

Socialist Challenge

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GRUNWICK:

17

this time let's finish the job

OCT MASS PICKET

Editorial

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The Top-hatted 'Philanthropists'

HAROLD WILSON ended his political career in a blaze of unsavoury publicity. Even the Honours Committee, a body whose members are not chosen for their keen critical faculties but merely to rubber-stamp peerages and knighthoods, felt constrained to reject some of Wilson's choices. It must have been an intolerable snub for a man who takes these things very seriously. But even the Honours Committee was not to know that one of Wilson's new knights, the property tycoon Sir Eric Miller, would do the dirty by committing suicide.

Miller's decision abruptly to terminate his life forced even the tame Fleet Street press to comment on the corruption in British society. It would be trite to remark that capitalism is corrupt and leave it at that, for what is raised is the widespread corruption in the British labour movement.

This exists at every level. It is a cancer on local government as the Poulson case and numerous others since have revealed. Labour councillors are involved in deals with small and big businesses in Scotland, Wales, the North East and elsewhere. Trade union officials are not exempt either, as our story on Gornley in 'News from Nowhere' indicates.

Jack Jones' speech highlighting the extent of the corruption and the life-style of the present Labour leaders [Healey has just bought on a new house for the paltry sum of £65,000] is interesting, but doesn't lead anywhere. Moral exhortations publicise the disease, but offer no cures.

As far as the labour movement is concerned these cures do exist and we will try and enumerate them. In the first instance the oft-derided demand to 'Open The Books' should be fought for by all trades unionists. Not only will it reveal the profit margins of the rich and near-rich, but it will reveal all those who are receiving handouts.

Secondly, the current revelations raise the question of accountability. The recall of all full-time officials in the labour movement — starting with Labour MPs and extending to local councillors and trade union officials — by those who elected them should be vigorously fought for and incorporated into the demands of all bodies of the labour movement. If he wanted to be consistent, Brother Jones should end the absurd situation in his own union: the general secretary is elected for life!

Thirdly, all full-time labour movement officials should declare their assets, which should be recorded in a register accessible to all trade unionists. Numerous allegations have been made regarding Callaghan's links with the Welsh banker Julian Hodge. This man is well-known as a thoroughly unscrupulous boss and his involvement in the 'pyramid selling schemes' which bankrupted thousands of West Indians in the Midlands has already been documented in Private Eye. The national press knows of Callaghan's links with Hodge, but prefers to keep silent because those who own it are members of the Club and it is not the done thing to rel on a fellow member.

If Eric Miller's suicide generates a real movement to root out corruption in the labour movement then the dark knight who while alive made his millions by ruthlessly exploiting others will, in death, have done British labour a service — the only one for which he should be rewarded.

The IMF's-blue eyed boy



So Denis Healey is now the blue-eyed boy of the International Monetary Fund. Only a year ago, there was a dramatic dash from Heathrow in response to the collapse of the pound on foreign exchange markets.

The IMF conference has just been and gone, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has flown the Atlantic twice to receive pats on the back from everybody. So what is it they're all applauding?

First, inflation is slowly falling. August saw the smallest monthly rise for 18 months in the factory gate prices charged by the manufacturing industry and the quarterly rate of increase is down by nearly one per cent. This will take time to be reflected in the

prices in the shops.

But inflation was running at a rate of 14.9 per cent in August, compared to 15.9 per cent in July and 20 per cent last May. So the rate of increase in retail prices is falling, and this is expected to

continue. Well done, Healey!

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Secondly, the United Kingdom has been increasing its share of world trade and last August saw a record surplus in trade in goods and services. North Sea oil production is increasing and the prospects look good for a continuing balance of payments surplus for some years to come. The pound is firm on the foreign exchanges and interest rates are at their lowest level for several years. Bravo Healey!

Thirdly, Government spending and the money supply are both being firmly and successfully held within the IMF-imposed limits, restoring Britain's financial credibility. Isn't Healey brilliant?

STAGNANT ECONOMY

There is just one small problem with this picture. Total production is at a lower level today than it was a year ago, and, more significantly, manufacturing production has fallen by 2.3 per cent since last May. In the seven years since 1970, total production has risen by the grand total of 1.8 per cent. So real economic activity has been virtually stagnant since 1970. Not so good, is it Mr. Healey?

And since productivity has been growing slowly, less workers are needed to produce the output. Unemployment in mid-September stood at 1.45m — 6.1 per cent of the workforce. Unemployment has risen for the fourth month in succession by almost 33,000 a month. What's more, notified vacancies have fallen by just over 4,000 a month. Unemployment is on a definite rising trend. But it's best not to talk about these things, isn't it, Mr. Healey?

What is the reason for rising unemployment and stagnant production? There is no point in the capitalists increasing their output and hiring more workers when it is unprofitable to do so. The profitability of industrial and commercial companies in 1976 (allowing for inflation on the basis of replacement costs) averaged less than 3.5 per cent, much the same as in 1975 and less than half the rate for 1970.

The profitability of British industry has fallen sharply since 1972, and many factories are only profitable because of the tax relief they get for stock appreciation.

The truth is that, far from its troubles being over, British capitalism is in the same old mess. A number of astute observers have made a similar point in the bourgeois press. However good the financial figures are, it is real production that matters. And in the present economic system that means private production for private profit.

When production is unprofitable, people lose their jobs. The output they could have produced, if employed, is lost for ever. But that is of no importance to a system which is not geared to the production in order to meet the real needs of people.

DIFFERENT WORLD

That is why attempts are made to make it profitable by attacks on the working class. Under this system it is the workers who are required to pay for the mess in which capitalism periodically and inevitably gets into.

But naturally, Healey will not be saying any of this at the Labour Party conference. For the world he lives in is a very different one.

by SEC



Old people haven't seen much 'economic upturn'. Pensioners held a 48-hour vigil outside the house of Social Services Secretary David Ennals last winter. They demanded higher pensions and lower heating costs.

OUR POLICIES

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

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

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

• To begin to fight for the creation of a unified and democratic revolutionary socialist organisation which can, through an application of united front tactics, begin to be seen as an alternative by thousands of workers engaged in struggles.

Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

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

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

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

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

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

WANT TO KNOW MORE?

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

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

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ADDRESS

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



The mature Purdy

THERE HAS BEEN a lot of controversy in our pages and behind the scenes on the pro-incomes policy views of Communist Party intellectuals Dave Purdy and Mike Prior. A reader has sent in the following quote from Purdy written just two years ago. It raises the important question: When did the epistemological break take place? When did the mature Purdy become senile?

Anyway here is the quote from a review of Tony Cliff's book on the Social Contract in the October '75 issue of the Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists:

'A whole chapter is devoted to the 'exposure' of incomes policies as unfair in their treatment of wages and profits. Now this may have some propaganda value, but it is essentially subsidiary to the main point that working class acquiescence in capitalist incomes policies, no matter how seemingly fair, flexible and generous the rules of the policy, amounts to an exercise in responsibility without power.

'Without directive power over the economy, for the working class to accept capitalist incomes policies deals a fatal blow to its ability to assert its own priorities in the ongoing struggle for command over real resources and legitimises its subordination to Capital.' Yes, Dave. That's right!

James Fox and the goose

JAMES FOX is a nice, well-meaning journalist. He recently wrote an article on the National Front in *The Observer* colour supplement. The article was a bit lack lustre, but pointed out how there were fascists and racists in the NF.

Then Fox made a totally gratuitous attack on sections of the far left who fight the fascists on all fronts, including a cheap and meaningless jibe against the editor of *Socialist Challenge*. It appeared a bit out of place in the article.

We have now discovered that the 'expert' who briefed Fox on these matters was none other than former *Sunday Times* hack and now editor of the daily *Newsline*, Alex Mitchell. Quite uncritically, the latter has used bourgeois press attacks on the Socialist Workers Party and the International Marxist Group to justify his own sectarianism.

There is a certain irony in this. When Mitchell was a cab-hack on the *Sunday Times* in the six-

ties he wrote material of a dubious sort on what was then a mass movement in solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. This used to be reproduced with glee by *Newsline's* predecessor. The more it changes, the more it remains the same.

Absent friends

THE LONDON Evening Standard's diary page on 30 September reported the banquet given to celebrate the 'anniversary of Colonel Gaddafi's socialist revolution' (sic) at the Grosvenor House last week. The banquet cost the Libyan Embassy £250,000 (the price of a modern up-to-date press?). Among the guests were Reginald Maudling, Lord Longford and Roy Mason.

