there was a shot. I looked behind me and saw a foreman armed with a shotgun. He fired two rounds into the air. People dived for cover. Someone started taking pictures of the gunman who lost his nerve and slung his gun into a car. There was a lot of fear and disorganisation by this time, but the picket was reformed and a decision was taken to move the picket back to the farm offices, and to call the police.

Intimidation continued. Strikers at Castle Farm were told that if they didn't return to work their tents and belongings would be dragged out of the camp.

It was obvious by now that the intransigence of the company would mean that only a long drawn out strike could succeed. This would be impossible for the foreign workers who made up the majority of the strikers. After a meeting at Castle Farm many migrant workers said that were at a point where they had to move to find new work, that Place knew this, and only had to wait.

## ABANDON

At Tunstead, three strikers who had been in the morning's delegation had all been removed from the camp. Foreign students, especially those on visas, were now too scared to be seen talking to strikers. But it was having to pay their way that was their reason for having to abandon the strike.

It was decided that only a total strike could have any effect — for which we no longer had the strength. The pickets at Castle Farm began to find work on other farms.

Two weeks later the police still had laid no charges against Clements, the gunman, or any of the others who had so barbarously smashed the strike.



The tractor moves towards pickets — 'only because pickets dragged each other out of the way did people avoid being run into'.



# TUC must reject backdoor Phase 3

**THE TUC-Government drive to overturn union conference decisions and impose the 12-month rule got into top gear last week. Callaghan trotted out the argument that has been used to get through Phase 1 and 2 of the Social Contract — no 12-month rule, no Labour Government.**

**The TUC leaders needed little prompting. Only four days after Healey's speech the TUC Economic Committee came out against the decisions of the majority of trade unionists in this country by declaring their support for this 'social-contract-by-the-backdoor'. For that is what the 12-month rule is.**

**JOHN ROSS explains.**

**JACK JONES** was the first trade union leader to rush to frustrate the policy of his own members. The transport workers' Isle of Man conference had voted decisively for a return to unfettered collective bargaining from 1 August.

Within a fortnight Jones has flown in the face of that decision by sending out a circular from Transport House declaring: 'We

are still bound by TUC decisions which require the £2.50 to £4 (5 per cent) formula to apply for the full 12 month period.'

Hugh Scanlon, President of the engineering union, was not going to be outdone. In a speech welcomed by the CBI, Scanlon solicited support for the 12 month rule on the basis that 'a bargain made is a bargain kept'.

Scanlon's and the TUC's talk about 'honouring bargains' is rubbish. No-one with any right to call themselves a trade union leader would think that it is a 'bargain' to be honoured when one side, the working class, has received a 7 per cent cut in living standards and the other, the employers, has gained a 30 per cent increase in profits.

## CONTROLS

The employers and the Government never could have and never did intend to deliver their side anyway. Healey sold the wage controls on the promise that price rises would be down to 10 per cent by the end of 1976. Now, even six months after that, they are running at over 17 per cent. What is more, Healey knew in advance what the real situation was. He discussed with the IMF at the time of Phase 2 on the basis of a 7 per cent cut in living standards. Now this has occurred. That

figure could only have been calculated on the basis of knowledge that inflation wouldn't fall to anything remotely resembling 10 per cent.

Healey has now promised that inflation will now come down to 'single figures' under Phase 3. Once again this is a straight-forward lie which neither he nor any employer believes. The influential stockbrokers Phillips and Drew have already stated that inflation will still be running at 15 per cent next year.

The reality is that far from a 'bargain' being struck over the Social Contract it was sold to the labour movement through lies, and in many cases by conscious deception by Government and union leaders. Having lied and cheated the labour movement into a self-imposed cut in living standards it is pure hypocrisy for these same leaders to stand up and call the working class to honour what was justly called not a bargain but a Con-trick.

Given the real figures on inflation there must be no illusion about what the 12 month rule will mean for living standards: With 5 per cent pay rises under Phase 2 and inflation running at 17.7 per cent, real buying power of wages is falling with every day that passes. To accept a 12 month deal will mean wage cuts nearing 10 per cent. For this reason alone the 12 month rule must be thrown out.



SCANLON: His speech was welcomed by the CBI.

But in addition to its direct effect in wage cutting, the 12 month rule is also a deadly weapon to divide the struggle of the working class. The wages policy, the restriction on the money supply, and the cash limits in the public sector are powerful weapons to be used against the trade unions. The employers hope to use them against isolated groups of workers who are forced to confront the whole power of the ruling class by themselves. That was how the

Tory government defeated the post office and hospital workers while the TUC sat by, talking about 'solidarity' but refusing to take any action. This employers' policy can be defeated but it needs united action to do it.

The 12 month rule breaks up and stops united struggles even within, let alone between, different sections of workers.

## DOCTORS

Take, for example, merely the situation in the health service. Doctors will be putting in claims now. But under the 12 month rule ancillary workers can't fight until December. Meanwhile health maintenance workers wouldn't come up for a claim until January, and nurses, midwives and administrative and clerical workers until April. The united fight urgently needed in the health service is prevented by the 12 month rule demanded by the TUC.

Similarly in the motor industry the claims are strung out under the 12 month rule between October for Ford's, November for British Leyland Longbridge, even later for British Leyland Cowley, and so on. The 12 month rule is direct and open TUC sabotage of necessary solidarity and united struggle in all sectors.

What is more, the TUC's

attempt to impose the 12 month rule leads even beyond sabotage to open strike breaking. Many groups of workers have claims that would breach the 12 month rule. The TUC position would mean direct attacks on the miners and other groups of workers and calls to the labour movement to break their action.

Faced with the sabotage of Jones, Scanlon, Murray and Co. there is no doubt that the fight against the 12 month rule is going to be a serious and bitter one. It has to start now.

That means putting in wage claims from 1 August. It means a massive lobby of the TUC on Monday 5 September to demand the rejection of any agreement with Healey, no 12 month rule, wage claims protected by cost of living increases to compensate fully for falls in living standards under Phases 1 and 2, and full solidarity for all sections of the working class going into struggle.

## Rank and file reject Jones circular

**RANK AND FILE** members of the Transport and General Workers Union have been outraged by Jones' deliberate attempt to sabotage the decisions of their Biennial Conference. Among the first to react was the Islington Joint Shop of the Central London 11524 branch of the white collar section of the union. The branch is the largest in the section and will take the following motion at its 1 August meeting.

'This branch deplores the recent statement from Brother Jack Jones, issued in the name of the executive, which seeks to overturn the decision carried by an overwhelming majority at this year's Biennial Delegate Conference for "a return to unfettered collective bargaining from 1 August 1977".

'The claims made in the statement that "we are still bound by TUC decisions which require the £2.50-£4/5 per cent formula to apply for the full 12 month period", were explicitly rejected by conference, the highest policy making body of our Union. Furthermore we note that Phase 2 itself was never put to our membership; and the stringent conditions under which Phase 1 was accepted by the Union were never adhered to by the Government.

The branch therefore:

1. Calls upon the Regional Committee to issue a statement to all Trades Groups, Branches, and shop stewards committees and collectors repudiating the executive's statement, and setting forth accurately the policy of the union on this question as decided by the BDC;
2. calls upon the regional committee to demand that the executive repudiates the statement both publicly, and in the columns of the Record, setting forth the correct policy of the Union on this question, as decided by the BDC;

The branch itself will:

1. send a statement immediately to the Record repudiating the executive's statement;
2. use its statement to canvass support in the form of a petition among other T&G branches and members generally.

There was an error on last week's front page. The Labour Government has cut £3.5 billion from public spending (not £3.5m!).

# Car workers in the front line

by JOHN GRAHAM

**THE MONTH OF AUGUST** will see the beginning of a vital battle in the car industry between skilled workers and bosses. Plans are going ahead for a one day stoppage of Leyland toolmakers on 8 August. While after a strike of 1,200 toolmakers in the Lucas Combine Birmingham factories, 7,500 workers face a lock-out when they return from their holidays.

## Leyland strike action

**THE PLANS** for strike action in Leyland result directly from the success of the unholy alliance of engineering union officials, Leyland management and the Labour Government in forcing toolmakers back to work after their spring stoppage. They were promised a 'negotiated settlement'.

Now the Toolroom Committee and Roy Frazer, the leadership of the last strike, have realised that it was an empty promise. No progress at all has been made. Management claim that the workers are not raising their grievances properly.

In the time since the last strike the Toolroom Committee has continued to meet. Mass meetings of toolmakers in Leyland are being called all over the country calling for the one day stoppage to permit a national meeting of workers in



ROY FRAZER: Realised now that toolmakers' deal useless.

Birmingham Town Hall on 8 August. Toolrooms in Birmingham will be levied to pay for the transport of toolmakers from Oxford to Birmingham.



Toolmakers at one of their national meetings called during their dispute earlier this year. Now they meet again on 8 August.

## Lucas lock out

**THE LOCK-OUT** at Lucas in Birmingham which is due to start on 1 August is the culmination of a campaign of provocation carried out by management. Toolmakers in the company's plants are in dispute over a bonus system.

The deal was concluded prior to 1975 and has been approved by the Department of Employment in London. But management have refused to even consider the claim, arguing that the Department of Employment in Birmingham has ruled that the claim is outside Phase 2.

A week to rule in support of the claim led to management suspending all bonus payments for toolroom workers. Workers found their wage packets short by up to £8.

A strike of the 1,200 workers was declared from 4 July and has been declared official by Birmingham East District Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. But so far there is no national backing.

The situation after workers return from their holidays on 1 August promises to be bitter. Lucas bosses are confident that they can hold out, despite the dependence of the car industry on Lucas products, because of the slow-down in production in the summer.

## Unite for Action

**Both these struggles challenge Phase 2 directly. By forming an industry-wide block, the Leyland toolroom workers are following the same tactics as the dockers, uniting workers who would otherwise be split from each other, some making claims under Phase 3, others under Phase 2. But there are dangers as well.**

The car industry promises to be the first place where the bosses following the CBI directive to hold the line are going to stand firm. The wave of disputes in the engineering industry in the spring and the clear signs of a repeat performance in the autumn point to the need for a national lead for all engineering workers.

The first step would be the calling of a National Broad Left conference, organised on a democratic basis, with the aim of uniting all those in the union pledged to a fight against the twelve month rule and the ten per cent norm.

## Ford claim goes in

**THOSE** who Ford workers out for more money again' is likely to be the reaction to the latest claim of 57,000 Ford car workers for fifteen per cent, says the introduction to their negotiating document.

But some of the policies included in the claim can be fought for and understood throughout the working class and take Ford workers to a settlement nearer to twenty-five per cent. Besides the fifteen per cent rise on basic

earnings, the claim also included a cost of living compensator and a reduction of the working week to two and a half hours without loss of pay.

Another aspect of the package is the demand for eight per cent pay-off pay, the demand that was fought for by strike action in Ford plants last month.

Mass Evans, general secretary-elect, said the claim was within the terms of Healey's statement, and as chairperson

of the trade union side of the National Joint Negotiation Committee he will be doing his level best to make sure it is so.

The beginnings of the rank and file leadership in Ford's which came on the scene in the last strike wave in Ford's will have to demand: No sell-out on the full claim. No junking of the cost of living safeguard. Reduce the working week without loss of pay. For a guaranteed weeks wages.



# Doctors challenge pay rule Hospital occupations defy health cuts

TWO CHALLENGES to the crisis in the National Health Service are currently on display.

One is that being offered by the doctors of the British Medical Association. Last week in Glasgow the BMA's conference voted to threaten one-day strike action in support of an interim 15 per cent claim.

Second are the current occupations of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, the Hounslow and the Plaistow Maternity hospitals in London.

The doctors call for strike action deserves the support of the entire labour movement. They are challenging the 12-month rule and there is no doubt that the junior hospital doctors in particular are over-worked and under-paid.



Photo: LAURENCE SPANHAM (IFL)

## OCCUPATIONS

But other suggestions for pursuing their demands which have come from a number of doctors' leaders deserve no support. Calls for mass resignations from the NHS, striking off one patient in seven treated by GPs and the imposing of surcharges on patients are against the interest of the labour movement as they threaten the existence of the NHS.

Those occupying the London

hospitals offer no such threat. Ever since the work-in at the EGA began, links were sought with the local labour movement, and at Hounslow the same tactics are being followed. There the work-in has continued to provide health services to the community by relying on working class organisations to add their weight to the fight to defend the hospital ward against closure. Labour movement bodies have been asked to join the picket rota to distribute a daily bulletin.

Last week nearly a hundred volunteer pickets from 12 different unions and organisations

responded. The task is now to build for the mass demonstration in defence of Hounslow on 31 August — the date when closure has been scheduled by the area health authority.

## WOMEN'S HEALTH CARE

Local support is also a feature of the Plaistow work-in. As with the EGA, Plaistow specialises in women's health care. It was built just ten years ago. It has the only ultra-sonic scan equipment in the borough and has a well equipped and spacious antenatal clinic.

The 150 nurses, doctors and

ancillary staff are resisting the attempt to close the hospital, and are demanding that it stay open until alternative facilities are available.

The participation of doctors in such work-ins is especially welcome. Insofar as doctors are willing to put their skills at the disposal of patients, they have the best guarantee that the NHS will be defended and extended.

This will ensure both that services to the community are maintained, and that wages and conditions of all health workers rise from the miserable depths they have reached today.

## Women & the Unions



JANET MAGUIRE, a member of the South-east London Medical Branch of the Association of Salaried, Technical and Managerial Staffs and a technician at Guys Hospital, explains why she has got her trade union branch to call a conference on women's rights in the trade unions:

A number of the women workers in my department have become aware of the obstacles which prevent an effective fight on women's issues. The Social Contract, the cuts in public expenditure and galloping inflation all hit the workforce. But they have a particularly harsh effect on working women.

Women do not work for pin money. They take jobs because they and their families need the money. But unlike most men after a day's work they go home to another three or four hours housework. Most of their lunch-time gets used up shopping. If they have a young family, they have to get up early and take the children to the nursery — if they are lucky enough to have one.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Because of the high unemployment they are made to feel that they are taking jobs from men, an attitude which is even encouraged by some male trade unionists and Labour MPs. In the public sector, where a very high proportion of the workers are women — 79 per cent in the National Health Service — they are in the front line of the attack on jobs and conditions.

The Equal Pay Act has made some difference, but women still average only 57 per cent of men's

pay as the great majority of them are still working in jobs seen as 'women's work' — and that means women's pay!

Of course, most unions are all for women's equality. Often their constitutions provide for women's advisory councils at district and even national level. But how effective are such bodies?

More often than not they are under the control of the male-dominated national executives whose permission they have to get before they can launch any campaigns. Generally they are given jobs to service the trade union bureaucracy — in regard to women's issues rather than providing a fighting leadership. They never have adequate union finances at their disposal which makes sure that issues they see as important can only be taken up with permission of the executive.

It was the awareness of these kind of obstacles which stop a proper fight for a woman's right to a job, and deny an effective struggle against low pay, for adequate nursery facilities which led us to get the SE London Medical Branch of ASTMS to call an across-union conference this autumn on these matters.

We hope that the conference will discuss not only these problems, but will get down to discussing and working out how we can organise women's caucuses inside the unions. We do not see women's caucuses simply as groups of women who just talk about the lack of nurseries and the problems of low pay. We want them to be bodies which will involve women in the trade unions, and that will encourage them to speak up for their rights

# Self-organisation is the aim!



Janet Maguire

and stand for positions in the unions.

## CAUCUSES

Right now the trade unions are dominated at every level by male trade unionists. If we want to change the role that women have traditionally played, then we have to say — yes, we want a nursery, but that is not something that women alone fight for. It is an issue that women's caucuses could discuss and decide how best to make sure a fight is started inside their union so that the union as a whole takes up that struggle.

Trico, Greenwich, the Weir,

Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Hounslow hospitals have shown women's ability and determination to oppose cutbacks and build strong unions. This conference will, I hope, take the struggle of women workers forward by another step.

I hope that it will help initiate a movement inside the unions for the setting up of women's caucuses at the base. That is the road towards equality and trade union unity.

For details of the conference, to be held in October, contact Janet Maguire, ECG Department, Guy's Hospital, London SE1. Tel. 01-407-7600, ext. 3162.

# And forgive those who trespass...

by HODIE WEPPLER

The Criminal Law Bill will complete its tortuous course of parliamentary debate this Friday when it receives royal assent — with its sharpest teeth intact.

The Bill transforms the civil offence of trespass into a criminal offence. Police are given powers of entry, search, and arrest without warrants in case of trespass — draconian powers formerly available to them only under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Misuse of Drugs Act.

Squatters will be one of the first targets for these measures, but workers, students, and community groups in occupation of or on the picket line are also open to the heavy hand of the State.

When the law is implemented, any public housing bodies — housing associations or councils — will simply have to produce a certificate of 'intending' occupation in order to remove or have houses. This law will not stop squatting but it threatens to add another 30,000 prevent squatters to the ranks of Britain's homeless. And it will make more violent the confrontations between the homeless and the State.

The grounds for moves against factory occupations are just as

flimsy. All that is necessary for police to move in and arrest occupiers is a claim that a security guard has been intimidated.

And if this does not open the door wide enough, a new offence has been created — concerning 'trespass with an offensive weapon'. Police who are unable to drag up a security guard to plead intimidation will have a free hand to move into occupations to search for people they suspect are trespassing with an offensive weapon. And this means that a worker holding a spanner could provide the necessary evidence!

Those supporting the class struggle internationally are also open to attack. Many such actions have involved occupations and pickets of embassies. Police will now have grounds to arrest anyone in embassies who fails to leave when told to do so.

The numerous clauses which have been accepted by the Government have one common message: action taken by victims of Labour's policies will be severely repressed by the strong arm of the law.

The cause of these activities has been blissfully ignored by a Government which prefers to jail the victims of its policies, rather than deal with the homelessness, redundancies, and cuts in public spending it has perpetrated.

# Students expelled

FIVE STUDENTS have been expelled from Essex University for their part in two occupations of the student union last year.

The occupations were in protest at the Labour Government's plans to increase tuition fees, and were part of a national campaign started by the National Union of Students.

Altogether 73 Essex students were charged with various disciplinary offences, and of these 67 have been found guilty by the university's disciplinary committee. As well as the five expulsions, 10 students have been suspended for one or two years and fines totalling £2,000 were imposed.

It is important these students

are not left isolated. Solidarity action in 1974 enabled two other Essex University students to be re-instated after they had been politically victimised. The NUS needs to launch a campaign to ensure the same happens this time.

Last week two of the expelled students, Bob Finlay and Peter Moore, were banned from the grounds of the university by the High Court. They were only allowed to visit the student union between 2pm and 5pm until 28 July.

The High Court graciously granted this concession to allow the students to collect evidence for their appeal against expulsion. But both students had to undertake not to cause any 'disturbance'.

# The way to blunt council building axe

from BUILDING WORKER

ONLY MASS direct action can save direct works. We've all seen the £½ million barrage of propaganda over the name of the employers' federations trying to sell their lies. We've heard the Labour councils threatening to decimate departments from Glasgow to Greenwich. Latest in on the act is the newly-elected Tory Greater London Council.

The last GLC Housing Policy Committee said they were stopping GLC tenders for contracts immediately and would assess every site running at the moment, with the intention of putting unfinished work out to tender by private contractors and local authorities. They are prepared to lose £9 million — that means scrapping £9 millions worth of partly-built estates!

Oh yes, and put rents up. In face of this unholy alliance we have to fight hard: there is evidence that even the threat of strike action — Wear Valley and South Tyne — is enough. But the best example is the successful two-week strike on Sandwell where they stopped bonus cuts (always the opening shot in the battle), won the closed shop, removal of the lump, and reinstatement of drivers made redundant.

One day strikes are important as a demonstration of anger and willingness to fight for the principle, as well as to make other

workers aware of the threat which will affect them all. But they are not in themselves the answer: all-out indefinite action as in Sandwell is what we have to work for.

Separate days for the two strikes just underlines the lack of a national campaign and national link-ups for solidarity. This is an issue which has to be taken to other workers in the local authorities and to tenants' associations.

In London, the GLC Co-ordinating Committee is calling for action, not only by building workers to defend their own jobs, but by all GLC workers against education cuts and cuts in public spending. In Durham they linked building workers to health workers. In Manchester the Direct Works Action Campaign linked tenants, trade unionists and socialists.

They have taken the important step of calling a National Delegate Conference of Direct Works Representatives to be held on 20 August in Holdsworth Hall, Deansgate, Manchester. It is sponsored by Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool Direct Works. Credentials from: Jim Keely, 17 Findon Road, Wythenshawe, Manchester 23. And: Dave Murphy, 368 Kings Road, Salford, Manchester.

Orders for the Building Worker rank and file paper to: 19 Red Post Hill, London SE24. Price 5p plus postage.





Part of the protection provided by Bolton Council for the fascist rally

## A multi racial festival? That's a provocation..

An open-air multi-racial festival of music, dancing, national costume and culture would be a useful and positive way to combat the ignorance and fear which forms a large part of the basis of racism. So you would think. NEIL DUFFIELD reports a very different response.

When Bolton Trades Council and local minority groups announced their plans to stage such a festival in the Bolton shopping precinct as part of the TUC campaign against racism, the Tory council announced that it would be 'dangerous' and 'provocative'.

The local police said: 'From bitter experience we would view this kind of event with foreboding.' According to the Bolton Evening News, 'several councillors made emotional speeches in which they warned of the dangers of staging the festival in the heart of the town centre'.

The Evening News itself joined the debate with an editorial headlined 'A potential explosion' in which it claimed: 'The police have enough to do without the gratuitous burden of maintaining order in such a potential explosive situation.'

So far the council has refused to give the trades council permission to use the precinct. What worries them is that there will be a 'punch-up between the National Front and a bunch of bover boys, as happened last year'. On the occasion to which they refer, about twenty fascists staged a somewhat different 'festival' in the precinct — shouting racist slogans and distributing racist literature.

### 'BOVER BOYS'

About 300 Asians and anti-fascists (the 'bover boys') were prevented from expressing their opposition to this 'festival' by the police, who turned out in force to escort the fascists. During the course of the afternoon the police mockingly dismissed all complaints about the fascists' activity being contrary to the Race Relations Act, and proceeded to attack the anti-fascists, arresting seven of them and breaking the ribs of a local building worker militant.

On three occasions last summer, the NF were allowed to use the precinct for racist activity and given police protection each time. Under cross-examination at one of the trials, the Chief Inspector admitted that it had never occurred to him to investi-

gate the NF's literature to find out whether it contravened race relations law, nor did he consider stopping the NF rally on the grounds that it would be seen as provocative by Bolton's large Asian population.

Yet this year the police and the Tory council both consider the trades council's festival will be 'dangerous and provocative' and are doing their best to stop it. So far there has been no openly declared support for the festival from any of the town's Labour councillors.

The whole affair has been an eye-opener for those in the labour movement who put their



trust in the 'impartiality' of the police and the rule of law. The fact is that the establishment itself is racist — in its blatant discrimination and harassment of black people, in its immigration laws, and in its propaganda.

No-one who has followed the course of events in Bolton can have much confidence in either the police or the laws against racism. If, for instance, the festival is banned, will the police or the establishment proceed to bring charges against the Bolton Council for discriminatory allocation of premises under the Race Relations Act? We think not.

# Gay News on the march

by JAMIE GOUGH

The morality brigade have won an important victory with the conviction and savage sentencing of Gay News editor Denis Lemon for 'blasphemous libel'. Its effect, however, will depend very much on the response of the gay and labour movements between now and the appeal.

THE REACTIONARIES are following up their Gay News success with a prosecution of the director of the National Secular Society for sending 'obscene material' — the copy of Gay News containing James Kirkup's poem — through the post.

The police are bringing the prosecution at the instigation of Kenneth Kavanagh, head of the Parents' Advisory Group and friend of Mary Whitehouse.

### CONSPIRACY

The continued legal harassment will probably mean that Denis Lemon will have to step down as Gay News editor because of the suspended nine month jail sentence hanging over his head. Such prosecutions are made easy for the defenders of family morality, by laws which make sex completely illegal for gay men under 21, thus enabling 'contact ads' to be done under conspiracy laws. This indicates the importance of demanding not only that the sentence be thrown out but also demanding full legal equality for gays.

The press reaction to the sentence also makes it clear that the ruling class regards neither Whitehouse nor the blasphemy law as antiquated absurdities. Both *The Times* and the *Daily*



Telegraph, well-known upholders of free speech, came down decisively in favour of the prosecution and keeping the law.

While we must demand the repeal of the law, the trial itself made very evident that the real political point is not 'blasphemy' but the rights of gays and other sexual 'minorities'. A large part of the trial was taken up with the prosecution's attack on Gay News as such, dwelling particularly on the contact ads and on an article written by a paedophile, someone who is sexually attracted to children — a favourite target of reactionaries the

world over.

The defence campaign opens with a march this Saturday in London. The organisers hope to attract many gay people as the route passes through the main gay area of central London. The march deserves the strongest support from socialists.

A larger demonstration with planned labour movement support will be organised at the time of the appeal in the winter. Planning meetings are being held currently every Wednesday, 8pm at CHELO, 22 Great Windmill Street, London W1.

March on Saturday 30 July, 1pm at Sloane Gardens [Sloane Square tube] to Coleherne Gardens.

A gang battered a homosexual to death with clubs last Saturday. Peter Benyon was walking with three other men in Finsbury Park, North London, when they were surrounded by six thugs armed with wooden clubs.

The police — fresh from their own harassment of gays — acknowledge that the gang went out to find gays, and describe the attack as extremely brutal.

## Wolverhampton sets pace on abortion

# Government holds door open for Benyon & Co

MICHAEL FOOT has rejected a plea by anti-abortion MPs for extra Parliamentary time to consider the restrictive Benyon Bill now that it has failed to get through as a Private Member's Bill. But the measures promoted by the Bill have far from disappeared.

Foot also announced that the Government would 'favour an early debate' in the Commons on the Select Committee findings. The committee's report — which the Government has no hesitation in considering — is the very one that provides the backbone to Benyon's measures.

The only outcome of a Commons discussion on it will be to

prepare the ground for a future offensive from the anti-abortionists. The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child has repeatedly stated its intention of presenting a Bill next session to wipe out the social grounds of the 1967 Abortion Act.

The ten resolutions on the agenda for the Labour Party conference on this issue show how strong are the feelings against the ideas in the report and the Bill it has spawned.

The best defence against the restrictive measures is to step up, both locally and nationally, the offensive for a woman's right to choose. Wolverhampton Women in Action Group has done just that. JENY VAN WEED reports on the type of local activity which

can guarantee a massive turnout for the demonstration in Birmingham called by the National Abortion Campaign on 29 October.

In this town of a quarter of a million, just 73 abortions were performed last year. Thirty-nine were accompanied by sterilisation, and local evidence collected by the Women in Action group suggests that sterilisation was often a pre-condition for obtaining an abortion.

These figures have been obtained from the area health authority in response to questions put by Labour MP Renée Short. She also discovered that although consultants had never refused to perform abortions 'if there were medical indications', social and psycho-

logical factors were not even mentioned.

Wolverhampton Women in Action have not let these facts go by unnoticed. We were invited by the Labour group on the health authority to attend a meeting.

The main arguments put to the meeting were that local gynaecologists should appear before the AHA to explain if they are prepared to implement the 1967 Abortion Act; the case studies compiled by Women in Action be investigated by the AHA; and that an out-patient abortion clinic be built in Wolverhampton.

Speakers from Women in Action will be touring local Labour Party wards and trade union branches in the coming months to win further support for implementing the 1967 Act in Wolverhampton. We will also broaden our demands to fight for the labour movement to recognise abortion as a class issue and to fight for abortion on demand.

## 'Good morning. Can I look in your bag'

RELEASE HAS JUST published its report on the police power to stop and search people, which examines the extent of abuse of these powers, in particular under the Drugs Act.

The powers to stop and search for drugs were introduced on a wave of parliamentary hysteria in 1967. These powers were dressed up as being necessary to deal with 'peddlars', but in fact has been used as another weapon in the police armoury to harass blacks, freaks, and working class youth.

The Government promised that these powers would be kept 'under review'. The results of this 'review' were given to the Home Office in December 1975 by the Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs. No public evi-

dence had been called.

While conceding that even on police figures a low success rate — declining in the last three years from 33 per cent to 24 per cent — could imply unnecessary harassment of young people, they claimed that 'the exceptionally low number of formal complaints against the police arising from stop searches seemed to indicate that the police were exercising their powers appropriately.'

### NO NICITIES

The Release report attacks this complacency with cases and opinions of individuals and community organisations. The police

can stop and search if they 'reasonably suspect' someone has drugs — but they never bother with the legal niceties. As one Brixton policeman says in the report: 'I don't know whether to explain to them the reason for stopping. I try not to upset people. Good morning. Can I look in your bag? If anybody queries it, I just tell him I want to see what's inside.'

And as the cases show, if anybody queries the police they get done for obstruction or assault. In one case a hitcher was stopped on the M6 motorway by a policeman who said he 'looked tired'.

'For the past two years my hair has been very short. Surprise, surprise — during that time I was not stopped and searched once.



PAUL CRANE, RELEASE

Lately it has grown again and is now touching my shoulders. As soon as my hair gets long I'm again under suspicion.

### LONG HAIR

'I asked the policeman if his only grounds for suspicion were that I was tired and did it have something to do with appearance or length of hair. "Oh no", he replied. "Do you stop and search everybody that looks tired?" No reply.'

Also watch out for police trying to dig out your fillings! Search practice quoted from a Nottinghamshire drugs officer includes such gems as: *Drug takers fre-*

quently have bad teeth with cavities. A few microdots wrapped in silver paper from a cigarette packet and forced into a dental cavity remarkably resembles a filling, so check. Don't take anything for granted.'

The report concludes that the powers are 'used in a discriminatory way. They should be abolished.' This conclusion is linked to Release's view that 'the "drugs issue" is not solved by criminal prosecution of users'.

Paul Crane is a member of the Release Collective. Stop and Search: Police Powers and Practice, from Release Publications, 1 Elgin Avenue, London W9. Price 40p, post free.

### APOLOGY

We apologise for a misprint in last week's contribution by Jonathan Hammond on 'The State of the Press'. The penultimate paragraph should have read:

There are those, led by Aidan White, who would like to see Journalists' Charter become a democratic, broad-based alliance of rank and file NUJ militants — both those with and without a specific political allegiance. However, Charter's Socialist Workers Party origins die hard. There are others in the Charter, hard-core SWP members (though it is certainly not true to say that all or even most NUJ members share this outlook), who, whatever ideals they may pay lip service to, really want the Charter to be an outpost of the SWP in the NUJ, with a few non-aligned militants and fellow-travellers tacked on to lend it a surface respectability.



# 'Your army killed our sons' Belfast women demand justice

Three Belfast women, Annie Norney, Kathleen Stewart, and Roisin McCooney, came to London last week to demand justice for their three sons who were murdered by the British army. PAT ARROWSMITH and LIZ GREENE met them.

The three women made a deep impression on all who met them. By relating their cases, and the daily experiences of their neighbours and friends, they brought home the cruel reality of what is being done in the name of British people to the people of Ireland.

During their three-day visit, the mothers attended meetings at the National Council for Civil Liberties, Amnesty International, and the House of Commons, and met a number of women journalists. They held a vigil in Downing Street, watched by a crowd of some 300 people and reporters (mainly foreign) and then handed in a wreath bearing the names Leo, Brian, Danny to James Callaghan, together with a letter emphasising the Government's responsibility for their sons'

deaths and demanding open inquiries.