What the Evening Standard did not mention, and what we are waiting for the daily *Newsline* to tell us, is whether its editor Alex Mitchell, and regular contributors Vanessa Redgrave, Gerry Healy, and Mike Banda were present. And if not, why not?

Christ's warrior

DID YOU know that Marxism is a new form of Jewish prophecy? This timely reminder of Nazi demonology is among the many paranoid ravings presently emanating from the 'Arnold Leese Information Service', whose duplicitous sheets, posted in South London, are being despatched to vicars and such like. It is evident that the few remaining 'white Gentiles' in the world have a lot to worry about. Leese, who founded the Imperial Fascist League in 1929, is now dead, but his thoughts live on...

NATO is a 'con played on us to disguise the fact that Europe is under communist control'. The FBI [communist controlled, of course] 'helped Martin Luther King enroll 64 Jewish-communist front organisations, and thanks to the benign influence of Karl Marx [real name Moses Mordecai Levi] the IRA and the Orange Order are both in reality fighting for Judaism.

Arnold's outpourings are interspersed with numerous calls to join the National Front, whose own official organs are increasingly anti-Semitic. Following their National Socialist mentors, the NF describes all Jews as Zionists — an equation also unfortunately made by the Jewish Board of Deputies, who told *Socialist Challenge* that Arnold's crap is regularly found among the humps of excreta deposited outside synagogues.

Gormley's Canadian connection

JOE GORMLEY is a right-wing leader of what is traditionally a left-wing union, the National Union of Mineworkers. Gormley's role during the miners' strike of 1974 was utterly despicable. He was involved in secret meetings with the Tory leader Edward Heath, the contents of which were not divulged to the NUM executive.

Recently it was announced that Gormley had accepted a directorship of a Canadian company, Vancouver Wharves Ltd. A number of miners' leaders were extremely annoyed and did not see how this could be reconciled with his position in the union. The short answer is that it can't.

The miners will be even more angry when they realise the connections of Vancouver Wharves. Seventy per cent of the company is owned by the Williams Hudson Group Ltd, a British company with interests in transport. Williams Hudson also owns Arrow Construction Ltd. A director of the latter concern is a

Teddy Nancarrow who is involved in plans to build a new town centre in North Shields, Tyne and Wear.

Nancarrow and friends were finding it difficult to raise the necessary money. But money was found. The NUM pension fund came to the rescue. The leader of the North Tyneside council is councillor J. Bamborough, an old friend of Gormley's and a former miners' lodge secretary. He is known to be a great enthusiast for the new town centre! Could it be that Bamborough had a word with Gormley, who provided loot from the pension fund?

We do know that Gormley was photographed with Nancarrow on the town centre site itself at the time of the NUM conference in Whitley Bay, on 7 July this year. Shortly afterwards he became a director of Vancouver Wharves. It is clearly easier for a trade union leader to become a director than a giraffe to go through the eye of a needle.



The family that lives in fear

Rita Ward made the headlines a couple of months ago when she occupied a bed at Northampton Hospital, demanding a long-delayed operation. As a way of drawing attention to cuts in the National Health Service it was an amusing, plucky exploit. But there is nothing humorous about the Wards' other story; a story whose details are frightening and whose implications terrify. DAVE WALKER and GEOFF BELL report.

Eighteen-year-old Janet Ward was returning home late one night in March 1976 when she and a friend saw a large plastic bag on the pavement. They picked it up and put it in a dustbin. Janet then went home.

Shortly afterwards two members of the CID called at the Ward's Northampton home and accused Janet of planting a bomb. They took her to where she had left the plastic bag and said they believed there was a bomb in it.

Sandbags were brought to the scene and the police said they were sending for a bomb disposal squad. Janet marched over to the dustbin. She snatched the bag from the bin and threw it at the assembled police. They dived behind the sandbags, to be pelted with rotten fruit, tin cans, and other rubbish released from the bag.

This incident was one of the rare opportunities the Ward family has had of getting back at the police. Against it must be set two suicide attempts by Janet. Considering what has happened to the family over the past three years, two attempts at suicide seem surprisingly little.

The police's campaign of terror began on 23 May 1974. Rita Ward was returning from Ireland after a funeral. She had spent less than 24 hours in Ireland, and this and her three male travelling companions may have made the police suspicious. For whatever

reason, Rita was questioned for two and a half hours by members of the Special Branch.

According to Rita, both then and during a visit to her Northampton home in November 1975 by the London Special Branch, she was offered £100 to inform on the IRA. She reports one Special Branch officer saying to her: 'If you don't play ball with us... We have our ways... You have got your children.' (This is remarkably similar to the kind of threat made by Special Branch officers against Maurice Jones, CP editor of the Yorkshire NUM paper, after his arrest at Grunwick.)

July 1975 Janet Ward is arrested, taken into a police car, and accused of stealing eye shadow. She explains she was given the eye shadow as a present. Eventually the police release her saying they had confused her with another Janet Ward.

September 1975 The Ward family complain of noise from the bakery opposite their house. A mêlée develops in the bakery between Rita, Janet, and Louise Ward and bakery workers. Rita says Janet was being attacked and she went to her aid. In Rita's words 'We got the better of them.'

The police arrive and say Rita will be charged with attempted murder. This is later altered to grievous bodily harm for which the three women are fined the small sum of £25 each. The

bakery later moves its premises because of further complaints about the noise level.

21 October 1975 Janet is arrested on a shoplifting charge. A witness is produced who later says the police forced her to sign a statement implicating Janet. In court the witness repeats the charge. The case is dismissed.

VOICETEST

March 1976 Janet is arrested and accused of telephoning a bomb warning. She is taken to the police station where she is asked to make a voice test. She agrees on condition that her mother makes one too. The two women reverse the order in which they make the test.

The police say they intend to charge Janet after the test, but when the women reveal they had changed the order of the test Rita is accused. The case is dropped.

November 1976 Janet and Louise are attacked after collecting money for charity. Louise punches one of her attackers. The police later call at the house and accuse Janet of grievous bodily harm. Louise protests that it was she who struck the blow and that anyway they were only defending themselves. Janet is still charged. The case is dismissed in court.

January 1977 Janet gets into a row in a ballroom. After the dance is over she is attacked with a knife. She is cut on her arm but grabs the assailant's hand and twists the knife towards them. The assailant is then injured.

When Janet arrives home she tells her father, who phones the police. They arrive three hours later and charge Janet with wounding with intent. She is found not guilty.

April 1977 Janet gets into a row at a social security office. She is arrested and taken to Mearway

police station. The family say she was beaten unconscious. She is charged with the incident at the SS office and is later accused of wilful damage — scratching 'Up the IRA' on the wall of her police cell.

Finally the police charge her with a breach of common law public order for resistance she put up during her arrest. She is found not guilty of the criminal damage charge and the SS incident, but guilty of the public order charge. In other words she is found guilty of protesting about being arrested for an offence of which she was found to be innocent.

May 1977 Louise is charged after a similar incident at the SS office. As with Janet, an additional charge under common law public order is later added. The pattern is the same: not guilty of the original charge, guilty of the subsequent one.

July 1977 Janet is arrested on another bomb hoax charge. She is taken to Campbell Square police station, and as she is dragged in she kicks at a window. She is charged with criminal damage. No bomb charge is made. She is found guilty of the damage.

SURVEILLANCE

By no means is this the whole story. The Ward family say they have been under regular surveillance, and that only last week they spotted a Special Branch officer looking into their back garden. They say that throughout the arrests and the other raids the police have called them 'Irish this' and 'Paddy that'.

Janet lost her job during one of the bomb hoax episodes because of the feeling the accusation aroused in the factory where she was working. Eddie Ward has related how he was stringently questioned after a bomb explosion in Northampton.

By police standards the Wards are not normal, compliant citizens. They fight back. Neither does Eddie try and hide his sympathy for the cause of Irish re-unification, although he also served nine years in the British Army. But none of this is a crime; none of this justifies what has happened to the family.

They have protested — Rita has even written to the Queen. According to a letter they received from the Home Office inquiries into their allegations are 'pending'. None of the protests has resulted in any redress, and the Ward family even left the Socialist Workers Party because they felt the SWP was not taking their case seriously.

It is all this and more which leads Eddie Ward to say: 'This country is a police state.'

For many of us that might be an exaggeration. For the Ward family it is not.