At the Commons, MPs Joan Maynard and Denis Canavan took evidence from the mothers and promised to take up their cases. The mothers had brought with them a 2,000-signature petition from parents of the Turf Lodge area demanding the withdrawal of troops from Turf Lodge.

Over 200 people packed the public meeting and messages of support came from a wide spectrum of people, including Ernie Roberts, James Cameron, Anna Raeburn, and Fenner Brockway.

From the platform, Martin Ennals, secretary general of Amnesty International, pointed out that we are more responsible for what happens in Northern Ireland than for what happens in countries such as Argentina and Chile, because what happens there is being done 'in your name and mine'.

At the Nuremberg Trial, Ennals said, the principle of personal responsibility for actions was built into international law, and only last year had been incorporated in a UN declaration which was fervently supported by the British Government... Yet the Attorney General still refuses to bring British torturers to justice.

In a fine speech, playwright Edward Bond stressed that the army had been sent to Ireland for a reactionary purpose, 'to fight against the democratic will of the vast majority of the Irish people', and therefore they would necessarily behave badly. He stressed, too, that 'democracy is indivisible, an attack on democracy in one country is an attack on the liberty, the freedom, the rights, the development of all people.'

## ATTACK

Jonathan Rosenhead, co-author of *The Technology of Political Control*, described the purpose of riot control weaponry as being to attack isolated sections of the community without generating such an outcry that other sections would rally to their support.

After Adrian Mitchell had held the audience spellbound with his two poems on Ireland (and Britain) the women spoke: it is impossible to describe the quality of their speeches in a few words. Roisin McCooney talked about Danny's death; about how he had been trying to shield his friend who was being provoked by the soldiers because he wore glasses, about how the army had lied about Danny being 'rushed to hospital' and had lied that he was in a paramilitary organisation. She said she had come over to try and prevent the same thing happening to other mothers.

Kathleen Stewart emphasised that she had come on behalf of all Turf Lodge mothers, who say the troops are destroying their children and must be removed. In a very moving speech she described a whole series of incidents, including how her 11-year-old son had been beaten up by soldiers just a few days before.

Annie Norney, who is a grandmother, spoke very powerfully, demanding that her son's murderer, whose name she knows, be brought to trial. She described

how Leo's hands were so badly mutilated as soldiers attempted to plant a gun in them after he was shot, that they could not even be joined in the coffin.

She ended with two lines from a poem she has written for Leo: 'If we're looking for justice and hope to get something done/get the troops out of Ireland with their licensed guns'.

The visit of the three mothers was the first activity organised by the Committee Against British Brutality in Ireland (CABBI), which was formed to expose the fact that in spite of the Strasbourg verdict the British security forces are still maltreating, torturing, and arbitrarily killing innocent people in the Six Counties.

Many people at the meeting signed a form indicating they wanted to play a part in the continuing CABBI campaign. We need all the help we can get. Anyone wanting to join the campaign should write to CABBI, c/o 37 Middle Lane, London N8.



Roisin McCooney, Annie Norney and Kathleen Stewart picket No. 10 before handing in their petition.

## Socialist leader interned in Belfast

IN THE EARLY hours of 5 July John McAnulty, the general secretary of the revolutionary socialist group People's Democracy, was dragged from his home to the infamous Castlereagh interrogation centre in Belfast.

He was interrogated for two days and charged with the ludicrous offence of 'possession of documents likely to be of use to terrorists' at an unspecified date 'between January 1976 and March 1977'. GERRY LAVERY reports.

Comrade John McAnulty is charged with possession of 'terrorist' documents. These alleged documents were not found in his house or on his person, and the only so-called evidence is the claim by the Royal Ulster Constabulary to have discovered McAnulty's finger-prints on the documents.

Despite the inability of the prosecution to in any way clarify the nature of the documents, and despite the judge's professed dissatisfaction with the prosecution's case, McAnulty was refused bail by this same judge on the basis that the onus lay on the defence to prove the prosecution wrong!

This blatant affirmation of guilt until proven otherwise is precisely the motivation behind internment, and is constantly used by the pro-British judiciary to justify the detention of ever-increasing numbers of anti-imperialist activity.

Like so many others, the continued detention of comrade John McAnulty is internment under a different name.

A large public meeting to condemn these charges was held in Belfast on 16 July. Speakers included representatives of: Sinn Fein, PD, Relatives Action Committee, and Movement for a Socialist Republic.

On 28 July, People's Democracy are holding a meeting in London to protest against the arrest. Its aim is to organise a campaign for comrade McAnulty's release. It will be held at Conway Hall, Holborn at 8pm.

Gerry Lavery is secretary of the Belfast branch of the Movement for a Socialist Republic, Irish section of the Fourth International.

## A Tourist Guide to England

ADRIAN MITCHELL

Welcome to England!  
England is a happy country.

Here is a happy English businessman.  
Hating all his money he spends it all  
On bibles for Cambodia  
And a charity to preserve  
The Indian Cobra from extinction.

I'm sorry you can't see our happy coal-miners.  
Listen hard and you can hear them  
Singing Welsh hymns far underground.  
Oh, The singing seems to have stopped.

No, that is not Saint Francis of Assisi.  
That is a happy English policeman.

Here is a happy black man.  
No, it is not illegal to be black. Not yet.

Here are the slums.  
They are preserved as a tourist attraction.  
Here is a happy slum-dweller.  
Hello, slum-dweller!  
No, his answer is impossible to translate.

Here are some happy English school-children.  
See John. See Susan. See Mike.  
They are studying for their examinations.  
Study, children, study!  
John will get his O-Levels  
And an O-Level job and an O-Level house and an O-Level wife.

Susan will get her A-Levels  
And an A-Level job and an A-Level house and an A-Level husband.

Mike will fail.

Here are some happy English soldiers.  
They are going to make the Irish happy.

No, please understand.  
We understand the Irish  
Because we've been sending soldiers to Ireland  
For hundreds and hundreds of years.

First we tried to educate them  
With religion, famine and swords.  
But the Irish were slow to learn.

Then we tried to educate them  
With reason, poverty and unemployment.  
They became silent, sullen, violent.

So now we are trying to educate them  
With truncheons, gas, rubber bullets.  
Steel bullets, internment and torture.  
We are trying to teach the Irish  
To be as happy as us.

So please understand us  
And if your country  
Should be forced to educate  
Another country in the same way,  
Or your own citizens in the same way —  
We will try to understand you.

## How Irish prisoners are tortured



Prisoners Aid Committee

There are at present nearly a hundred Irish Republican prisoners in English jails. Their treatment is one of brutality, torture and murder.

In February 1976 — after virtually three years in solitary confinement, numerous beatings, four hunger strikes, and force feeding — Frank Stagg died in Wakefield prison after a long hunger strike.

Like Michael Gaughan, murdered in Parkhurst by force feeding in 1974, Frank Stagg was allowed to die, in preference to granting his request for transfer to a prison in the North of Ireland. Yet every single British soldier sentenced for criminal offences in Ireland has been allowed to serve his sentence in England.

The second death of an Irish Republican prisoner in 1976 took place in October. Noel Jenkinson, serving 30 years for an offence he did not commit, was found dead in his cell in

Leicester. Earlier in the year he had been beaten up for the third time since his conviction.

The circumstances of his death are surrounded in mystery. The hastily convened inquest — a request for an adjournment was refused — did nothing to clarify the position. According to the authorities Noel Jenkinson died of natural causes. Yet it is known that only days previously he was in good health and high spirits.

In Albany prison in September 1976 perhaps the most concentrated assault was made on Irish prisoners since the Birmingham police attacks in November 1974.

Six prisoners were attacked by dozens of screws. The injuries speak for themselves. Sean Campbell: broken leg, arm, finger and ribs; Father Fell: fractured nose; Eddie Byrne: beaten unconscious; John McCluskey, Liam McLarnon, and Con McFadden: head injuries.

Remand prisoners are similarly treated. Patrick Hackett, a man with only one leg and arm, was sentenced to 66 days solitary confinement. The prison authorities then removed all bedding from his cell.

All Irish Republican prisoners have been sentenced for what are sometimes euphemistically called 'politically motivated' offences. The ruling class in this country is unwilling to admit that there are political prisoners as such.

Nevertheless all Irish political prisoners are treated differently from other prisoners, and their trials are also forums for prejudice and political ignorance. Many of the prisoners are innocent of all charges.

As category A prisoners, Irish Republicans have screened visits in which they are not allowed physical contact with wives, husbands or families. They can be visited only by people who knew them before arrest and who are 'acceptable' to the police.

All mail is censored and often political literature and newspapers are banned on 'security' grounds. Strip and body searches of the wives of Irish prisoners are common practice, and it is usual for screws not only to listen to conversations at visiting times but to take notes.

In some prisons, such as Wakefield, the administration is heavily infiltrated by the National Front, and Irish prisoners are subjected to harassment, loss of remission and long spells in solitary.

In order that the brutalities to Irish political prisoners cease — and before further men and women die in British jails — it is necessary, as a short term measure, to demand the transfer of all such prisoners to jails in the North of Ireland.

The only long term aim worthy of the British working class is the release of Irish political prisoners.



# THE NEW COMMUNIST PARTY

## In 1947...

“The progress of democratic and socialist forces throughout the world has opened out new possibilities of transition to Socialism by other paths than those followed by the Russian Revolution ... It is possible to see how the people will move towards Socialism without further revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat .... Thus there exists today new possibilities of advance to Socialism in Britain also, new ways in which power can be removed from the hands of the capitalist class ....”

HARRY POLLIT *Looking Ahead, 1947, [pp88-89]*

THE NEW COMMUNIST PARTY [NCP] led by Sid French has sought to present itself as a left wing breakaway from the Communist Party of Great Britain [CPGB].

BRIAN GROGAN examines the politics of the NCP and the extent of its differences with its parent organisation.

The rhetoric utilised by many members of the NCP is indeed leftist. Some of their contributions in *Comment* before they left the CPGB contain attacks on the New Draft of the British Road to Socialism for being 'social-democratic', for being 'too short on coercion and too free with liberalism' and so on. Sid French stands up at public meetings and defends the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.

However if we examine the positions of NCP leaders and contrast them with

those of the present CPGB leadership, we do not find that wide a gulf on fundamental questions of principle. Where there are important differences — on women, gay liberation and democratic rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe — the NCP is to the right of the CPGB.

The NCP defends the 'revolutionary' draft of 1951 against the 'reformist' draft of 1977. But the difference between the 1951 and 1977 drafts cannot be counterposed as being between reform and revolution.

### THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM — [1951 versus 1977]

The 1977 draft preserves a certain elementary continuity from its 1951 parent on most questions including the possibility of a gradual, non-violent transfer of power. Where there is a shift of emphasis, naturally unstated, is in what actually lay behind the 1951 draft — the USSR and the Red Army.

It was the veteran CP historian, James Klugman, who gave the game away in a discussion text in *Comment* when he explained that the model for

the 1951 programme was the 'people's democracies' of Eastern Europe. In other words the model was a bureaucratic seizure of power backed ultimately by the military strength of the Soviet Union. Naturally this could not be stated in so many words, but was generally understood within the party (after all the take-over in Czechoslovakia in 1948 was not preceded by a civil war!).

For French and the NCP the

development of 'Eurocommunism', the growing attacks on the USSR and the explicit reformism in the programmes of the 'Euro' CPs implies that they have rejected the Czech model.

For the CPGB the implicit abandonment of that model impels them to move closer and closer to left social-democratic positions thus bringing into question the independent existence of a small communist party.

What both French and the CPGB ignore is the struggle for soviets — popular councils of workers and other layers of the population whose very existence challenges the structures of bourgeois domination. For the CPGB the struggle for soviet-type institutions implies an 'insurrectional' approach modelled on October 1917 since it assumes not merely a show of strength, but a test of strength at some stage. They reject such an approach and in so doing embrace a new species of reformism.

French's alternative remains the model of the 'people's democracies', a bureaucratic monolithic model which sees soviets as superfluous because they impinge on the role of the party. For French, socialism equals the party plus Soviet military power. That is why the link with Moscow is vital for the NCP. It is not merely a question of

ideology or nostalgia.

#### On Violence

The critique of the CPGB's 'pacifism' gives the NCP its most left-sounding phraseology. They say: '... a peaceful road is infinitely more preferable to a violent road and must be striven for, but any road should project the concept of coercion to force through the change ...' But this misses the basic point.

The real question is the following: how can we create the most favourable conditions to minimise the amount of bloodshed and loss of life? It is primarily by arming the masses politically so that they are capable of resisting by force when the need arises. This necessitates the struggle for soviet-type bodies which are seen by the masses as their organs of power.

In other words the NCP constantly underestimates the independent political capacity of the working class. From this flows the bureaucratic and semi-putschist logic of its positions. The idea that the 1951 draft had intrinsically better positions than the 1977 draft is a nonsense as can be seen in the quotations from it which we reproduce elsewhere on these pages.

#### On Immediate and Transitional Demands

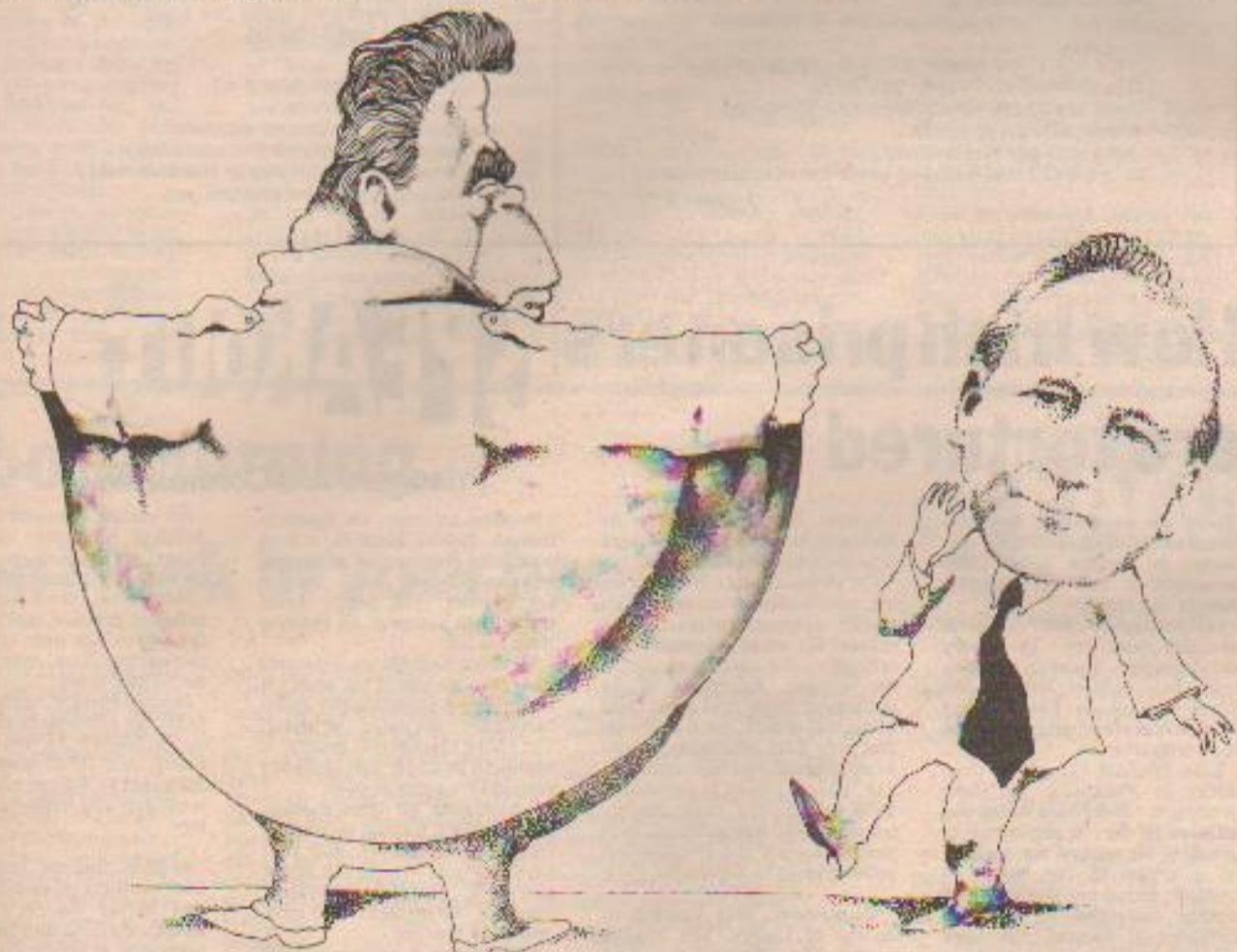
On the immediate tasks facing the working class in Britain, the supporters of the NCP are, at least so far, silent. Despite all their talk of 'inter-connecting of the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism' they fail to provide any explanation of how the struggle for immediate demands can be linked to the struggle for socialism and workers power. Thus they will find it difficult to distinguish

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## The July 10th

On Sunday 10 July, the central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, *Pravda*, carried a major article on Eurocommunism. The article made no criticisms whatsoever of the strategy of French, Italian or Spanish Communist Parties. Concerned at the united response of these parties to the *New Times* article on Sunday, Carrillo, the *Pravda* article marked a temporary retreat.

The article explained the *New Times* broadside as being directed explicitly at the 'open and unrestrained anti-Soviet campaign' of Carrillo. It claimed that it did not constitute an attack on 'the activities of any party whatsoever, including the PCE (Spanish)'. The purpose of the text was to

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# COMMUNIST - left-wing breakaway or a backward-looking Brezhnevite sect?



## After the Congress...?

NO significant forces from the CPGB have joined French. Their working class base is insignificant and less than that of the far-left. In particular none of the national opposition figures (apart from French himself) such as Charlie Doyle, Fergus Nicholson or John Foster have so far opted for the new party.

French was worried that his own forces, so carefully built up over the last five years, might be distracted by rival oppositions (especially the mainstreamers with their slogan of 'Against the Draft, Against the Split') by the time the Congress took place. Secondly French saw the way the wind was blowing within the party apparatus, i.e. towards Eurocommunism. The scheme is that when the inevitable democratisation sweeps through some of the other members of the party after the Congress, the NCP will be ready and waiting.

Given the fact that French has removed a numerically significant section of the pro-Moscow base it is not impossible that some of the bolder 'Eurocommunists' such as Monty Johnstone (whose attraction for the apparatus lies in the fact that he is both against Moscow and the 'ultra-left') might get a place on the party Executive. This would infuriate the non-French pro-Moscow elements and drive them towards the NCP.

### Socialist Challenge and the Communist Party: A Special Offer.

Socialist Challenge has given wide coverage to the debates inside the CP. In preceding issues we have published extracts from Charlie Doyle's suppressed pamphlet; we were the first to predict a split in the CP in our report on the meeting in Merton Town Hall; we published the transcripts of Monty Johnstone and Robin Blackburn's speeches at the recent CP/IMG debate on Trotskyism. Monty Johnstone stated that it was "a very fair report".

A limited number of back copies are still available, but won't be for long. If you would like a complete set, then fill in the form below and send it to us post-haste.

I would like a set of back copies containing information on the CP. I enclose £1 to cover postage costs.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

Post to Socialist Challenge, 328 Upper Street, London N1.

Next week we will publish an excerpt from Mike Prior's pamphlet 'Out of the Ghetto', a duplicated right-wing critique of the New Draft. Prior and his comrades in the CP defend the concept of a 'socialist-incomes policy' under capitalism.

## 51 Draft

British Communists declare that the people of Britain can transform capitalist democracy into a real democracy, transforming parliament, the product of the historic struggle for democracy, into the instrument of the will of the vast majority of her

...ies of Communism accuse the Communist Party to introduce Soviet Power in Britain and abolish ... This is a slanderous misrepresentation of our experience has shown that in present conditions the to socialism can be made just as different road. ”

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...eat play of defend- ...'proletarian inter- ...is means, in effect, ...on of all the twists ...et foreign policy ...inst anti-Sovietism ...never it appears'.

This means a vigorous battle against some of the correct and more progressive positions of the 'Eurocommunists' and their leaders, especially Carrillo.

For French the ideals of internationalism and the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' have been realised in the USSR and Eastern Europe. As he put it at a recent public meeting: "... this mythical lack of freedom in Eastern Europe as though freedom were something absolute..."

The other side of the coin is acting as the main relay of international initiatives of the Soviet government mediated through bodies such as the

World Peace Council. If it suits the Soviet Union, the NCP might take up a more militant stance on British troops in Ireland, though for the time being they have remained silent.

### On Inner-Party Democracy

On a number of occasions the supporters of French in the CPGB made it clear that they are opposed to the right of minorities inside a party to form factions and tendencies. Thus, ironically enough, French refused to fight for democratic rights within the CPGB. Neither he nor his supporters campaigned in an organised fashion against the banning of the Doyle pamphlet, nor the suspensions of those members caught selling it. The CPGB rulebook will be adopted wholesale and applied enthusiastically by the NCP.

Furthermore these wrong positions on internal democracy make it impossible for the NCP to wage any campaign for democratising the structures of the labour movement as a whole.

### Conclusion

Far from representing a healthy, left opposition to the real opportunism contained in the CPGB's political programme and practice, the NCP appears as a backward-looking Brezhnevite sect. On the basis of its present positions it appears unlikely that it will make any headway in winning a strong working class base. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility of the development of an active youth wing of the party, attracted by its spurious leftism and links with and loyalty to the USSR. The latter is the major ace in the NCP's sleeve, but to what extent it can be used remains to be seen.

## Future plans

NCP SUPPORTERS claim that they were hounded out of the party. They point to the suspensions of their supporters who were found selling Doyle's pamphlet. They claim that the leadership was organising their expulsion on the basis of meetings that the Frenchite tendency were organising to discuss their political line. They maintain that the selection of delegates for the Congress was weighted against their supporters.

It does appear that they would have been under-represented at the Congress. Delegates are elected on the basis of one delegate per 70 votes. It therefore invariably follows that those branches which have half the numbers needed to elect a delegate are amalgamated into a conglomerate under the tutelage of the District Committee, which can weed out oppositionists.

NCP supporters say that the party apparatus is being strengthened by a consolidation of those supporting 'Eurocommunism'. They point to the nomination of Dave Cook as National Organiser and Martin Jacques as editor of Marxism Today as examples.

French is reluctant to give the precise size of his organisation, but claims substantial support from Yorkshire [16 branches], South Wales and the South-east. Scotland remains the field of loyalists and supporters of the 'mainstream opposition' led by John Foster. In the main centres their forces are concentrated in the peripheral towns thus they have only 4 or 5 members in Birmingham itself, but have more support in Warley, West Bromwich and Wolverhampton.

The NCP Congress will take place in September. A 12-page weekly paper is planned for the end of August (circulation details in the USSR and Eastern Europe are a closely-guarded secret). The Executive Committee is meeting this weekend to decide on the publication of two pamphlets: one on the Social Contract and the other on 'Peace'.

## Article in Pravda

...concerned to restrain ...e line of the Czech ...despite some of the ...the Communist Pro- ...SP election (p.1). ...tains obscure the or ...id 'working class ...the monopolists to ...med at isolating the ...holding capitalism, ...d between the major ...discrimination which ...'C', the old political ...these things are now ...f, this means how

different the strategy and tactics of the workers parties can be, based on Marxism-Leninism, conducted in two neighbouring capitalist countries with similar economic and social structures.

The true meaning of the Pravda article is clear: all the tactics of the CPs in the West can be supported provided they stay well clear of Moscow's beat. 'Reformism is fine, but no criticism of us' is what Moscow is saying.

What Moscow doesn't fully appreciate is that a successful electoral strategy in the West forces these CPs to distance themselves from the whims of the bureaucracy. They will therefore find it impossible to accept Pravda's suggestions.



# Rhodesia elections announced. British alternative: A sliding scale of bribery

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith last week called a general election to give himself a mandate to redraw the constitution. This is based on a rejection of the latest British 'package' on the grounds that it does not give sufficient safeguards to whites.

His aim is to cling on to a white government, but the plan presented by British Foreign Minister David Owen proposes financial guarantees for whites and a 'peace-keeping' force to police the 'interim government'. AINSLEY DENTIN takes a closer look at the British proposals.

The persistence with these two items is neither peripheral nor accidental. They have a crucial function in an imperialist strategy to maintain its economic interests and indirect political control in a post-colonial Zimbabwe.

The projected sum for the Zimbabwe Development Fund (ZDF) now stands at between 1.5 and 2 billion dollars. Although details of the project are ob-

viously being kept under tight wraps, it is known to include tens of millions of dollars to buy off white Rhodesians to agree to a settlement involving black rule, by ensuring their pensions payments and property and land values if and when they decide to leave the country.

The longer they stay to help maintain the economic infrastructure, services and administration, the more will be their

compensation — as it were, a sliding scale of bribery.

The fund is also known to include provisions for an expansion of small black business and capitalist farming — a petty bourgeois social base for the black ruling class is needed to oppose the aspirations of the workers and poor peasants.

At the same time the fund is a juicy carrot dangled before some of the vacillating leaders of the liberation movement, the proviso of course being that they call off the guerilla struggle.

Another chunk of the fund, estimated to be hundreds of millions of dollars, is earmarked for 'reconstruction' in Zambia and Mozambique, not, as advertised, to compensate them for losses incurred because of UDI, but to strengthen imperialism's economic hold in these countries too, as well as to buy their acquiescence to the settlement plan as a whole.

Zambia and Mozambique are of vital strategic importance to the guerilla forces, hence the drive to get the signatures of Presidents Kaunda and Machel on the settlement deal.

The whole settlement plan stands or falls on the continuation of the guerilla war. It is essential that the neo-colonialising process proceeds in an atmosphere of 'peace' and 'stability'. Hence the proposal for a ceasefire, the disarming of the Rhodesian forces and the guerilla armies and the policing of the country for an 'interim' period by a Commonwealth 'peace-keeping' force.

Canada, Ghana, India, Jamaica and Nigeria have expressed an interest in the plan. Such a force would oversee and crush any opposition to the accession to power, as enshrined in the 'independence constitution', of a neo-colonial government; and it will ensure the peaceful operation of the economic infrastructure and, of



Woman liberation fighter in training.

course, the terms of the ZDF.

Presumably, once the process is sufficiently advanced, and the opposition to it is sufficiently 'pacified', the security of Zimbabwe will pass into the hands of the present black battalions of the Rhodesian army currently fighting against the liberation struggle.

The payment of bribes to white colonials or black servants and parasites of imperialism is an obscenity in the face of the suffering and struggles of the workers

and poor peasants of Zimbabwe. Those funds that are made available should be used, without conditions, by Zimbabweans, for Zimbabweans, in a genuine socialist reconstruction to right ninety years of colonial exploitation and oppression.

The peace and security of Zimbabweans are also the task of Zimbabweans themselves, and an integral part of their rights to self-determination without imposed interference from outside interests.

## Death threat to Soweto leader

ON MONDAY 1 August the South African state begins its prosecution of Soweto Student Representative Council leader Paul Langa, and a number of other prominent student activists, under its notorious Terrorism Act.

Langa, aged 28, from the township of Orlando West, is alleged to have been the chairman of an SRC sub-committee called the 'suicide squad' and on that basis is held responsible, along with others, for a number of explosions (including one in a police station and one on a railway line), as well as numerous other offences.

The indictment alleges that Langa and his supposed co-conspirators 'conspired to damage the economy of the country and through a revolution topple the Government of South Africa'.

These are the most serious accusations yet levelled against any of the hundreds of activists rounded up by the police over the past year. Under the Terrorism Act Langa is on trial for his life.

Among other trials currently going on or in preparation are those of twelve alleged militants of the banned African National Congress, also charged under the Terrorism Act, that of Daniel Sebastes 'Moutshid', President of the Soweto SRC, who has yet to be formally charged, and several prominent figures in the black consciousness movement.

Ediled militants of the Soweto SRC currently in London are appealing for international solidarity with their comrades, and have called for a picket outside South Africa House in London on the opening day of the trial.

\* Picket South Africa House [Trafalgar Square] Monday 1 August — noon to 2pm.



Ghanaians in London picketed the Ghana High Commission on Sunday in solidarity with the strike of professional workers against the military regime.

## Ghana's military rulers:

# A bankrupt, paranoid clique

A 19-day political strike by professionals in Ghana was called off last week after an assurance from military dictator Ignatius Acheampong that the country would 'return to civilian rule' in 1979.

The facade created for external consumption is of an orderly return to democracy. The reality is rather different, as the NATIONAL UNION OF GHANAIS (UK) explains.

AFTER over five years of incompetent military rule the ever-worsening economic situation has reached crisis point. Inflation is more than 100 per cent. Basic foodstuffs and essentials are either unobtainable or priced above the means of the vast majority of the people.

Products such as tinned fish and cocoa, which are produced in Ghana, are nowhere to be found, while across the border in Ivory Coast and Togo they are sold at an inflated rate on the black market in return for foreign exchange.

The London Guardian has reported widespread famine in the Northern region, where many families have been reduced to only one meal every two days. In a country which is rich in both mineral and agricultural wealth the sight of small children with bellies bloated from malnutrition is not uncommon, while many more are dying from malnutrition-related diseases.

But the ruling military clique has still seized the opportunity to profit from the suffering of the masses. Farmers and traders have been forced to sell their produce to the armed forces at reduced prices, only for such produce to be passed on to the wives of top army officers who sell it themselves at an exorbitant and inflated rate.

Maize, for example, is bought

for \$80 a bag from the farmers and resold on the open market for \$200. Because of raids and intimidation by the armed forces, farmers no longer bring their produce to the market to sell, thus creating even greater food shortages.

Determined to hold on to power at all costs, the ruling Supreme Military Council (SMC) responded to the people's criticisms by advocating the setting-up of a 'Union Government'.

This, they say, would be a one-party system, comprising representatives from all social, religious and tribal groupings which, freed from the opportunism and rivalry of a multi-party system, would lead the country in the interests of the nation. General Acheampong, head of the SMC, would preside over the Union Government, ostensibly to ensure that the 'prosperity and stability' established by his Government would be allowed to continue.

### UNSUBTLE

In reality the proposal is an unsubtle attempt to make concessions to other members of the ruling classes (who have recently been grumbling about their lack of real say in government), while holding on tight to the reins of political power.

The Ghanaian people are



aware that, for the SMC and its cronies, the 'interests of the nation' are synonymous with the interests of a small minority of corrupt, profiteering parasites who callously disregard the real needs and aspirations of the Ghanaian people.

Responding to the SMC's invitation to 'openly express' their views on the Union Government, workers, students and intellectuals made no attempt to hide their cynicism, and seized the opportunity to call on the SMC to go back to the barracks and hand over power to a provisional people's government.

The response of the military clique was to increase its repression and to stifle the few democratic rights that had survived under its dictatorship. Rumours of plotted or attempted coups were used as an excuse to make large-scale arrests of those who dared to criticise the SMC openly, while many other potentially 'subversive' elements have been thrown into prison on no pretext at all.

On 13 May students throughout the country took to the streets in peaceful demonstrations against the deteriorating economic situation and to voice their rejection of the Union Government proposal. They were joined along the route by workers, schoolchildren and other onlookers.