EDDIE WARD outside the local police station.



JANET WARD

IMG position on the bans

The use of the Public Order Act to ban the fascists from marching in Tameside has led to a wide-ranging debate on the left. Naturally this debate has been reflected in the pages of Socialist Challenge. What is the attitude of the International Marxist Group?

In the first instance we reject the social democratic and Communist Party assessments of the ban. They see the ban as substituting for mass anti-fascist actions. Underlying their positions is the belief that the bourgeois State is quite capable of dealing with the fascists.

This is completely wrong and has the objective effect of demobilising anti-fascist militants. It thus prevents a real awareness of the problem from being debated, discussed, and acted on by militants.

But from this can we proceed and say that we are in principle opposed to any bans imposed by the bourgeois democratic State on fascist or racist activity?

ABSURDITIES

We reply clearly and say: No, we are not opposed to these bans if they are specifically directed against the fascists, any more than we are opposed to anti-sexist laws or the laws on industrial safety or child labour.

Opposing such bans in principle can lead to manifest absurdities,

such as arguing against local councils disallowing the use of meeting halls. The point we stress is that any ban should be in defence of the democratic rights of others (in this case a racial minority) and not an overall law banning 'all processions'.

Why has the far left been demonstrating (abstracting for the moment the question of its tactics) against the fascists in growing numbers since the Red Lion Square battle in June 1974? Precisely because we recognise fascism as exceptional political current which has the ultimate aim of destroying all working class organisations.

The fascists are not in Tameside to defend 'free speech', but to attack the rights of a racial minority today and the workers' movement tomorrow. For that reason a specific ban against the fascists under a clause of the Race Relations Act or an anti-racist clause of the Public Order Act itself cannot be opposed on the basis of some abstract principle.

This is not what has happened in Tameside. A non-specific clause has deliberately been used to ban

everyone. Now obviously the ban is a response to the growing mobilisation from within the labour movement against the fascists. Twenty thousand trades unionists were expected in Tameside. The State was concerned that they might take the 'law into their own hands' by implementing anti-racist laws from below.

In that sense the ban is a partial and limited victory because it is a sly recognition of the growing anger against the fascists. However, as *Socialist Challenge* pointed out, we must unequivocally reject the ban on anti-fascists. The ambivalent attitude of the *Morning Star* on this question is both disgusting and short sighted.

It is disgusting because by giving implicit support to the ban on the Socialist Workers Party and others on the far left they fuel right-wing social democrats within the labour movement and attempt to isolate militant anti-fascism from the mainstream of the movement. It is short sighted because similar laws could be used against them in the future.

PICKETING

So in Tameside we do not demand that the fascists are allowed to march so we can try and stop them. We argue that because Webster is marching and his cohorts will be turning up to watch him, we will be picketing the town hall from which this fascist leader intends to speak. At the same time we argue that we are not for any confrontation with the police and that after the picket we should have a meeting to seriously discuss how best we can construct a broad national anti-fascist and anti-racist movement.

We are quite aware that the banning of one fascist march under a non-specific clause of the Public Order Act will not stop the fascists. Nor will an overall ban.

But it would be foolish to imagine that we cannot utilise such a development to further isolate the fascists and portray them as what they really are. In short there are no simple ready-made answers. A concrete analysis of the concrete situation has to be what determines our position.



London's East End Socialist Unity on the road

LONDON'S EAST END symbolises Labour's Britain. There are parts of it which are in a state of total decay. There are trendy sections for the upper middle classes. The Jewish ghettos and shops of the Thirties have become the Asian shops and ghettos of today.

And as in the Thirties there is fascist-dominated Hoxton. There are disused school buildings and closed down hospitals. Every weekend a group of young fascist thugs emerge from their sewers to taunt Bengalis in Brick Lane.

It is in the most deprived section of the East End that there is a local by-election on 20 October. Socialist Unity candidate Hilda Kean is determined to take the fight for socialist policies into the heart of the Spitalfields Ward. The last Labour councillor, Irving Kuczyński, has been in the United States for the past two years. Hilda, a local teacher and active trade unionist, was born and bred in Hackney.

She told *Socialist Challenge*: 'As far as the people of Tower Hamlets and Spitalfields are concerned, Kuczyński might as well have taken the rest of the Labour Council with him. The council has implemented massive cuts in homes, hospitals, social services and schools.'

Hilda says that her campaign will be linked to all the important campaigns in the area: the fight against cuts, against racism, and against poor amenities. She told us: 'I will give one hundred per cent support to the struggle against racism and fascism by voting to deny the National Front the use of council rooms and by supporting the Brick Lane campaign for self-defence against the fascists. I will campaign for the abolition of the racist immigration laws which divide black families, and I will be marching on the anti-racist demonstration in Hoxton on 16 October.'

'The policies that I stand for can only be won by mass action. Socialist Unity stands for workers democracy, which isn't limited to voting every three years, but is based on the maximum involvement of working people in the crucial decisions affecting their own lives.'

'As a first step I want to join with all militants to organise a common fight back and united socialist opposition to Labour's policies, both locally and nationally.'

Socialist Challenge will be supporting the campaign and urges London supporters to help. For further information ring Alan on 01-226 0571.

Police demand extra powers

RIOT CONTROL shields are all very well, but their new toy has given the police a taste for more stringent measures against demonstrations. In the same week that Merlyn Rees promised to 'look at' the 1936 Public Order Act, two different police bodies, the Chief Police Officers' Association and the Police Superintendents' Association, have put in their shopping list of further demo-control measures.

Top of the list is the extension to Britain of northern Ireland police powers. Police there can demand six days' notice for demos, control routes, close streets, arrest 'provocative' counter-demonstrators, ban placards and restrict the playing of music.

Other steps to combat 'political violence and hooliganism' include the selective banning of marches — the Tameside ban was limited to five weeks, rather than the three months maximum because such a ban would have interfered with the 13 November Remembrance Parades.

Some police are also seeking a new law enabling press and TV film of demos to be seized, 'to help to detect offences and prosecute those involved'. It wasn't made clear whether such photographic material would be made available for defence purposes, to provide evidence of police violence!

But Peter Hawkins, president of the Police Superintendents, came up with the most bizarre recommendation — he urged political, trade union and religious leaders to stay away from demos in future because they were unwittingly being 'used by mob elements as an excuse for greater violence and attacks on the police'. Whatever happened to the 'moderating' influence of social democracy and the Church?

News in Brief

County Durham

by DAVE CARTER

SEVEN HUNDRED workers are occupying Eaton's Axles factory in County Durham on a rota basis as management have refused to implement a wage agreement because of the 12-month rule. The Engineering Union had negotiated a progressive consolidation of wage rates in the basic grades two and a half years ago, but it was delayed by the Social Contract.

The workers say that since the Contract ended on 31 July, the agreement should now be put into effect. Management wants to use the 12-month rule to cost the agreement again, as part of a 1978 wage negotiation.

In a struggle which is seen as a test case by both sides, a work to rule led to lay offs, a lock-out by management, and now the occupation of the factory.

The shop stewards committee at Eaton's has been a leading supporter of two recent conferences in the area against the Social Contract, as well as answering the Darlington journalists' call for mass picketing in their fight for a closed shop. The occupiers now deserve the widest support for their own struggle.

Messages to: Shop Stewards Committee, Eaton's Axles, Newton Aycliffe Trading Estate, Co. Durham.

Plessey occupied

SIX HUNDRED workers at Plessey hydraulics factory in Swindon occupied the plant last week to forestall attempts by management to stage a lock-out.

Management had threatened to close the factory if the workers continued to take industrial action over bonus payments. The bosses argue the claim is in breach of the pay code.

But Transport Union senior shop steward Des Moffat explained the real issue: 'This is not a pay claim at all. All we have been demanding is that hold-ups caused by management incompetence should not be paid for out of our pockets.'

'At present we are losing at least £4 a week of our bonus. We are not taking issue over a new bonus scheme, simply demanding the implementation of the existing one.' The plant is now barricaded and the occupation is being run by a democratically elected action committee.

Messages of support to Shop Stewards' Committee, Plessey Hydraulics, Cheney Manor Industrial Estate, Swindon.

Women's equality

WOMEN'S EQUALITY has been put firmly in its place during pensions negotiations at the *Mirror* group of newspapers. Three National Union of Journalists' negotiators, representing one of the largest chapels in the group, set down their own list of priorities for the meeting with management.