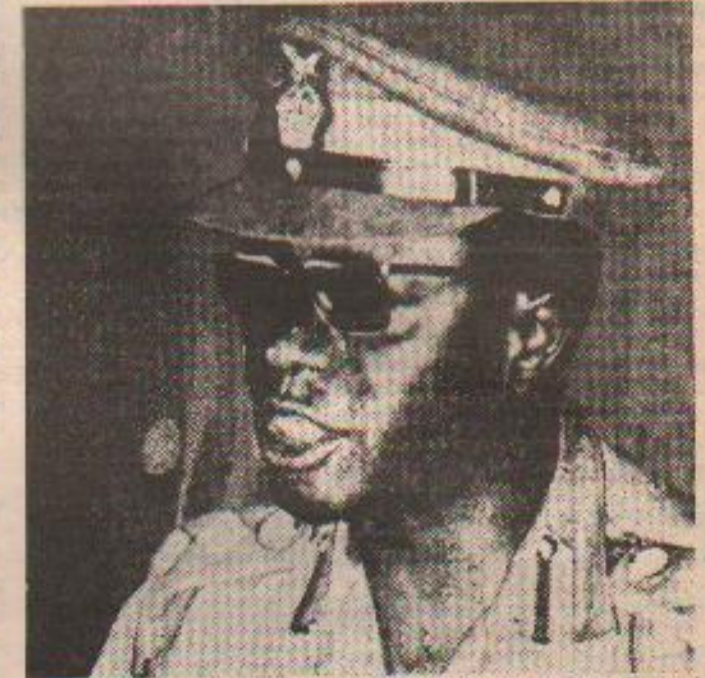
The Government unleashed hundreds of soldiers and police on the unarmed demonstrators, who were beaten up with calculated brutality. Many are still in hospitals throughout the country, while student organisers and the National Union of Ghana Students leadership have been forced to go into hiding.

### INJURIES

Some of the demonstrators suffered permanent injuries. Among known cases there are reports of spinal injuries, a cracked skull, broken limbs, one victim suffering from a brain tumour and another still in a coma one week after the demonstration.

In Kumasi those arrested were stripped to their underclothes and had their heads shaved with pieces of broken bottle. Reports of student deaths are conflicting, but it has been confirmed that at least one student and one policeman were killed.

Immediately after the demonstrations all three universities were ordered to be closed down and at the University of Science and Technology (Kumasi), students were given just 20 minutes to collect their belongings and vacate the campus. A call was later made for students to be sent to the farms as a punishment, and it was only as a result of



GENERAL IGNATIUS ACHEAMPONG: chats about 'prosperity and stability' as famine sweeps the country.

public protest that they were eventually allowed to return to the campus.

Not satisfied with this massive show of intimidation the SMC issued a decree on 3 June which makes the publication of 'rumours' an offence punishable by 5 to 10 years imprisonment. Thus, within the space of a few months, the SMC has effectively put an end to freedom of speech and assembly.

There is no doubt that further repression and denial of basic democratic rights will be the lot of the Ghanaian masses as the paranoia of the bankrupt mili-

tary clique increases.

The situation in Ghana cannot and should not be seen in isolation from events which are taking place throughout the world. Faced with attacks and defeats on all fronts, Western imperialism, along with its allies and accomplices, is making a desperate attempt to postpone its downfall.

At the same time, the Soviet Union attempts to capitalise on this situation by deceiving the masses with a false offer of 'liberation'. As the struggle intensifies the need for vigilance has never been greater.



## After failure of Egypt-Libya union If you can't join 'em, beat 'em!

by RICHARD CARVER

LAST Friday was the 25th anniversary — the silver jubilee — of the coup which gave power in Egypt to Gamal Abdul Nasser and his group of radical nationalist officers. And it was last Friday which saw the last few shots of the latest border clash between the two Arab leaders who contest Nasser's mantle — Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Muammar Gaddafi of Libya.

The fighting started, it seemed, when a Libyan armoured force

made a border raid around Salloum. These comings and goings are not unusual, but the speed and ferocity of the Egyptian response was. As expected the better-armed, more numerous and battle-seasoned Egyptians had little trouble in pushing their counter-raid several miles into Libya, to Musa'ed.

The apparent reason for this aggressive reaction was the activity of Libyan saboteurs within Egypt. Sadat claims, quite plausibly, that the extreme Muslim Al Takfeer Wal Hijra terrorist group was part of a Libyan plot to overthrow his Government.

But more importantly he was rattling his scimitar in the classic manner to divert attention from internal opposition.

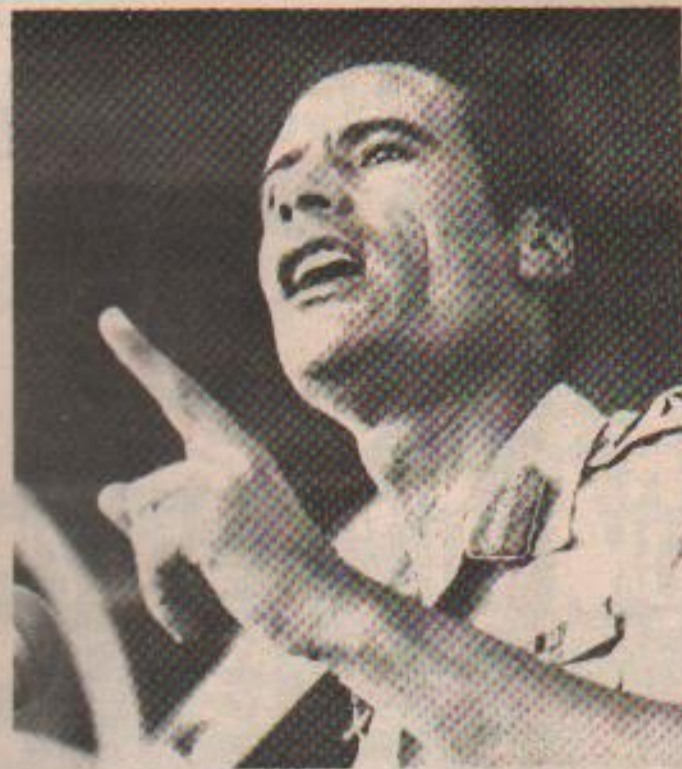
This comes from two quarters. Firstly the growth of mass opposition to the Sadat regime, most dramatically expressed in the food demonstrations which paralysed the country in January, has made Egypt the weak link for the Arab bourgeoisie. As Sadat moves further into line with American diplomatic initiative towards Israel the threat of an open class confrontation grows.

Secondly, this same accommodating attitude towards the US and Israel, combined with the 'degeneracy' of Egyptian life, has provoked the opposition of the extreme Muslim sectors, most clearly shown in the terrorist killings of recent weeks.

A brief military confrontation seemed a happy way out of both these problems.

But Sadat has also tried to offset criticism of his 'softness' towards Israel and Western customs by entering a gruesome contest with Libya, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to see who can display the most brutally bigoted adherence to Islam.

In the same week that Pakistan



Libya's Colonel Gaddafi.

announced amputation as a penalty for transgression of the holy teachings. Saudi Arabia introduced still more restrictions on women's rights and Sadat's Government drafted a law requiring the death penalty for abandoning the Muslim faith.

### SUPERSTITION

Gaddafi's Libya already has an unenviable reputation as a state where the most backward and benighted superstition is firmly enshrined in law.

It is Gaddafi's extreme pan-Arab Islamic crusade, as much as anything, which explains the present conflict. Now that his initiative for a united Libya and Egypt has failed, he finds himself isolated as the sole advocate of immediate and total war against Israel, while the rest of the Arab bourgeoisie, with a greater sense of political reality, is resigning itself to the imperialist initiatives

for a compromise settlement. Libya has been cynically seized upon by the Soviet Union and Cuba as a diplomatic counter-balance to the other Arab states. Its army is increasingly Russian-armed, and Cuba has stepped up the number of 'advisers' in Libya.

Gaddafi repays this help with an equally cynical support for Soviet foreign policy. No matter that this goes against his supposed leftist friends, as in Lebanon. No matter that it involves the most brutal suppression of national rights, as in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

Internal opposition is given the same treatment. Whether his attempt to pin the 'Trotskyist' label on oppositionists executed earlier this year was borrowed from the Soviet armoury of insulting epithets we cannot know.

But it serves as a symbolic warning to those who persist in their sympathy for the 'leftist' Gaddafi.

## Bandaranaike falls

by ABASINGHE BANDARA

THE elections in Sri Lanka have completed the process of political change which has been taking place in the South Asian continent. With the fall of Mrs Bandaranaike none of the political leaders who survived the explosions which shook South Asia in 1970-71 remains in power.

All shared similar characteristics: they called themselves 'socialists', they utilised an anti-imperialist demagoguery and they were denounced as 'leftists' by their right-wing opponents. Thus their displacement has seen not the rise of new Marxist parties, but the re-assertion of the political power of the more traditional ruling class parties.

### EMBARRASSING

The United National Party (UNP) of J.R. Jayawardene has won an astounding victory. He stated that his 'embarrassingly large' overall majority excluded the possibility of a 'national government'. The Bandaranaike party has retained only 5 seats

and the nationalist Tamil United Front has replaced it as the main opposition party.

The ex-Trotskyist LSSP has finally been accorded its just deserts as has the Communist Party. Both parties supported the Emergency and defended the brutal repression of the far left JVP. Both have been wiped out electorally. The electoral defeat is bound to open up numerous contradictions within the LSSP and it is not impossible that centrist currents within the party might prepare a split.

### UNCLE - NEPHEW PARTY

The UNP (known in Sri Lanka as the Uncle-Nephew Party) is committed to free enterprise, friendship with the USA and a whole gamut of reactionary social policies. Its election demagoguery, namely attacking Bandaranaike's appalling record on civil liberties, must now be used against it to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Rohana Wijeweera, Lionel Bopage and other imprisoned leaders of the JVP. (We will be carrying a more detailed analysis in future issues).

## Puerto Rico: 79 yrs a US colony

On 25 July 1898, 1,600 US troops landed in Puerto Rico to seize it, as the *New York Times* put it, 'for all time'. PAUL HUNTER looks at US imperialism's colony 79 years after annexation.

The annexation was carried out under the pretext of the US-Spanish war (in which Puerto Rico was not a belligerent) and signalled the end of the small degree of self government wrested from Spain just the previous year.

The commander of the invading force described it as bringing the 'advantages and blessings of an enlightened civilisation'. These included a military governor, the suppression of the Spanish language and Puerto Rican culture, the destruction of an agriculturally diversified economy and its replacement with huge sugar plantations owned by US big business.

Within two decades the Puerto Ricans were turned into a nation of landless workers and their country had become economically dependent upon the United States.

The political responses to this new imperialism varied between those who welcomed the US presence and argued for an increase in autonomous self government and the explicitly nationalist or independence parties.

The workers movement, con-

fronted with US companies, has always had a spontaneous tendency to nationalism. But during the '30s its bureaucratic leadership grew close to the AFL union in the US and favoured Puerto Rican statehood. And the Communist Party, formed in 1934, was little better. It kept 'economic struggles' distinct from the 'political issue' of colonialism.

So the workers turned to the nationalists to lead the 1934 general strike but they had many similar faults. Within two years Washington felt confident enough to move against the nationalists in a reign of brutal repression.

It was not until after the war, when Puerto Rico was turned into a US investors' paradise (low wages, total exemption from all corporate income taxes, full repatriation of all profits) in what was called 'Operation Bootstrap', that the nationalist movement began to become explicitly a socialist movement also.

The population of Puerto Rico is 3 million, of whom 40 per cent are unemployed and 20 per cent employed only part time. The

cost of living is 25 per cent higher than the US and wages 33 per cent lower. 70 per cent rely to some degree on food stamps and other state benefits. And 40 per cent of Puerto Ricans have emigrated to the US.

It is no longer even conceivable to keep 'economic struggles' separate from the 'political issue' of colonialism.

The final blow came with the discovery of oil off the north-eastern coast. Under international, Puerto Rican and US law, Puerto Rico has sole jurisdiction over these sea-bed resources. It is only by totally assimilating Puerto Rico into the US that American imperialism can avoid the embarrassment of tripping over these legal hurdles in the scramble for oil. Hence President Ford's call last year for Puerto Rico to become the 51st state of the Union!

But the other side of the coin is the strengthening of the nationalist case. The two main independence parties — the social democratic Puerto Rican Independence Party and the revolutionary Puerto Rican Socialist Party — can now easily demonstrate the economic viability of an independent Puerto Rico.

For further information contact the Committee for Puerto Rican Independence, BM-C, London WC1V 6XX.



Four Puerto Rican nationalists under arrest after they had burst into the US Congress on 1 March 1954. Second from the right is Lolita Lebron, leader of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico in the US. 23 years later all four are still held in US jails.

## IN BRIEF

**THAILAND:** Troops of the military dictatorship have launched a major air and artillery assault against Cambodian troops in a disputed border area about 100 miles east of Bangkok. 17 Thai soldiers were killed when their patrol was ambushed by the Cambodians.

**PERU:** Last week's 24-hour general strike against the Government's austerity measures brought the country to a standstill. There has been widespread opposition to proposed price increases. Six people were killed by the police and military last week, bringing the death toll since the plan's introduction to 19.

**PAKISTAN:** The new military Government has decreed the death penalty for anyone campaigning for independence for any part of the country. This is mainly directed at the threat of secession in the provinces of North-West Frontier and Baluchistan.

**USSR:** Crime is on the increase in the Soviet Union as a result of drunkenness among students and young workers, according to a report published in the *Criminologist*. Soviet leaders are believed to want to ban the report in the USSR.

**POLAND:** Polish authorities have announced a national day of amnesty. This could mean the release of nine members and sympathisers of the Workers Defence Committee arrested in May and held without trial.

### King opens Spain's parliament

KING Juan Carlos yesterday formally inaugurated the opening session of Spain's first democratically-elected parliament in 41 years.

Some Socialist members of parliament did not applaud the King, either at the beginning or at the end of his 30-minute speech. But Socialist Party leader Felipe Gonzalez was seen applauding politely after the speech. Communist leaders Santiago Carrillo, Dolores Ibarruri and Marcelino Camacho all applauded both before and afterwards. — *Berlin*.

From Morning Star 23 July.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** Brigadier Jan Visser, the Soweto police chief, left London in a hurry last week after anti-apartheid demonstrators had occupied his hotel room. In the room they discovered a diary entry which indicated that he intended to study riot control techniques in Ireland and Holland as well as visiting Scotland Yard. The go-between for these visits was to be Patrick Weichman, the London security chief of the Anglo-American Corporation who is a former Chilean Police Chief.

'I wanted to see the decadence that I have heard of in Amsterdam', the good brigadier told reporters. 'I wanted to see a hippy colony.' In the North of Ireland he wanted to 'study a conflict situation.'

**FRANCE:** Workers at the occupied Lip watch factory in Besancon have foiled an attempt to cut the gas main into the factory. There has been consistent sabotage of production, including the theft of 100,000 watch movements last week, apparently sanctioned by the authorities.

**SPAIN:** Almost unnoticed during last week's repression of demonstrations in Spain's jails were the prison sentences on five police for their part in a demonstration last December.

No. 11 (new series) includes articles on Eurocommunism, Spain, South Africa, Pakistan and energy and capitalist technology.

There are still copies of the last issue containing the Fourth International resolution on Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Single copies 30p plus 10p p&p from: *Imprecor*, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Five copies or more post free.

## Imprecor

Eurocommunists and the Kremlin Face New Times



Capitalist Technology and the Poverty of Power



# PdUP: Critical conscience of the Communist Party



## The Italian far left and the crisis

'Without destruction, there can be no construction.' This quotation from Mao Tse-tung hangs in the place of honour on the wall of the Rome headquarters of the PdUP (Party of Proletarian Unity), under a full-length portrait of the organisation's patron saint.

ANNA LIBERA continues her series on the crisis of the Italian far left.

It seems that PdUP leader Lucio Magri has taken to heart this somewhat mechanical formula of the Great Helmsman. On 27 February he decided to set in motion a split in his party's Central Committee by virtually expelling a minority group with no appeal, a split that was ratified without consulting the membership.