Two of them ranked equality sixth in line. The other placed it ninth in his list of 12 objectives. And this although the dependants of a woman contributor to the pension scheme receive nothing on her death, while dependants of male contributors receive substantial sums.

The NUJ's policy is for non-discriminatory pension schemes, and the chapel had already been informed by a pensions expert that the scheme was extremely unfair to women and should be drastically improved. To the union's credit, these facts have just been disclosed in its journal.

Scottish socialists join IMG

AT ITS annual conference last weekend, the Scottish Socialist League — part of the expelled left-wing of the Scottish Labour Party — agreed unanimously to join the International Marxist Group 'as a step towards building a unified revolutionary organisation in Britain'. It also pledged to support the National Rank-and-File delegate conference and all SSL trade union members will be seeking delegations.

Reading

AS PRESSURE mounts, the borough council in Reading is having 'second thoughts' on its earlier decision to let the fascists use the town hall on 29 October. The Tory leader of the policy committee has said that they are 'seriously reconsidering the decision'.

Meanwhile preparations by anti-fascists are well underway. Reading Trades Council is organising a mass picket and various black organisations have expressed their hostility to the scheduled meeting.

Socialists from the Socialist Workers Party, International Marxist Group, and Workers Power have set up the 29 October Committee to co-ordinate their work and are preparing a demonstration. Support for action has been pledged by Oxford and Basingstoke anti-fascist committees, as well as by a new anti-fascist committee formed by Bracknell Labour Party.

In last week's *Socialist Challenge* we misreported the time of the picket. It is at 11am and not in the evening. Furthermore, the initiative taken to call a united left meeting for 6 October was by Reading Trades Council, not the IMG.

Bradford

FOLLOWING a wave of fascist attacks on left bookshops and other buildings in Bradford, a public meeting to respond to these was organised by the local anti-fascist committee. Over two hundred people attended, including comrades from the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and the International Marxist Group as well as black organisations, both sections of the Indian Workers Associations and the Bradford Women's Group.

The meeting was chaired by an official representative from the Trades Council. It was agreed to set up a broad-based anti-fascist organisation in the city including all those who attended.

A further boost for anti-fascists came when the local fascist boss Wright (who owns a small building firm and a restored castle in Spain) and his henchman Smith from the National Front were caught in a get-away car by the police after an attack on a left bookshop.

The regional leadership of the NF (leader Andrew Brous of Stechford fame) asked them to do the proper thing and resign before their trial began. The local NF has, however, asked them to continue as members and officials. But Smith refuses to come back and has resigned 'in disgust'.

A NATIONAL FRONT newspaper seller attacked a left-wing militant with a knife in Bradford shopping precinct on Saturday afternoon. Gary Whiting, a former member of the Socialist Workers Party, was stabbed six times and is now in hospital in a serious condition. The precinct is regularly used by the NF and the left for paper sales.

Members of the British National Party physically assaulted militants selling *Socialist Challenge* and *Socialist Worker* in two weeks ago. This follows an attack by the same people on a left-wing meeting in Rochdale the previous Saturday. SWP members in the area have also received threatening telephone calls.

The police have made an arrest but it is not known whether any charges have been laid.

FORD WORKERS SUPPLEMENT

Socialist Challenge this week gives over four of its pages to militant workers in the Ford car plants to state their case. This is the longest 'Speakout' we have ever printed. Naturally we do not agree with every article in the supplement, but we felt that it was particularly important at this time to allow the Ford workers to utilise our resources.

The Ford workers appreciate assistance from outside militants who can aid their struggle [doing research, helping prepare leaflets, etc.]. They would in particular welcome help on the work they are doing on a History of Ford Struggles and Health and Safety.

WEST MIDLANDS

REGIONAL PUBLIC SECTOR SHOP STEWARDS CONFERENCE

SATURDAY 15 OCTOBER

10am Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth, Birmingham.

NATIONAL RANK AND FILE DELEGATE CONFERENCE

Saturday 26 November, in the Co-op Hall, Manchester

Credentials for delegates from all trade union organisations from the Rank and File Centre, 285a Seven Sisters Road, London, N4.

What's Left

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

ROOM available in West London for 3 to 4 months from 1 November. Phone Charlie, 01-862 3550 between 8.30-10am, or 8.30-8.30pm.

MIDLANDS conference on Ireland, Saturday 12 November. Debates on trade unions, Labour Party, PTA, Women & Ireland, etc. For details contact 7 College St, Leicester.

NATIONAL conference on 15 October to discuss and coordinate the defence of Gay News and of gays generally against the backlash. To be held at Birmingham Gay Community Centre, 9-10 Bordesley St., Digbeth, Tel 021-643 7889. Starts 11am.

INTERVENTION No 1 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.

WOMEN in Eastern Europe. Meeting to discuss bourgeois feminist movements and current debates about the family on Sat 8 Oct, 10.30am-5.00pm, in TV Room, LBE. For further details phone 01-263 2741.

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

BROADSIDE Mobile Workers' Theatre's play about the struggle of the Portuguese people against fascism and for socialism, *We Have the Power of the Winds*; Theatre Technia, 9 York Way, London N7. (01 267 0433) Sat 8 Oct, 8pm. Followed by discussion. Tickets £1 (Students, OAPs 50p).

WOMEN in Manual Trades National Meeting. Women working in construction, or as mechanics, gardeners, printers etc., or interested in doing so, contact Women in Manual Trades, c/o Tess McMeekin, 16 Shoredrooke Ave, Leeds 7. (Leeds 629427 ext 2).

RALLY to launch the Manifesto of the International Communist League. Debates and discussions on the main issues of a revolutionary strategy for today, with all the tendencies of the revolutionary left: workers' struggles, Ireland, women's liberation — how today's battles relate to socialist perspectives. Re-building a revolutionary Marxist tradition. 2-5pm at the Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Rd, London N4, Saturday 15 October. Tickets 15p. The I-CL Manifesto, 'The Fight for Workers' Power', can be obtained from left bookshops, or from I-CL at 35p.

TROOPS OUT Movement Forum on Ireland: What is Labour up to on Ireland? Speaker G. Lawless, Northumberland Arms, Kings X Rd, Friday 7 October, 8pm. Adm 20p. **ROOM** in squat available in East London, 52 Burdett Rd, E3.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM 1. New journal from Big Flame. Includes Christopher Roper on Argentina, Middle East, Alvaro Miranda on Portugal, Socialist Unity, the Left, 40p (1+10p post). Subscription 14 issues) £2. From: Big Flame Publications, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London E1.

NEW LEFT. A re-examination by activists of the civil disobedience, CND, Committee of 100 campaigns, drawing lessons for future actions, particularly on the anti-nuclear issue. Special issue price 25p (incl p&p) from: Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.

MANCHESTER District STA Public Meeting: Education and Democracy in Schools. Speakers and debate. 8pm. Unicorn public house, Church St, Manchester.

IN MEMORY of Noel Jenkinson, who died in Leicester jail security unit on 9-October 1976, from his comrades in the Prisoners Aid Committee. 'Let the fingers of the anti-imperialist forces unite into a mighty fist to crush the aggressors. And so the call today must be for unity around the banner of the Provisionals and the slogan must be all volunteers, all funds, all equipment to the Provisionals', Noel Jenkinson, Venereamos.

WORKING WOMEN'S Charter Trade Union School, 26 November. Friends Meeting Place, Church St, Reading. Discussion is aimed at helping women organise and raise the question of women's rights on the shop floor and within the unions, or just for women who want to know what rights exist and how other women have fought to improve them. Details from Anita Turnbull, Flat 2, 3 Coleridge Rd, London NE1, 01-346 1760 (home), 01-340 8665 ext 54 (work).

ROOM AGAINST RACISM, the Squat, Devas St, Oxford Rd, Manchester 15 (near the University), 7pm, Fri 7 Oct. Tickets 70p from M/C Area - NUS. Groups: Exodus and The Fall.

B'ham Day of Inquiry exposes Anti-abortion mafia

The stranglehold by anti-abortion gynaecologists in the Birmingham health area has won the city an unenviable place in the Guinness Book of Records. It is the area with the lowest proportion of National Health Service abortions in the country.

A Day of Inquiry on 1 October, organised by the Birmingham National Abortion Campaign and attended by over 100 people, aimed to expose this record and present the positive alternatives to the consultants' control over women's fertility. SARAH ROELOFS reports.

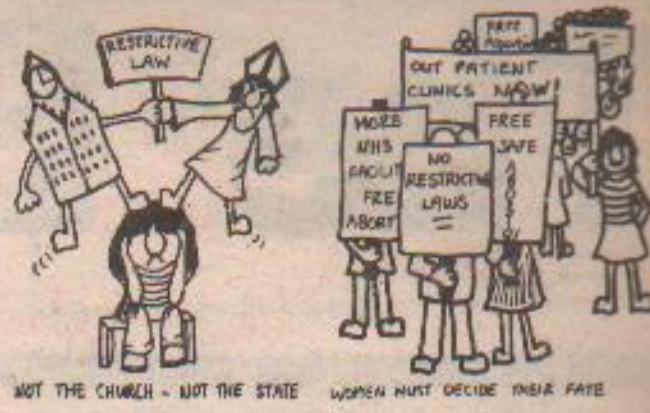
Two medical students training in the area presented a submission to the inquiry, but were unable to present their own evidence for fear of victimisation — itself a testimony to the anti-abortion Mafia's reign of terror.

Professor Peter Huntingford stressed the failure of the NHS to provide out-patient abortion units on a national scale and pointed out that only 10 per cent of abortions in Birmingham were on the NHS.

Birmingham City Councillor Theresa Stewart maintained that South Birmingham was the worst district in the country, providing only 2 NHS abortions in 1974 and '75 because of tight control by two Roman Catholic gynaecologists. Working class women have to rely on the service provided by the British Pregnancy Advisory Service: "A working class woman has to find £66 to get an abortion in this town."

In January the Area Health Authority agreed to the provision of an out-patient unit and increased NHS facilities, but progress is being blocked by the medical hierarchy and administration. Dr. Condee, a gynaecologist from Dudley Hospital, said that the control of abortion services should be removed from gynaecologists and envisaged a system of out-patient provision staffed and maintained by sympathetic general practitioners.

Women from BPAS, Brook Centre, National Union of Public Employees, Radical Midwives, City NAC and South Birmingham NAC groups also gave evidence, as well as personal testimony from women attending the Inquiry. One nurse said: "I used to throw aborted foetuses in the incinerator...for me that is far less of a crime than seeing a child unloved and unwanted in a local authority institution. SPUC supports a crime..."



NOT THE CHURCH - NOT THE STATE WOMEN MUST DECIDE THEIR FATE

Yvonne Taylor summed up for Birmingham NAC, saying that they had positive solutions to offer women through a campaign for out-patient facilities, to force the AHA to employ only pro-abortion gynaecologists, and to build for the national NAC demonstration in Birmingham on 29 October.

Birmingham NAC has supported the lobby of the Labour Party conference on 5 October by the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign, and is picketing its own AHA on 27 October. Birmingham NAC's new pamphlet, 1967-1977—Abortion in Birmingham, Ten Years On, 25p, can be obtained from NAC, 135 Trafalgar Road, Moseley, Birmingham 13.

The National Abortion Campaign has hired a train to take its supporters from London to Birmingham on 29 October. If you are marching in Birmingham and will be travelling from or through London purchase your ticket now from NAC. NAC has to pay more than £1,000 in the next few weeks to guarantee this service. It costs £3 return. Buy now from NAC, 30 Camden Road, London NW1.

NAC caravan on the road

THE NATIONAL Abortion Campaign caravan is now on the road touring England and Wales to set the record straight on women's abortion rights and to urge support for the national demonstration in Birmingham on 29 October.

Pirate Jenny II, the London-based theatre group, will be

joining the caravan in many towns with its highly amusing feminist socialist play *Bouncing Back*. The first week of the tour is being spent in the South, followed by a week in London.

The caravan will then move up to the North, visiting Liverpool, Manchester, and other cities. The final week leading up to the march will be in the Midlands.

Look out for the caravan and theatre group in your area!

SWANSEA NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN presents

1. NAC Caravan and display in Neath and Port Talbot Steelworks, Saturday 8 October.
2. Benefit with the Working Women's Charter Show by the Broadside Mobile Workers' Theatre, with discussion and disco: Tuesday 11 October 7.30pm, Swansea University Union coffee-bar. Crèche. More details from Swansea 59506 or 14 Bryn-y-Mor Crescent, Swansea.

CARDIFF: Friday 7 Oct. Caravan in Cardiff. Pirate Jenny at 12.30pm, Room 320, Student Union Lounge, Cardiff University, and at 8pm at the Bolton Youth Centre, Sengharr Street.

SWANSEA: Saturday 8 Oct. Caravan at Neath and Port Talbot Steel Works.

SOUTH LONDON: Monday 10 Oct. Caravan touring Lewisham schools. Pirate Jenny at 1pm, Wandsworth NALGD women, Wayside, 28 West Hill, SW18, and at 8pm, Albany Empire, Creek Road, BEB (Deptford Women's Aid benefit).

WALSLEY LONDON: Tuesday 11 Oct. Caravan in Brent and at Hammer-smith Hospital, Pirate Jenny at 1.30pm, Kilburn Polytechnic, Priory Road, NW6 and at 7.30pm, Brent Trades Hall, 375 Willesden High Road, NW10.

HACKNEY & COLCHESTER: Wednesday 12 Oct. Caravan in Hackney, N. London. Pirate Jenny at 1pm, Lecture Theatres 6 & 7 Essex University, Colchester.

SW & N LONDON: Thursday 13 Oct. Caravan in SW London and Camden. Pirate Jenny at 8pm, Wheat-sheaf, Toorling Bec.

BRIGHTON & CENTRAL LONDON: Friday 14 Oct. Caravan in Brighton, Holloway Industrial Estate. Pirate Jenny at Abortion Law Reform Association benefit, LSE, Houghton Street, London WC1, 8pm.

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

John Magee reports from Belfast

The immunity enjoyed by the Health and Social Services Board in the North of Ireland throughout the present conflict is in serious jeopardy thanks to recent actions taken by the British Army at the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast.

The Royal Victoria is sited at the junction of the Falls and Grosvenor Roads in the heart of Republican West Belfast. For some time the Army has used the hospital tower blocks to spy on the surrounding Catholic districts, photographing demonstrations and mourners at Republican funerals.

Some years ago the Army established a fortress at the Broadway end of the hospital in which it regularly interrogated and brutalised people lifted in the Catholic Falls. The Broadway complex faces the notorious 'Village' district of Belfast, a hard-line Loyalist area. Following interrogation, the Army has often thrown 'suspects' onto the Village streets.

Such practices have brought repeated protests from the nationalist community. But it is the open collaboration between the Eastern Health and Social Services Board which administers the hospital, and the British Army which has evoked the strongest anger.

It is virtually impossible to attend the hospital for treatment without running the brunt of interrogation by British soldiers. It is feared that Army intelligence has access to confidential hospital files and in 24 September issue of *Republican News* documentary proof was published showing that the hospital photographic department was being used to process film of Republican demonstrations. The 'neutrality' of the hospital has been further violated by the Army and the

RUC using it for rendezvous with informers.

Consistent warnings from the Provisional IRA that action would be taken against the Army presence if it doesn't get out have been ignored. So too has a consistent campaign by hospital workers to rid themselves of the Army presence. Three weeks ago the Belfast North and West branch of the National Union of Public Employees passed a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of British soldiers from the hospital. This resolution was immediately disowned by the local NUPE bureaucracy.

Last week the workers got their answer. Hundreds of troops piled into the hospital area on Tuesday, imposing a curfew on surrounding streets. Overnight, they erected a grotesque 'security screen' of corrugated metal and wire. They now say that Army presence will remain.

If in the next couple of weeks you hear of demonstrations at the hospital, if you hear of actions against the British Army there, just remember that a refuge for the sick and injured is being used to facilitate the campaign of terror waged by the British Army against the Republicans of West Belfast.

Better still, place resolutions at your trade union branch meetings — especially NUPE — supporting the stand of NUPE workers at the Royal Victoria, demanding that the British Army get out of the hospital and they don't stop until they're out of Ireland.

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE Public Forum

Ireland: the struggle continues

a socialist perspective

Guest speakers: Bernadette McAliskey [Independent Socialist Party]; Brendan Kelly [Movement for a Socialist Republic]; Fergus O'Hare [Peoples Democracy]; Alistair Renwick [United Troops Out Movement].

Friday 14 October, 7.30pm, at NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, off Theobalds Road, near Holborn, WC1. Admission 65p. All welcome.