This says a great deal about the leadership's methods, which were confirmed by the publication of the 'Document of 62' that

constituted the political basis for the split. This document was drawn up and signed by 32 members of the PdUP Central Committee and 30 members of the Central Committee of Avanguardia Operaia (Workers Vanguard), without informing the rest of the two organisations.

In fact the split took place along the lines of the two components that came together to form the PdUP in February 1976 — the old Manifesto group, which had come out of the

Communist Party (PCI), and a spin-off from the old PSIUP (Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity).

For the Manifesto group the PCI represents the interests of the working class as a whole, including its vanguard; it contains the seeds of the revolutionary party. So the task of revolutionaries is to serve as an external pole of attraction to aid in the development of the party's left wing, to win this wing to the programme of *Il Manifesto*, and to win the party as a whole to the positions of the left wing.

### RHYTHM

The point is to work towards a 'reconstitution of the workers movement without tearing it apart', or to 'make the PCI's 3,400,000 feet march to the rhythm of *Il Manifesto*', as Rossana Rossanda, another of the PdUP's leaders, puts it.

For the wing led by Antonio Foa, formerly of the PSIUP, which includes the party's trade union cadres, it is necessary to build an alternative to the PCI. This alternative must be consistent in order to serve as a reference point for the trade union left, and it must be built by uniting the revolutionary left. (The Foa wing does not differentiate itself from Magri's

gradualist strategy for the conquest of power.)

The Party's lack of homogeneity at its founding congress has led to a lack of uniformity in its practice. Rossana Rossanda, speaking of the PdUP's intervention into a meeting of shop stewards in Rome, described it this way: 'There was one line at the podium, another one in the hall, and still a third one on the buses of the dissidents.'

At the podium were the PdUP union leaders who defend the line of the union bureaucracy — Lettieri, secretary of the FLM (metalworkers union) and Giovanni, secretary of the CGIL (the PCI-dominated union federation). Giovanni, for example voted to approve the recent decree to undermine the system of automatic pay rises, 'so as not to disrupt the unity of the union leadership.'

In the hall were the union cadres, who at most had tactical differences with the orientation of the leaderships. On the buses arriving from the Milan industrial areas were the shop stewards who wanted to express the opposition of the working class vanguard sectors to the austerity policy.

In the context of the PCI's support for the austerity policy these differences could only intensify. For Magri the line of reforming the PCI is more valid than ever.

In view of the bankruptcy of the historic compromise, the disagreements inside the PCI are going to deepen, strengthening the chances of winning it over to making a left turn. Therefore it is important not to do anything that might injure this prospect. It is necessary for the PCI and Socialist Party to present an emergency programme to the Christian Democrats, which the latter will have to take a position on.

Any proposal that is counterposed to the above is characterised as maximalist. In his report to the Central Committee meeting where the split took place, Magri argued that it was necessary to build an organisation 'capable of proposing and implementing unity of the entire left, and of pushing the traditional organisations to make a turn ...'

'If, on the other hand, a force or a grouping of forces forms to the left of the PCI which seeks to express itself by riding the wave of anger and protest in a direct form, using them outside any strategic context as a weapon against the "political cadre" and thus opening up a frontal breach inside the workers movement, a maximalist force acting as the parasitic reflection and guilty conscience of social extremism — such a force would not only be



inadequate in relation to present tasks, but, in the name of the most just causes, could act as an objective ally of the class enemy, hastening the arrival and worsening the impact of a historic defeat.' One would be at a loss to say whether the speaker is Berlinguer of the PCI or Magri!

### SPLINTER

The fact that only 400 Avanguardia Operaia members split in support of the Document of 62 means that the Magri splinter of the PdUP, which is more and more being called Manifesto again, will thus be preserved mainly as a current of opinion. Its daily paper is fairly well

distributed (selling from 25-30,000 copies) and widely read by members of the traditional left organisations and trade union cadres.

In the aftermath of the split the PCI's attitude towards it changed instantly: favourable articles appeared in *L'Unita*, the PCI daily, an interview with PCI leaders appeared in *Il Manifesto* and so on.

It is clear that, in the context of the difficult phase the PCI is going through, and the questions that many of its members are asking, *Il Manifesto* will be able to play a certain role as the critical conscience of the PCI. But it will not be able to go beyond this.

## What's Left

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

**JABULA**, Julian Bahula — drums, Lanky Ranku — guitar, Nick Ross — sax/flute, Steve Scipio — bass, Pinnae Saul — vocals. Presented by the African National Congress at the Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road, London N7. 8.00pm Saturday 30 July. £1.

**SOCIALIST** in need of accommodation seeks room in house or second person to look for flat in London. Contact Geoff at 01-968 9177, or leave a message with Martin at 01-4073036.

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY** meeting. Defend John McNulty! Thursday 28 July. 8pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

**OUTCOME** latest issue. No. 4. A sexual liberation magazine produced by gay people. 20p incl. postage from 35 West Road, Lancaster.

**INTERVENTION NUMBER ONE** contains Marxism, Method and Revolution by Ken Tarback. An analysis of the nature and role of cadres, sects and sectarianism based upon a textual analysis of Gramsci. From Intervention, 539 Battersea Park Road, London SW11. 40p post paid.

**DESPERATELY** needed. Place in flat for two IMG comrades in London (preferably South) from beginning of August. Phone 369 6371 and leave message with Cath. This is urgent!

**TROTSKYIST CURRENT** Awareness and Abstracts Bulletin. No 1 July 1977. Out now. An indexing and abstracting service of Trotskyist literature. The bulletin is composed of two sections. An index of current articles indexed alphabetically and an abstracts section. 20p plus postage from R. Bonner, 21 Kinnoull Mansions, Rowhill Road, London E5 8EB.

**JUST OUT**. Haringey TOM bulletin 3. 20p including postage. Available c/o 80 Loughborough Road, London SW9.

**BELT AND BRACES** Roadshow Company's Global Rock Pantomime 'A Day in the Life of the World'. Stratford Theatre Royal, E15 (01-534 0310) to Saturday 30 July. Late night show 'Not so Green as it's Cabbage'. 11pm 28-29 July.

**BATTLE OF IDEAS** Public Meeting. 'Socialism Which Road?' Speakers from IMG and CP. Tuesday 2 August. 7.30pm in the Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. (Nearest tube Holborn.)

**RED LADDER THEATRE** requires full-time administrator, to begin Oct. 77. £50 per week. Written applications by 4 September, with s.a.e. stating: Administrative/Political experience and reasons for interest in job.

**ALSO**: For minimum six month contract in new play touring community venues, begin 14 November.  
1. SM/Sound technician  
2. Performers M&F, singers & musical skills advantageous  
3. Musician/performer

Detailed applications with s.a.e. by 11 September. Interviews 19-24 September. To: New Blackpool Centre, Cobden Avenue, Leeds LS12 6PB. Tel: 0532 792228/9.

**BRISTOL**: Grunwick Solidarity Committee. Public Meeting 1 August. Baptist Mills Community Centre, Holly Road, Wierburgh Hill, Bristol 5.

**FORTY YEARS ON**: Lessons of the Spanish Civil War. Anarchist Workers Association meeting. Thursday 28 July. 8pm, Centreplex 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8.

**SOCIALIST CHALLENGE** Benefit. Saturday 30 July, Tolmers Basement, Tolmers Square, London NW1. Spot the Dog band. Red Flag disco. 8-1pm. 60p.

**CELEBRATION** of the Cuban revolution. In solidarity with Latin American Resistance. Friday 29 July, Conway Hall. 7.30pm, 7.84, Chilean, Iranian, African artists. Short film on Cuba. Latin American food, drink, disco. Organised by Latin American Society of London.

# Portugal: Counter-revolution in the fields

by CHRIS O'BRIEN

It was singularly inappropriate that the Socialist Party Bill passed in the Portuguese Parliament last week should have borne the name of 'land reform'. It was the most important victory in the precarious life of the Mario Soares Government — a victory for counter-revolution in the fields.

Soares was able to win the support of the right-wing 'social-democrats' (formerly the PPD), giving him a substantial majority. Voting against were the extreme right, the Communist Party, two deputies expelled from the Socialist Party last year, the sole far left member and three Socialist Party backbenchers, including the sacked Agriculture Minister, Lopes Cardoso.

The new law goes even further than the proposals made by Soares a year ago in his government plan. Now even larger estates are to be returned to their former owners; landowners not entitled to full restitution will get a portion of their land back; absentee landlords will have six years to

reclaim land; and full compensation will be paid.

Widespread land seizures started after the attempted coup by General Spínola in March 1975. Like the urban workers, peasants mobilised to defend the gains made by the fall of the Caetano dictatorship — and they didn't stop there.

### ADVANCE

Particularly in the Alentejo and Ribatejo in the south, they took over the old *latifundio* estates. They didn't divide up the land, but nor, for the most part, was there a thoroughgoing collectivisation. Nevertheless the expulsion of the old landlords was a massive advance.

The right-wing attack on the land seizures began that summer, but it was not until after the suppression of the 25 November 1975 uprising that it made any real headway.

Troops from the Amadora commandos and the Santarem cavalry school regularly visited the occupied estates, supposedly in search



of arms caches and 'subversive infiltrators'. Only a fortnight ago the commandos were sent to Alentejo on a manoeuvre to intercept a fictitious band of 'guerrillas'.

### AGRI-BUSINESS

The present law, which extends far beyond the Government's

freeze on agrarian reform and the 'de-occupations' by decree last September, is not primarily aimed at bringing back the old feudal-style landowners. What is intended is the encouragement of 'agri-business' — large, mass-producing capitalist farms.

But a law in Parliament is one thing. Actually taking the land back is quite another.



8,9, 10 & 11 September

The dates to remember for the first

# MARXIST SYMPOSIUM



The Marxist Symposium has been organised to justify a Leninist political and theoretical alternative to the theory and practice of 'Eurocommunism'. What is intended is not a parrot-like repetition of quotes from Lenin, Trotsky or Gramsci, but a battle of ideas, a confrontation between counterposed strategies for socialism. For that reason a number of supporters of 'Eurocommunism' have been invited to formally participate in the symposium. Many others have indicated that they will attend and participate from the floor.

## DEBATE ON SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR W. EUROPE

Ernest Mandel [Fourth International]  
 Monty Johnstone [Representing the Executive Committee of the Communist Party]

*This debate will be held in the St. Pancras Assembly Rooms. Participants in the Symposium will be able to attend without extra cost. Non-participants will be required to pay 75p. 7.30pm*

## DAY ONE

THURSDAY 8 SEPTEMBER  
 THEME: FEMINISM AND MARXISM

Registration.... 10.00-12.00  
 Aims and objectives of Symposium: 12.00-1.00pm [Plenary]

### LUNCH

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY/THE FAMILY AND CAPITALISM

Panel: Branka Magas, Hillary Wainwright, Margaret Coulson

### DINNER

Seminars on 'Patriarchy, Ideology and Psycho-analysis', 'Problems of Everyday Life', 'Women in the Third World'. 7pm-10pm.

## DAY TWO

FRIDAY 9 SEPTEMBER  
 THEME: EUROCOMMUNISM, TROTSKYISM AND REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

*Bourgeois Democracy, Dual Power and the Dictatorship of the proletariat* 10.00-1.00pm [Plenary]  
 Reporter: Robin Blackburn

### LUNCH

TROTSKYISM AND REVOLUTION

Geoff Roberts (CP), Geoff Hodgson (LP), Paul Thompson (Big Flame) have been invited to question and debate with Ernest Mandel on Trotskyist theory and practice.

### DINNER

## DAY THREE

SATURDAY 10 SEPTEMBER  
 THEME: THE CAPITALIST CRISIS

'Late Capitalism' and its critics 10.00am-1.00pm  
 David Yaffe, Simon Mohun, Ian Gough, Bob Rowthorne  
 Reply by Ernest Mandel

### LUNCH

*Gramsci and Eurocommunism* 2pm-5pm [Plenary]  
 Reporter: Quinton Hoare

Film (to be announced later) at The Other Cinema 6.45pm.

## DAY FOUR

SUNDAY 11 SEPTEMBER  
 THEME: THE LENINIST THEORY OF THE PARTY

*Lenin, Trotsky and the Party* Norman Geras

### LUNCH

### SEMINARS:

*Gramsci and the Party* Quintin Hoare  
*Luxemburg, Spontaneity and the Party* Norman Geras  
*Women and the Party* Dodie Wepler

Socialist Challenge benefit [groups to be announced later] 7.30pm-midnight  
 Dingwalls, Camden Lock. [Nearest tube: Chalk Farm]

I wish to register for the Marxist Symposium to be held at the LSE, Houghton Street, London WC1 between 8-11 September.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

Tel .....

Amount enclosed .....

Rates: Registration before 25 August is £4.00, after that date £5.00. The rate per day is £1.50.

Post to: Symposium, c/o Socialist Challenge, 328 Upper Street, London N1.



## Grunwick: a reply to infantile leftism

## Socialist Challenge EVENTS

### SCOTLAND

For information on Socialist Challenge contact Scottish Socialist/Socialist Challenge bookshop, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow (Tel: 041-221 7481). Open weekdays 10-4. Late closing Thursday 8.00pm. Wide range of FI publications.

### YORKSHIRE

DARLINGTON Fortnightly Forums. Next meeting on Eurocommunism, Tuesday 2 August. Public Library, Darlington.

SHEFFIELD readers meet fortnightly. Next meeting Thursday 28 July. 7.30pm, the Lion Hotel, 3 Nursery Street (off the Wicker), Sheffield.

LEEDS Readers meet fortnightly. Next meeting Tuesday 9 July, 8pm Leeds Trades Club, Saville Mount, Leeds 7. For more information contact 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds.

YORK supporters meet every fortnight on Sunday. Next meeting Sunday 6 August. 7.30pm Spread Eagle pub, Walmgate, York.

### NORTH WEST

For details of activities in the NW write or ring the Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre, Third Floor, 14 Piccadilly, Manchester 1. 061-236 2352.

Open Tuesday 6-8pm, Thursday 6-8pm, Saturday 10-1pm. Room available for meetings. Duplicating services.

MANCHESTER. Series of educational for readers.

Thursday 4 August. 'The Crisis in the Family'. Thursday 18 August. 'Racism'. Thursday 1 September. 'Need for a Revolutionary Party'.

All at the Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre at 7.30pm.

PRESTON Supporters Group. Thursday 25 July at Windsor Castle pub (nr bus station), 7.30pm.

### MIDLANDS

For details of activities of local supporters contact Socialist Challenge Centre, 76b Digbeth High Street, Birmingham. (021-643 9206).

WOLVERHAMPTON Discussion Group. 'What are the causes of inflation and unemployment?' Tuesday 8 August. 7.30pm at the Vine Hotel, Broad Street, Wolverhampton.

### LONDON

For details of activities ring 01-263 3061, 10-5pm.

SOUTHALL. Supporters group meets fortnightly. For details phone 01-573 5096.

### HOME COUNTIES

READING Readers meeting. Every Thursday evening. 7.30pm, 80 Amity Road, Reading.

SOUTHAMPTON Readers meet fortnightly on Thursday in the Anchor pub, East Street from Thursday 28 July. For further details phone Paul at 0703-551132.

BRIGHTON Summer Forums. Thursday 28 July. 'Grunwick: the issues involved'. Thursday 11 August 'Revolutionaries and elections'.

Thursday 25 August 'The Working Women's Charter'. Thursday 8 September 'Save the EGA'.

All at the Springfield pub (near London Road SR station), Brighton at 7.30pm. Thursday 11 August 'Revolutionaries and elections'.

YOUR CORRESPONDENTS leave me absolutely amazed. On 11 July we had the finest demonstration of working class solidarity and power seen in this country since the day Saltley Gates were closed.

10,000 picketed, 18,000 marched and the scab bus was turned back five times. The police were repeatedly defeated in Cooper Road, the coasacks turned back on Dudden Hill and the whole area eventually sealed off to traffic. It was demonstrated that mass picketing could close the gates at Grunwick.

Yet what was the response of the said correspondents? To concentrate all their attention on the scab bus finally getting in — and then to deal with this not in political terms (the price the strike committee paid the APEX and TUC bureaucracies to keep their mouths shut on the mass picket before it happened) but in purely technical terms.

Karen Margolis suggests you can substitute two-way radios for the relation of forces between the far left, the working class vanguard and the bureaucracy; John Hunt recommends revolutionary left kamikaze squads (although I find the idea of the IMG, Big Flame, the Workers League and the SWP defending the Yorkshire miners laughable); and Carl Gardner joins with the actual kamikaze squad which stayed outside Grunwick's gates attempting to substitute itself not only for the miners but the strike committee itself!

I would also add for comrade Margolis' benefit that the idea of the revolutionary left having stewards 'moving through the crowd persuading people not to join the demonstration' is the best way to generate those 'planned rumours' which are 'a feature of military psychological warfare'.

Once it became clear that the strike committee had done a deal with the APEX/TUC bureaucracy, Scargill, who played an exemplary role throughout, had no choice but to withdraw the miners and everyone should have followed. For the scab bus to get in without a picket in sight would have been preferable to the messy punch-up the police wanted and got.

The job of revolutionaries was to intervene on the demonstration itself. Now this is where we were at fault. We should have tried to organise inside that demonstration to raise slogans like 'We stopped the bus — the TUC let it through'. That such slogans would have got a good response and pointed out to workers throughout the country just what the feelings of the mass pickets were is demonstrated by the universal hostility to the TUC and APEX speakers in the park — without any organised intervention from the far left. By contrast rank and file postal workers and Bill Freeman from NATSOPA who got up and denounced the march as a diversion were enthusiastically received. Such was the pressure that Jack Dromey committed the strike committee to another mass picket now named as 8 August) and no demonstration.

Your correspondents should leave walking on water to Arthur Scargill and get their feet back on the ground of political realities. Politics in command.

Mick Gosling (London)

## Neutron bomb

MARX WOULD HAVE relished the irony. Lenin might have used the episode to great polemical effect. At last, although in bizarre fashion, capitalism promises to avoid its own contradictions!

We can almost hear the sales-talk: 'The neutron bomb! A means of destruction designed to rid the means of production of those troublesome human beings!'

However, made by the working class for the use of the ruling class, we can be sure that ways will be found for the weapon to distinguish between the two.

In such an event, we may, at least, be comforted with the thought that at last the bourgeois economists will be forced to distinguish between constant and variable capital and, all too late, which creates the wealth.

Keith Hassell (Sheffield)

# Zionism & Racism

## 1

THE APPEARANCE in *Socialist Challenge* of Fred Halliday's piece on Zionism and racism (Surplus Value, 14 July) is wholeheartedly to be welcomed. In an area of discussion where simplifications abound on the left, he has presented, in a clear and balanced way, all the complex elements of a proper approach to a difficult issue. However, for members of the Fourth International in Britain, his article, despite its excellence, surely cannot be the end of the affair. Fred Halliday is, after all, Fred Halliday. Some IMG militants, by contrast, appear to have lent their efforts to the campaign, which he criticises as erroneous, to deny a platform to Zionists and to ban Jewish societies in the universities.

One makes not the least concession to, nor apology for, Zionism in regarding this as a matter for the deepest shame. To treat the membership of Jewish and Israeli societies on a par with that of the National Front is to display, amongst other grievous errors of political

judgement, that 'callousness', referred to by Fred Halliday, of ignoring the Nazi genocide against European Jewry and the memories and feelings which are its legacy. Naturally such callousness is especially repugnant to a Jewish member of the IMG who does not count himself amongst those Jews on the left, also referred to by Halliday, who indulge in vigorous attacks on Jewish feelings. It is terrifying enough to have to observe that in Israeli prisons today Jewish torturers, by their existence, defile the memory of six million victims of the Nazi holocaust. But these are policemen, jailers, oppressors... torturers. For Marxist revolutionaries to make light of this memory, albeit in a different way, is intolerable.

How it has come about that Trotskyist militants should have participated in this wrong campaign, whether it be due to incorrect decisions within the IMG or simply a lack of adequate discussion, I do not know. But that they have done so is a blot on the finest anti-fascist traditions of the Trotskyist movement, and it should be expunged by a public repudiation or correction on the part of the organisation.

Norman Geras (Manchester)

## 2

IN HIS ARTICLE on Zionism and racism Fred Halliday was correct to conclude that it is unwise to allow no platform for Zionists but he did so for the wrong reasons and he rather missed the point of how Zionism and racism are connected. What is at issue is not whether Zionism is a racist ideology but the actively racist practice of the Zionist state in Israel; a state whose laws discriminate against Palestinian Arabs on racist grounds.

The Law of Return gives the right of Israeli citizenship to Jews regardless of residence in the country. Jews who wish to settle in Israel are given various privileges such as interest-free loans and duty-free allowances. Palestinians from the occupied territories who live and work in Israel (and pay the government taxes) have no such rights. In various areas where there is a policy of 'Judaisation', Arabs, who are in fact Israeli citizens, since they were born and remained in the pre-'67 borders, are forbidden to buy land. Everywhere Palestinians can expect to meet with blatant racist discrimination not only by denying them national rights as a people but also by treating Palestinians individually as inferior people. And if all this is not bad enough Israel is the only state which has open amicable

relations with South Africa and supports apartheid by selling it arms.

But having said this, I certainly do not feel that a position of 'no platform for Zionists' performs any useful function. A line which lumps Zionism on the same side of the fence together with fascists is simply ludicrous. Sometimes Israeli/Jewish societies do the most active and consistent anti-fascist work and are a potential ally which should not be alienated. On the whole Israeli/Jewish societies represent the more left-wing or progressive aspect of Zionism and see themselves as coming from a socialist tradition. Such people can be won over. Now that Israel is moving to the right this should be easier but a 'no platform' position further entrenches their Zionism. We should remember that not so long ago it was not uncommon to find strong sympathisers of Israel on the revolutionary left. Such people were won over not through attacks on their rights of public expression but through political discussion.

But above all the 'no platform' position on Zionists is highly counter-productive because it can be interpreted as anti-Semitic. Zionism thrives on anti-Semitism, it could not exist without it. Anti-Semitism gives justification to the existence of the Israeli state and in the eyes of many allows it to employ methods which are condemned elsewhere. The 'no platform for Zionists' position, far from aiding anti-Zionist Israelis (like myself) in fighting Zionism, gives a positive filia to Zionism.

[Ms] Tal Machover (South London Big Flame)

## The ballad of English literature

[To the tune of 'Land of Hope and Glory']

Chaucer was a class traitor  
Shakespeare hated the mob  
Donne sold out a bit later  
Sidney was a nob

Marlowe was an elitist  
Ben Johnson was much the same

Bunyan was a defeatist  
Dryden played the game

There's a split of reaction  
About Alexander Pope  
Sam Johnson was a Tory  
And Walter Scott was a dope

Coleridge was a right-winger  
Keats was lower-middle-class  
Wordsworth was a cringer  
But William Blake was a gas

Dickens was a reformist  
Tennyson was a bloo  
Disraeli was moathy pised  
And nothing that Trollope said was true.

Wilde Yeats was a fascist  
So were Eliot and Pound  
Lawrence was a sexist  
Virginia Wolf was unground

There are only three names  
To be plucked from this dismal set

Milton, Blake and Shelley  
Williamash the ruling class yet

Milton, Blake and Shelley  
Williamash the ruling class yet

Terry Eagleton  
P.S. This is just in case you thought I only wrote turple books.

## How the bureaucracy operates

*Socialist Challenge* has consistently pointed out the scabbing role played by Uncle Tom Jackson in the Grunwick strike. I would like to point out how he has now been joined by another section of the bureaucracy, the Standing Orders Committee of the Labour Party.

An attempt is being made to gag Brent East Labour Party from sending to Annual Conference a resolution on Grunwick and Racism which not only supports the mass picket and blacking actions but also draws the conclusion on the need to fight racism on the streets as well as in the labour movement.

Calling for the repeal of all immigration laws, demanding Labour Councils deny fascists

the use of council property during elections, and recognising the right of black people to defend and organise themselves, this resolution is seen by Transport House as a 'plot' to railroad through more than one policy at a time.

The undemocratic 3 year rule states that any resolution which has been discussed within that time can not again be raised for 3 years. This means that any mention of Racism, Ireland, Women and the EEC is against Standing Orders and hence banned from Conference. A false separation is being made between the Grunwick bosses who exploit immigrant labour and the fight against racism. With this argument the TUC allowed Jackson to speak on an anti-

racist platform and get away with betraying the Asian workers on strike.

Brent East CLP has resubmitted its resolution with an amendment rejecting this bureaucratic manoeuvre. We call on all CLPs to support our campaign for democracy in the Labour Party, so enabling our movement to fight for the principled policies required in order to turn back the racist tide.

All Filar (E.C. member, Brent East CLP)

## An innaccuracy

IN THE VERY FAIR report of my speech in the debate with Robin Blackburn (*Socialist Challenge* 6) a printer's error makes me refer to the Russian Constituent Assembly as being dissolved in January 1916 — instead of January 1918. Further, due to a compression of ideas in my extemporary reply to Robin Blackburn, I appear to be saying that the Russian soviets were set up in opposition to existing representative institutions.

In fact, of course, when they first sprang up, there were no proper representative institutions operating in Russia as there are in Britain and other Western European countries, and the soviets themselves were the most representative bodies in the country.

Monty Johnstone (London)

## TOM and 'one particular comrade'

THE SOCIALIST CHALLENGE of 14 July published a letter by an IMG supporter, Cella Holt, on the history of the Troops Out Movement. In it she asserts: 'TOM collapsed because of our inability to defend democracy in our ranks, and to rescue the group from the domination of one particular comrade.'

We would like to make it clear that this is not the official position of the IMG. Indeed it is to deny it (after the 'One particular comrade'). Our assessment of the decline of TOM is far more complex and is contained in the paper 'Problems of Building a Mass Troops Out Movement' presented by us to the Open Conference of the Troops Out Movement.

Niall Nolan (IMG Irish Secretariat)

in that country (14 July). The article from the Hungarian daily *Népszabadság*, which he refers to in his opening paragraph, was not published in response to the New Times dispute with Santiago Carrillo and there is nothing in it to suggest a rift between Budapest and Moscow.

Written by Dr Berecz, head of the foreign department of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — and therefore authoritative — the article was in fact published on 30 June to mark the anniversary of the Berlin meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Dr Berecz does indeed stress the right of 'fraternal parties' to make independent selection of the path for their country's democratic transformation and for the building of a socialist society, but he also points out that at the present time it is 'the solidarity of democratic and peace-loving forces which has become the target for bourgeois propaganda; their main weapon is anti-Communism and its most dangerous form — anti-Sovietism' (my italics). Indeed much of the article concentrates on the fact that the Western capitalist press is trying to create divisions in the international working class movement in an attempt to hold back socialist advance in West European countries.

This misreading of the *Népszabadság* article (taken over it would seem from such bastions of 'socialist' thought as the *Sunday Telegraph*, which peddled that particular story on 3 July), sets the tone for Oliver Macdonald's speculations and really makes them worthless so far as an informed and socialist assessment of present day trends in Hungary is concerned. In my view they are particularly unfortunate as they appear to run directly counter to the proclaimed aims of your journal — to build a united socialist movement in this country. Capitalist misinformation about the East European socialist countries is of no help towards this goal.

Ursula McLean (South London)  
See News from Nowhere on p.3 — Ed.



# Seeking culture's place in struggle

by ANNIE JANOWITZ

**CHOOSING THE TRADITION** of its namesake — the 1919 Lissitsky agitational poster 'Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge' — the new cultural magazine *Wedge* is attempting to redefine cultural practice and theory in agitational terms, a project sorely needed in a period when 'Marxology' in the cultural arena is threatening to academicise an important area of what could be political and artistic practice.

With that shadow hanging dangerously about the edges of the magazine, *Wedge* has correctly chosen a double trajectory for its first issue. It looks at the dominant forms of cultural production and how they serve the ruling class, and also opens the debate on what might be an authentic revolutionary socialist practice.

The articles look at the mechanisms of mass culture ('How the pop charts work'), at how revolutionaries can use cultural forms in an agitational and propagandistic way ('Films in workers struggles', 'Cultural work in the struggle for socialism'), and at the question of what boundaries exist between reformist and revolutionary practice ('Grant aid and political theatre').

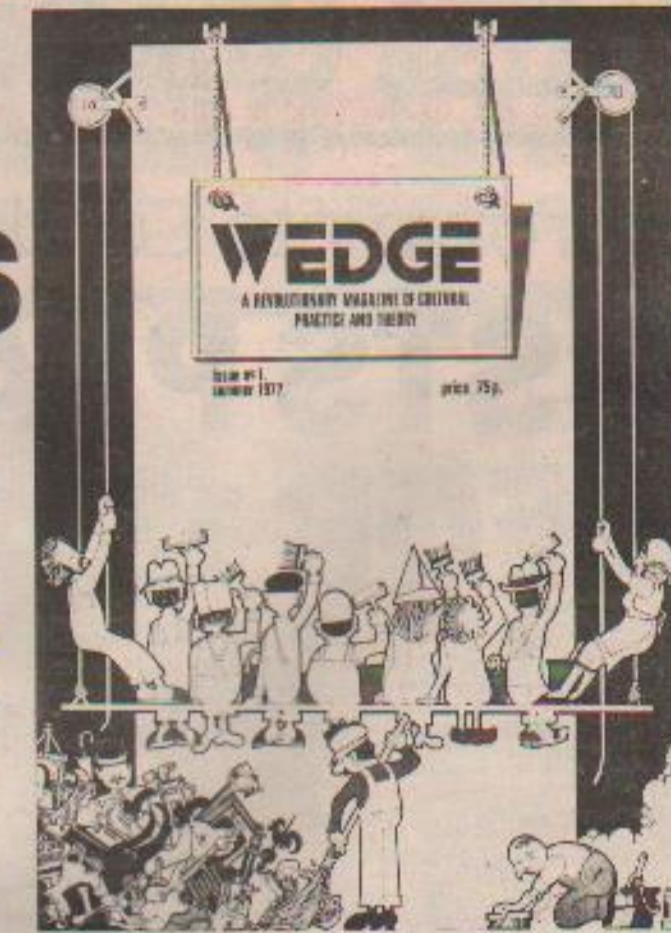
## ARCHITECTURE

*Wedge's* attempt to challenge 'a confined definition of culture as the arts' leads us to an article relating women's oppression to the architectural construction of 'homes' throughout the development of capitalist

society. A 'News and notes' section draws attention to what is happening in specific areas related to or including aspects of 'cultural struggle'.

It is, however, just at this point that the theoretical shadow looms at its largest over the magazine — for what exactly do we mean by 'cultural struggle'? In the editorial (or, rather, 'In place of an editorial') some ambiguous points are made which I think must be seriously looked at. The editors of *Wedge*, in their attempt to steer away from the abstract notion of theory which permeates *Red Letters*, are trying to replace it with a more Marxist notion of the 'political economy of culture', an idea which seems almost to suggest culture as a parallel mode of production with its own base and superstructure.

In many respects cultural production does take on parallel forms to the dominant mode of production, but always as a product of that mode of production. *Wedge's* rewrite of the women's movement slogan 'there will be no cultural liberation without political revolution — there will



be no political revolution without cultural liberation' seems also to beg an important question — namely the status of revolutionary cultural practice in relation to the class struggle as a whole.

## THEORY

This status is a given here, rather than a debate. And if it is a given, many of the arguments raised against the 'theoreticians' turn into problems of quantity rather than quality. That is, the task then becomes one of simply 're-writing' the academics in a popular form, rather than questioning the basis of their theories. It is, I would suggest, worth sorting that body of theory out in terms of its political implications, instead of simply enshrining its existence as 'difficult to understand' and 'cut off from the more immediate practice of cultural politics'.