Members of the United Troops Out Movement picketed the meeting Callaghan and Irish Premier Jack Lynch last Wednesday. The meeting appears to have been a non-event. Certainly Lynch showed no signs of taking seriously his party's official policy of a 'British commitment to an orderly withdrawal' from the Six Counties.

Defend Peter Grimes from the Terror Act

A PICKET of Old Street Magistrates Court on 14 October is being mounted in protest against the arrest and charging of Peter Grimes, the London organiser of the Irish Republican Socialist Party support groups in the country.

Charged under the Prevention of Terrorism Act for 'withholding information', a condition of Peter's £5,000 bail has been that he makes no contact with other IRSP members. Defend the IRSP's right to organise by attending this picket!

Weekend school

THE INTERNATIONAL Marxist Group is organising a weekend school on Ireland on 15 and 16 October. It is open to all members and sympathisers of the IMG and invitations have also been sent to Workers League, Big Flame, and a number of Irish groups.

There will be a limited number of places available for supporters of Socialist Challenge. Registration is £1. For details write to: C. Smith, PO Box 50, London N1.

The Basis For Re

A Draft State

INTRODUCTION

Socialist Challenge has consistently campaigned for a unified revolutionary organisation. We do not believe that such a unity can be brought about simply by agreement on the immediate tasks confronting us today. Nor, on the other hand, do we believe that only Trotskyists supporting the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International, which was adopted in 1938, can be considered as revolutionaries.

The character of an organisation claiming to be revolutionary can ultimately only be determined by how it acts in the greatest tests of the international class struggle. What side it takes in the clash of contending social forces.

Thus the Marxist method of drawing a dividing line between revolutionary currents on the one side, and reformist and centrist ones on the other, cannot be determined by simply verbal support for historical programmes, leave alone by all the clauses and sub-clauses in a full revolutionary programme.

It has to be determined on such questions as support or opposition to class-collaborationist governments, opposition to the bourgeoisie of one's 'own' country in imperialist wars, the necessity to destroy the existing State institutions of the bourgeoisie, and so on.

Socialist Challenge is putting forward an initial draft for discussion in the paper and within the left. We welcome contributions and amendments on the draft. A discussion on the draft and alternative contributions and amendments will be taken at the first conference of the paper's supporters to be held in the new year.

Editorial Board

The constraints of capital

1 The material basis to begin to liberate humanity from hunger, misery, and the drudgery of meaningless repetitive labour already exists. For the first time in history, there is the possibility of destroying racism and national oppression, achieving the liberation of women, guaranteeing democratic rights, and achieving the freedom to develop culture, science and all human capacities.

2 What prevents these achievements is the existence of capitalism and the activities of those who defend it. Two world wars, fascism, racism, sexism, and the threatened destruction of the natural environment are the price that has been paid for the survival of this system. It offers the world nothing more than increasing economic crises, imperialism, the distortion of science and culture, and ultimately the threat of

nuclear annihilation. Capitalism threatens human civilisation with catastrophe.

The road to liberation

3 The social force capable of leading the struggle for the establishment of socialism is the working class. Every movement for the defence and extension of: human production, values, and democratic rights; national, sexual, and racial liberation; culture, and science can achieve these aims only by linking itself to the struggle of this class for socialism.

The working class for its part can achieve its liberation only by fighting to destroy not only economic oppression, but all forms of sexual, national, racial, and cultural oppression. The socialist revolution and the socialist reconstruction of society itself represent the fusion, not merely of the economic and political expropriation of the ruling capitalist class, but also of the struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people.

What we fight for

4 As part of the struggle for socialism revolutionaries defend every historically progressive gain which has been made, and support every struggle for the interests of the exploited and oppressed. They do not counterpose the struggles of today to the socialism of tomorrow, but understand that the fight for even the most minimal needs will increasingly clash with the interests of capitalism.

Only those who reject strategic compromises with the capitalist class, and are prepared to fight it to the end will be able to defend the most elementary needs of life. In the escalating struggle of social classes, revolutionaries advance those necessary demands and forms of struggle which — to meet the needs of the exploited and oppressed — will increasingly clash with the bases of capitalist power. In Britain at the present time this includes the following:

- * The struggle for a decent standard of living; the protection and advance of living standards against inflation; the right to a job; the defence and extension of welfare state provisions; the ending of commercial secrecy; the establishment of workers' control of production; the nationalisation of all major banks, firms, and industries; the establishment of a democratically planned economy, through a socialist revolution.
- * Against sexual oppression and for the liberation of women; free abortion and contraception on demand; equal educational and training opportunities; free 24-hour community-controlled State nurseries; an end to discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation; the socialisation of domestic labour; the building of a mass women's movement.
- * Against racism; abolition of the immigration laws; defence of the black community; self-defence by the working class and oppressed against fascist organisations; full self-organisation of the black community.
- * Defence of democratic rights; repeal of repressive legislation; total independence of the trade unions and all mass organisations of the oppressed from the State; release of all political prisoners; abolition of the monarchy and House of Lords; the right of all employees, including those of the State to join a trade union or political party; support of all democratic rights of members of State forces, which weaken

the cohesion of these organisations, in preparing for the disbandment of the socialist revolution of the standing army, capitalist police, and other repressive forces; self-defence of workers and the oppressed against capitalist violence.

* The struggle for workers' democracy; the election with an automatic right of recall of all officials in the working class movement; no labour movement official to be paid more than the average wage of a skilled worker; mass democratic organisation of all struggles; the repeal of all political bans and proscriptions and the right to form opposition tendencies in the trade unions and labour movement.

Internationalism

5 The struggle for socialism is international. The only reliable ally the working class and oppressed of one country have is the struggle of the exploited and oppressed of other nations. The great victories against imperialism won by China, Cuba, and Vietnam have internationally weakened capitalism and its supporters. The struggle of workers and other oppressed people in Eastern Europe and other bureaucratically dominated States weakens the bureaucracy of the USSR and the international Stalinist system.

The victory of socialist revolution in an imperialist country would have immense repercussions on a global scale. Following a successful revolution in any State, the construction of socialism could not be completed in a single country, but only as part of the international extension of the revolution. The working class of Britain and every other country can be victorious only through linking themselves indissolubly to the international class struggle.

In Britain our necessary internationalist tasks include the fight for:

- * Immediate and unconditional British military and political withdrawal from Ireland and the right of its people to self-determination; the release of all Irish political prisoners and the repeal of the 'Prevention of Terrorism' Act; the creation of a mass solidarity movement to help those fighting against British imperialism to achieve these aims.
- * Immediate withdrawal of all British forces from abroad; independence for all remaining colonies; unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain and withdrawal from NATO and all imperialist alliances; breaking of all links with the racist white-settler regimes of Southern Africa; support of all struggles for national liberation; support for all exploited countries in struggles against imperialism; defence of any States which successfully overthrow capitalism.
- * The right of the people of Scotland and Wales to determine what their relationship to the British State should be, including the right to their own independence if they so wish.
- * Support and defence of all struggles for human, social, and democratic rights in the USSR and other bureaucratically dominated States; support for the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies.
- * Support of all international workers' struggles; total opposition and defeatism in imperialist war.

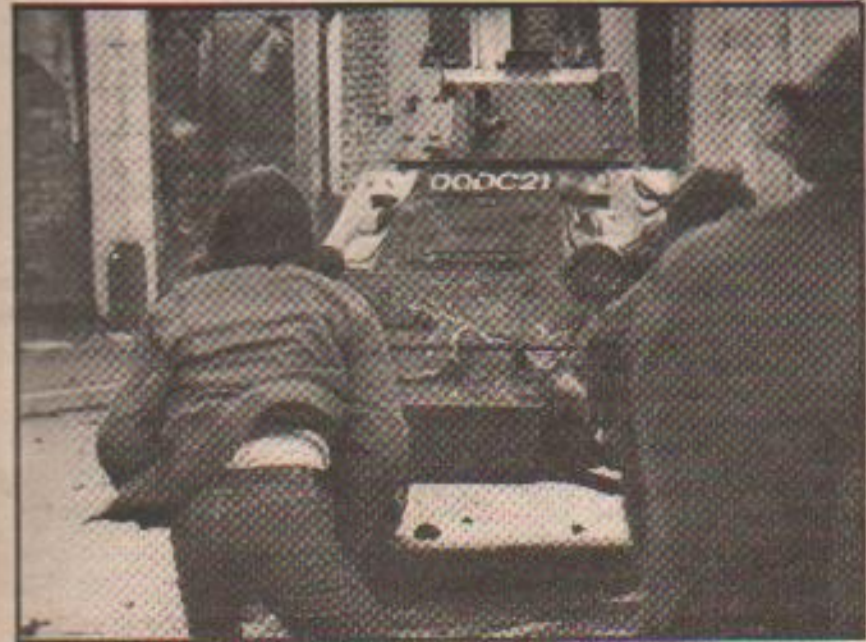
Against strategic alliances with Capital

6. The struggle for the needs of the oppressed and exploited is in irreconcilable contradiction with the interest of capitalism and its supporters. The fight for even the most basic human rights involves an increasing clash with the structures of capitalist society. It is the reality which determines our actions as revolutionary socialists. The mass struggle of the working class and other oppressed people independently of the capitalist class is the only road to success. Neither in the imperialist countries nor in the colonial world there any fundamentally progressive section of the capitalist class with which the working class can ally to solve the problems facing society.