It might, for example, be useful to try and relate the current analyses of the ideological conditions of production of particular works of art (of the *Red Letters* variety) to the ideas of Brecht and Benjamin concerning the increasingly socialised

nature of the production of art as capitalist production itself becomes more and more socialised — that is, what the idea of the author as producer would mean practically in late capitalism.

I don't want to suggest, however, that the ideas tested out in the editors' contribution are the defining limits of the magazine as a whole. The majority of articles are of an exploratory nature, and do not conform to any pre-conceived position on cultural questions. They are, rather, suggestive in the way they open up areas for debate.

The appearance of a cultural magazine aligning itself with the far left should be welcomed by us in an active way, and I hope that readers of *Socialist Challenge* will not only buy and read *Wedge*, but also offer ideas to the debate on what cultural struggle is and how it can be developed in the revolutionary struggle.

*Wedge is available from 56A Shurland Road, London W9. POs/cheques for 90p [incl. p&p] made out to Wedge. Or ask at your local left bookshop and give them the magazine's address.*

# Partition taboos

by TARIQ ALI

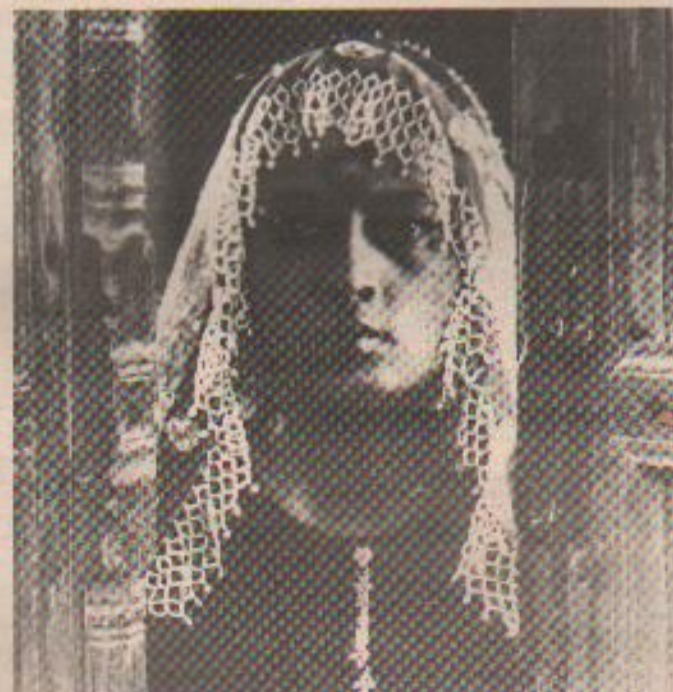
**IN THE SUMMER** months the hot winds that blow across the plains of central and northern India can be deadly. They have been known to sear the skin. In August 1947, the hot winds were of a political character.

They saw the displacement of millions of families. They saw destruction, mass killings, religious chauvinism, the torment of those who had to leave one region for another. The British were leaving and the sub-continent was being divided along religious lines.

*Hot Winds* is about that vital period in Indian politics. It is a subject which is taboo in both India and Pakistan. This film is the first and so far the only attempt to break that taboo. For those tired of the delicate, suggestive images of Satyajit Ray, *Hot Winds* is vital viewing.

It is both aesthetically and politically pleasing. The city is Agra; the Muslim family is an upper petty-bourgeois one. The film is an essay on the problems and contradictions which confront this family as partition takes place.

What is depicted is not merely an accurate account of the dilemmas of the Muslim middle-classes, but the structure of the joint-family itself. The total and complete dependence of woman upon man; the sexual deprivation which for a woman makes marriage appear as an act of liberation from her existing oppres-



sion. She is a chattel who is to be sold to the highest bidder, but she prefers to be married off than sit on the shelves as an object of pity for the married women of her family.

The central theme of the film is, however, the discrimination suffered by Muslims in post-partition India. That is why the most reactionary forces in

India wanted the film banned. It was seen in India by the masses — despite the fact that it is a total break with the vulgarities and escapisms which typify the Indian cinema; mainly Muslims who wept openly as they identified with the characters in *Hot Winds*.

In a curious way, the film both explains the tremendous temptations which Pakistan offered to a

impoverished Muslim petty bourgeoisie — the possibility of transforming itself into a bourgeoisie and a new ruling class, which is what happened — and of how only leftist politics could have resisted the tide.

Towards the end of the film the youngest son, an unemployed student, decides that he will stay and fight in India. For his father (played by the veteran leftist Indian film star Bhanu Saini, who died shortly after the film was completed and who inspired the script, written by a communist poet, Kafi Azmi) it is a cruel choice, but he too decides to stay and fight and not catch the train to Pakistan.

It is a melodramatic ending, but it is nonetheless accurate as this is what many Muslims did. The film is, in reality, meant for India. The political, cultural, religious and linguistic allusions which give it its richness cannot be fully comprehended by a European audience.

In the Asian communities in this country, where both religious and male chauvinism is rife, this film would be a useful attempt to start a discussion around these themes. It should therefore be hired, shown and discussed.

*Hot Winds (Garm Hava)* is at the Phoenix, East Finchley, London. A 16mm print will shortly be available for hire. Inquiries to: Contemporary Films Ltd., 55 Greek Street, London W1. Tel: 01-734 4901.

# Knights in shining celluloid

by ADRIAN YEELES

**A FEW YEARS** ago, John Wayne made a film called *The Green Berets*. It was, as he freely admitted, a propaganda exercise glorifying 'our boys' fighting communist subversion in Vietnam. When the film arrived in Britain it got the reception it deserved: pickets outside cinemas where it was showing.

A few weeks ago another propaganda film opened in London. Richard Attenborough's *A Bridge Too Far* stars Britain's Red Berets — the Parachute Regiment — whose last major public appearance was in Derry on a certain Sunday in 1971. As Britain's own 'anti-subversion' war moves towards its tenth year, the Paras' involvement continues.

And yet when I went to see this star-studded epic the only 'picket' was a lone ticket tout. In fact, no-one seems to have pointed out yet that British imperialism has just been handed a \$27 million army recruiting film.

Where Wayne failed so miserably, Attenborough succeeds in promoting the British Army by switching attention away from the ever-present images of Britain's Irish war to a time when the army was almost universally acknowledged as the vanguard of 'civilisation's' struggle against the forces of evil. Back to a time when the army appeared to be above classes, uniting the 'nation' in the face of the dangers confronting it.

Attenborough succeeds in restoring the army's tarnished image by taking the lads away from the dirt, poverty and glamourless grind of the urban guerrilla warfare of the Falls Road to the time and place — the battle for Arnhem Bridge, Holland in 1944 — of the last great swashbuckling adventure of the second imperialist World War.

This yearning for the certainties of another age pervades *A Bridge Too Far*. Certainties and the moral code of the age of the

gentleman soldier. The two armies, bristling with all the stars money could buy (save Lassie), confront each other like two of King Arthur's knights; they may fight to the death but do so with impeccable manners.

To prove the rule that manners maketh man, Attenborough gives us the exception: the SS who, evil fellows, prepare to take the word of a gentleman Prussian soldier in vain only to find that fate — in the shape of a bridge that refuses to be blown up by demolition charges — recognises good breeding.

Attenborough's army abounds with aristocratic good manners, stiff upper lips, hunting horns, dinner jackets, gentleman soldiers. Thinking and philosophising are the preserve of the officer caste, while the clichéd Scottish, Welsh, Geordie and Cockney working class private provides the soldier-in-the-street angle with the usual: 'Oh, it hurts'; 'God, I'm hungry'; 'Wonder what they're doing back home'.

And bringing the motley collection together, that most wonderful (for the ruling class) of British characteristics — knowing one's place in the scheme of things.

Above all else *A Bridge Too Far* is a re-affirmation of the continuing vitality of the basic class structure of British society. Attenborough uses the Arnhem adventure to show how the most extreme adversity fails to break the old established ties and loyalties. In the penultimate scene the wounded join together in song, officers and men, aristocrats and workers, rulers and ruled; the status quo, like the phoenix, confirmed in the fire of conflict. It is this message that will bring reassurance to our ruling class as it turns its attention back to its oldest colony.

*A Bridge Too Far is presently showing in London's West End, most seaside resorts, and will shortly be on national release.*



## THE OTHER CINEMA

25 Tottenham Street, London W1. Tel: 637 9308

### COOLEY HIGH

Michael Schultz's (*Car Wash*) first feature that tells what it's like to be young, working class and black in Chicago in the '60s. Daily at 4.30 and 8.45pm.

### LA CECILIA

Jean-Louis Comolli's portrait of an anarchist 'experiment' in turn-of-the-century Brazil. Fri 29 July, Mon 1 August to Thurs 4 August at 6.30pm.

### WEDGE BENEFIT

New socialist/cultural/theoretical journal. Films include *EGA stays, OK!, History Book Part 5, LBJ*, and political documentary film from the '30s.

### SUMMER IN THE CITY

'Rock 'n Roll — The Sound of the Streets'. Film: *The Girl Can't Help It*; Performance: *Shakin' Stevens and the Sunsets*. Discussion. Tickets £1.50. Sunday 31 July at 6pm.



# Socialist Challenge

## Rees wants him out

MUHAMMAD HAQUE is a 28-year-old Asian militant. He is active in the Tower Hamlets Movement against Racism and Fascism and on the National Co-ordinating Committee of Overseas Students.

As a student of the NE London Polytechnic he edited the first number of *Overseas Student* and the poly students' newspaper. He is a member of the National Union of Journalists. He writes for *Socialist Challenge* (as you can see from the main story on this page).

All these facts are important because Muhammad has been served with a deportation order on the grounds that his marriage to an English woman is a 'marriage of convenience'. Mervyn Rees is convinced of this fact. We say Rees is a liar.

Muhammad is unemployed because his record as a militant and his support for the Campaign Against Racism in the Media does not stand him in good stead when applying for jobs. He has unsuccessfully applied for some five hundred newspaper jobs — in spite of working as a journalist before leaving Bangladesh in 1973.

His wife, Denise, is a student who lives in a women's hostel. That coupled with family problems (his parents are orthodox Muslims, hers are racists) meant that they have kept their marriage secret. Rees' minions are aware of all these facts. They are victimising Muhammad because of his political record.

The fact that Muhammad's entire family is in this country and that his parents are British subjects make this particular deportation even more of an atrocious face. The Home Office must withdraw the deportation order immediately. Muhammad is going to stay.

CS gas is thrown into London restaurant

# FASCISTS PLAN MASS DEMO FOR 13 AUG

by MUHAMMAD HAQUE and OLIVER NEW

LAST APRIL the unity of the anti-fascist forces saw the National Front humiliated and demoralised in North London. Their reply is scheduled for Lewisham in South London on 13 August. This is an area where the fascists received 45 per cent of the vote in a local by-election several months ago. The National Front, National Party and the British Movement have united to ensure that it will be a large fascist mobilisation. This means that a united anti-fascist response is more vital than ever before.

In recent months the fascists, following the advice of their co-gangsters in Europe, have decided on a 'strategy of tension'. Attacks on the left and on blacks have grown in intensity this summer.

## CS GAS ATTACK

Only ten days ago an Indian restaurant in East London was attacked. The form of attack was novel: a canister of CS gas was thrown through the back window. A child of 4 and her parents (all Bengalis) narrowly escaped death through suffocation. The owner, Ibrahim Khan, told *Socialist Challenge* that his windows had been smashed twice before over the preceding six months.

Ilford police had made no arrests. Detective Chief Inspector Corbett, in charge of the investigation told us in connection with the CS gas attack: 'It could be a soldier who may have brought the gas home and maybe his 14-year-old son was having a skylark with it.'

A few days previous to the CS gas attack a young Bengali had been stabbed in broad daylight by three white youths in Whitechapel. Again no arrests were made. Fascists attacked a Lewisham demonstration in solidarity with the Lewisham 24 and against police victimisation of young blacks. A few days later they attacked sellers of *Socialist Worker* and *Socialist Challenge*.

The week following these attacks the fascists attempted to attack the socialist paper sellers once again, but this time some elementary precautions had been taken. A defence squad composed of militant anti-fascists came and effectively dealt with the fascist thugs. The question of self-defence is thus coming to the fore once again.

The activities of the police in South London make an effective counter-mobilisation a burning necessity. The police have gone on 'nigger hunts'. They have decided to deliberately harass and insult black kids and they have as a result done a lot of the National Front's work for them.

We have information which suggests that some fascist groups are preparing large-scale attacks on black people the night before their big demo. The areas they have selected are the Isle of Dogs in the East End and Lewisham. We are also aware that the police know about these plans. We doubt that any arrests will be made.

All this necessitates the widest possible unity of anti-fascist forces in South London on 13 August. The London-wide Anti-Racist Co-ordinating Committee, which includes members of all left organisations, has passed a unanimous resolution calling for a common rally and assembly point in South London. We will be publishing details in subsequent issues. Meanwhile, preparations must be made nationally for this counter-mobilisation. The fascist offensive must be defeated.



Last Saturday's demonstration in defence of the Lewisham 24.

## UPW leaders help Ward

TOM JACKSON might be on holiday but there are plenty of others in the leadership of the postal workers' union prepared to carry on his role of strike breaking.

The UPW bureaucracy has always been hostile to the solidarity action of the Cricklewood sorters. Time and again 'Uncle Tom' Jackson demanded his union members lift their boycott of Grunwick mail.

But each time the Cricklewood workers rejected this boot-licking of the courts and the National Association for Freedom.

On Saturday afternoon the UPW leadership's scabbing reached a new low. They fully co-operated with the Post Office and with Grunwick management in raiding the Cricklewood sorting office and driving out with George Ward's mail.

There can only be the utmost contempt for such action, which incidentally broke the same Post Office regulations the NAFF and the UPW bureaucracy have often shouted must be obeyed.

It is one more powerful reason to build the mass picket on 8 August.

## Kill the dragon

Some of you are no doubt going off on holiday to sunnier climes. Don't forget us in the meantime. Follow the example of the veteran militant who sent us this letter last week.

In 1938 I participated in the

founding of the British Section of the Fourth International. Never in my most pessimistic moments at that time of crisis did I envisage drawing my first old age pension payment in a Britain that would still be capitalist.

The crushing defeat of the Labour Party in the 1931 election sparked off my political activity; I was an office worker and trade unionism was almost unheard of in West End offices. Yet I earned only thirty shillings a week before deductions, and as I lived in lodgings I had to be subsidised from home. Unemployment was soaring and the era was one of continued defeats for the working class, so I began to question such a system of society.

Soon I was 'tub thumping' around the traditional 'corners' — Ridley Road Dalston, Peckham Rye, Highbury, Shore-ditch, Parliament Hill and Finsbury Park. Meeting old time agitators who had known Engels, William Morris, Kropotkin and Hyndman.

The Spanish civil war and the Moscow frame up trials brought me into touch with Trotskyism and that scourge of the King Street hacks — C.L.R. James the West Indies cricketer and writer who polemicalised against and exposed the frame ups week after week.

So without being too nostalgic or sentimental about it, I am indulging in the gesture of donating my first pension payment to *Socialist Challenge*, as an indication that after more than 40 years I still see no alternative solution to capitalist crisis and suffering than the struggle to build the revolutionary party in order to overturn the property relations and transform society.

Death to dragons  
A.A., Leicester.

Despite the exceptional generosity of our Leicester comrade we could only make £124 last week, bringing our total up to £606.55p. YOU must finish the dragon off.

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D. Sinner 2.50  
J. Donald 2.50  
Hemel supporters 5.00  
Edinburgh SSL (a record!) 11.00  
Cardiff supporters 1.30  
H.S. 10.00  
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M.V. 1.00

TOTAL 124.00



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