While the working class will engage in temporary practical action with an



Against racism; free abortion on demand



Immediate withdrawal from Ireland

force prepared to wage a serious struggle to achieve the goals of the oppressed, strategies which seek to ally the mass with sections of the ruling class — wage controls, coalition governments with parties of the bourgeoisie, limiting the goals of struggles in colonial countries to capitalist ones — serve only to weaken and finally defeat the struggle.

It is solely the independent fight for their own goals by their own means — the working class and its allies — colonial countries above all in alliance with the peasantry — which can bring victory.

The Labour Lieutenants of Capital

7 The chief organised force within the workers' movement in Britain holds back the struggle against the capitalist class is the bureaucratic leadership

Revolutionary Unity

Alignment Of Aims

the labour movement. These labour lieutenants of capital attempt at all costs to contain the struggle of the workers within the limits of bourgeois rule and bourgeois democracy, but do not hesitate to hand the working class over to the most vile and barbarous forms of dictatorship if they fear that capitalist rule may be threatened by working class resistance to the ruling class.

In Britain we have had eight Labour governments, all of which have supported cuts in living standards, imperialist wars, racism, attacks on women and a whole array of reactionary policies. The supporters of these Labour leaderships in the trade unions have prevented the labour movement carrying out any serious struggle for the needs of the working class and oppressed.

Their entire record and position in society shows that it is a reactionary and utopian illusion to see a transition to

greatest international aid received by capitalism comes from the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and similar States. The entire experience of Stalinism in the East has provided the most crucial ideological cement in helping capitalism to maintain its rule.

The system established by Stalin in overturning the principles of the Russian Revolution, murdered the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, and liquidated millions of revolutionaries and workers. It carried out this entire policy in pursuit of its bureaucratic survival and in the framework of the reactionary utopian illusion and policy that socialism can be built in one country.

The Soviet bureaucracy today still exercises a complete monopoly of political power and represses all oppositions and moves for workers' democracy in Russia, the oppressed nations within the Soviet Union, and in Eastern Europe. This bureaucracy subordinates to its own interests of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie all parties throughout the world which follow its line.

The defeat of parties which slavishly follow its line, as well of the 'Euro-communists', who seek to accommodate between the Soviet bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie of their own country, is an indispensable part of the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

Mass Working Class Organisations

9 Despite the reformist and counter-revolutionary character of the Socialist and Communist Parties they differ from all Tory, Liberal, and capitalist 'nationalist' parties in that they — together with the trade unions and other mass formations — remain organisations of the working class. Furthermore a clear distinction has to be made between the reformist leaders of parties such as the Labour Party in Britain or the Communist Party in Italy and the millions of workers who continue to either support or belong to them.

Despite fundamental disagreements with the policies and leaders of these parties, revolutionaries defend these organisations against ruling class attacks and persistently demand that they break with the interests and organisations of capitalism. Revolutionary socialists fight for united action of all parties and organisations of the working class to defend the interests of the exploited and oppressed.

The struggle for State power

10 The victory of socialism can only be brought about by the working class winning and holding State power. The capitalist economy, racism, the family, and all forms of social oppression are defended and maintained by the capitalist State. All historical experience (Vietnam, Chile, South Africa) demonstrates that a threatened ruling class will stop at nothing to stay in power. Capitalist leaders are fully prepared to unleash violence and bloody repression against the oppressed.

The military bureaucratic State machine around which every capitalist State is ultimately based cannot be reformed, or transformed in its class character, or wished out of existence. It has to be encountered, smashed, and replaced by a new State machine based on the



The social force capable of leading the struggle for the establishment of socialism is the working class.

oppressed and exploited. The central goal of revolutionary strategy is to secure the means to achieve this.

The road to victory

11 The victory of socialist revolution in the West can only come about through the creation of a system of workers' democracy which allows the masses to control their lives on every level. A similar system is vital to overthrow the bureaucracies in the USSR and the East.

Such a system of workers' democracy has its first embryos within the organisations of the working class and oppressed. But to confront and destroy ruling class power, and create new institutions of socialist democracy after the revolution, proletarian democracy has to be developed beyond the restrictive confines of the parliamentary system.

Only workers councils representing all sections of the oppressed masses can fulfill such a function. Such a system, to adequately express the interests of the working class and oppressed, must guarantee the right of all political parties which respect the institutions of workers' democracy to function and exist, and must ensure the independence of the trade unions, women's movement, black and other organisations from the State.

A similar system has to be fought for in the USSR and in all countries under bureaucratic domination. Such a system is the only one which, with the international extension of the revolution, enables the transition to socialist society to occur.

Consequences of Capitalism

12 The existence of a bureaucratic layer which constitutes the leadership of the labour movement is rooted not in accidental errors of policy, but in the fundamental conditions of imperialist society — and in the case of Stalinist parties in the existence of bureaucratized States such as the USSR.

The ability of the labour bureaucracies to mislead the masses is rooted in the fact that under normal conditions, the mechanisms of the capitalist State based on imperialism continue to dominate

society as a whole. These mechanisms systematically prevent the majority of the working class from having a clear grasp of the nature of capitalism.

It is only in periods of mass action and profound crisis of the bourgeois system that the oppressed masses in their majority gain a clear understanding of the system which confronts them and the tasks necessary to overthrow it. If the masses have not been prepared long in advance to go over to a conscious understanding of a revolutionary programme, each wave of action will be diverted by the bureaucratic leaderships of the workers' movement; will recede like previous waves, and will leave behind the crisis of society unresolved.

It is this central struggle for the victory of the working class and the establishment of its political power, involving the

fight against the leadership of the labour movement, that requires the building of a revolutionary socialist party. It is this central fight for the creation of working class political power against the policy of the bureaucratic leadership of the labour movement that requires the building of a revolutionary socialist organisation. Such an organisation — to maintain its consistent defence of the interests of the working class, and to be based in the real conditions under which it must act — can only be built through full internal democracy, including the right to form opposition tendencies and factions, and full unity in action.

Given the international character of the class struggle and the revolutionary process itself, such an organisation must seek to build and become part of a revolutionary international.

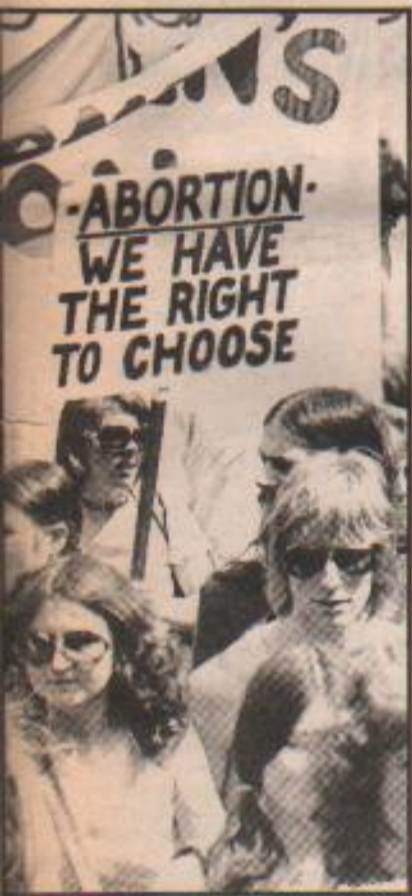
FOR AN OPEN DISCUSSION

Socialist Challenge submits these positions as the basis for the construction of a unified revolutionary organisation. We believe that, elaborated and improved through discussion, they constitute a principled basis for a revolutionary socialist organisation.

Such an organisation however cannot be created overnight. A process of comradely debate, united work, and discussion of ideas and experiences has to be established between different groups and thousands of individuals who have arrived at or are moving towards revolutionary positions.

Socialist Challenge aims to play a role in this by opening its columns to all those engaged in struggle against the capitalist class and bureaucracies, by providing space for debate of different ideas in the struggle for socialism, and by uniting through its editorial board and common activities those engaged in the fight for revolutionary socialist unity.

In that sense we see our paper as an important next step in the struggle and appeal to our readers to organise themselves in Socialist Challenge groups, utilise our columns to aid their struggle, fight for revolutionary socialist organisations to unify, and help in preparing the conference we will schedule for next year.



socialism achieved by a Labour government, or that these leaderships will carry out any serious struggle against capitalism. The influence of the bureaucratic leadership of the labour movement over the masses must be totally defeated if the struggle for socialism is to be successful. This struggle involves creating a new revolutionary political organisation of the working class and building oppositions to the policies and position of the bureaucratic leaders within the trade unions and other mass organisations.

The Soviet Bureaucracy

8 While the central obstacle to the victory of socialism in Britain is the national and international capitalist system together with the labour bureaucracy tied to the working class, the

French left deadlock Another fine mess

Confusion continues to reign supreme on the French left after the collapse of the second 'summit conference' of the Union of the Left.

At 1.30 in the morning on Friday 23 September, in an atmosphere of deadlock and mutual recrimination, the negotiations ground to a halt. BRIAN SLOCOCK reports.

At the same time the principal protagonists — the Communist and Socialist Parties (with the tiny 'Left Radicals' perched on the right shoulder of the latter) — both continue to profess their allegiance to the Union, its Programme, and their readiness to take part in further talks.

The biggest difference is on the issue of nationalisation. The original Common Programme of 1972 foresaw the nationalisation of the banking sector and nine principal industrial monopoly firms whose subsidiaries would only be affected insofar as parent company shareholding would pass into state hands when these were nationalised.

The Communist Party now proposes to add three new monopoly groups to this list: one each in the strategic areas of cars, petro-chemicals, and steel, and to provide for the outright takeover of subsidiaries more than 51

per cent owned by nationalised parent firms. The effect of this would be to increase the number of firms to be nationalised from the 67 envisaged in the Common Programme to more than 700.

SPIRIT OF '72

The Socialist Party (PS) has resisted these proposals, in the name of the spirit of '72. They have suggested a compromise, which would involve outright takeover of subsidiaries more than 98 per cent owned by one of the nine monopolies, and the acquisition of substantial state share holding in the three further groups laid on the table by the Communist Party (PCF). This would increase the number of firms scheduled for nationalisation to 227.

Underneath this 'numbers game', however, there are two



Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterrand (from New Statesperson).

rather different views of the sort of economic set-up a left Government should be working towards, which is why the negotiations have become so dogged.

MIXED ECONOMY

The PS believes in a classic social democratic 'mixed economy' (albeit with a large state sector) in which public and private capital can work happily together for the universal benefit of all. Thus they are quite happy to have state holdings and private capital coexisting in the same firms, and see state majority holdings as a 'cheap' way of extending state control of the economy.

The PCF also believes in a continuing role for private enterprise, but has a more realistic appreciation of the antagonism between private capital and the state sector — especially when a 'left' government is trying to sit in the driver's seat. Thus they want a state sector that occupies the 'commanding heights', insulated from ties with private capital, and with 'free enterprise' confined to secondary industry or medium and small-sized firms.

COMPENSATION

This difference surfaces quite clearly in the divergent views of the PS and PCF over compensation. Both agree that the capitalists (even the evil monopolists) are entitled to fair compensation for 'their' property. But the PS wants to grant at least a substantial part of it in the form of non-voting shares in nationalised firms, while the PCF vehemently opposes this in favour of interest-bearing government bonds (even going so far as to suggest the handsome —

and immensely costly — figure of 10 per cent).

These views represent two different species of reformist utopianism. The PS's is a classical social democratic schema that ignores the fundamental incompatibility between a system based on the extraction of maximum profit for the capitalist minority, and a planned economy geared to meeting the real social needs of the majority.

The CP has enough residual Marxism left in its 'Euro-communist' hodge-podge of Stalinist and social democratic ideas to realise the futility of this approach, but continues to cling to the notion of a pacific and parliamentary road to socialism, in which the capitalists can be choked into acquiescence by showing 10 per cent Government bonds down their throats.

GOLD-PLATED DOLE

If the PCF is right about the need to take over the 'commanding heights' of the economy as the basis of a directing state economic sector, they are fundamentally wrong about how to do it. The resistance of big capital to the erosion of their power cannot be ended by holding out the alternative of an unending future on a gold-plated dole queue, nor could a crisis-ridden economy even start to bear the immense economic burden of such a scheme.

The only road would be that of nationalisation without compensation of the legitimate fruits of the workers' labour — but of course that would be a revolutionary road, demanding the mobilisation of the power of the working class — a course as unpalatable to the PCF as to its Socialist and Left Radical allies.

LCR: alive, kicking... and legal



The LCR (Revolutionary Communist League — Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International) has long been a particular target for state harassment. In December 1976, for instance, the police mounted their biggest mass arrest for eight years against 154 delegates at the organisation's Basque congress. During the election campaign this summer, the only election broadcast to be banned was that of the slate supported by the LCR.

That it has finally won the campaign for legalisation is testimony to the LCR's growing implantation in the workers' movement and wide support from the other workers' parties. The mass strike campaign which forced the release of the 154 last year has been reflected — though more modestly — in recent months.

Only a few days before legalisation, representatives of all the major workers' parties sent an open letter to the Government demanding that the LCR 'be legalised with no new delay, along with all the parties whose status is still pending or to which legalisation has been denied'.

YOUTH

Among those still in the latter category is the Federation of Revolutionary Communist Youth (FJCR), the LCR's fast-growing youth organisation. Jaime Pastor and J. Idoyaga of the LCR explain the irony of the ruling which prevents all youth organisations being legalised: 'Denying people under 21 the right to vote is — according to the Government — perfectly "democratic"; but any attempt to constitute working class youth organisations legally is absolutely anti-democratic... because it discriminates on the grounds of

The LCR is legal. After months of mass pressure and the legalisation of all the other large groups on the Spanish far left, the Government has been forced to give way and grant legal status to a number of the other left groups. RICHARD CARVER concludes our series on the far left in Spain.

age!

The emergence of Trotskyism in Spain is a very recent phenomenon, after the extinction of the weak Trotskyist tradition of the 1930s by repression — both fascist and Stalinist. The 'Comunismo' group, set up less than a decade ago, has grown into an organisation of more than ten thousand members and organised sympathisers, including the FJCR, and LCR leaders are optimistic that it is only continued illegality which has held it back from further growth.

BLIGHT

Four years ago the LCR fused with the former Basque nationalist ETA (VI Assembly) giving it a substantial implantation in the Basque workers' movement and a position of leadership in the Basque Workers Commissions which it has been able to build upon.

In less than two years since Franco's death it has been able to build a powerful state-wide organisation. In Madrid, for example, the membership has multiplied by ten in that period, while Barcelona, once the LCR's weak spot, has experienced a similar growth and an important presence in the engineering industry.

The main blight on the short history of the Fourth International in Spain has been the split six years ago into two separate sympathising organisations. But that too seems almost certain to be rectified since a majority of the smaller party, the

LC (Communist League), favours fusion.

This phenomenal growth, the swiftest experienced by any Trotskyist organisation in Europe, when the three major Maoist organisations had such a head start, can be put down to the fact that the LCR has served as the main point of attraction for militant workers looking for an alternative to the strategic alliances with capitalist parties which are at the core of the other far left programmes.

In the last few months this has meant a consistent opposition to the 'three pacts' strategy of the Government and reformist parties: the 'social pact' to regulate working class living standards, the 'constitutional pact' for the establishment of a bourgeois democracy with the instruments of Francoist repression intact, and the 'autonomous pact' to prevent the oppressed nations of the Spanish state exercising their right to self-determination.

In their place the LCR fights on a programme for the defence of workers' living standards and the

development of its independent organisations, such as the trade unions; for the rejection of the Constitution of the monarchy and for the implementation of the basic democratic rights of the working class; and for the right of the separate nations to elect assemblies with the power to determine their own relationship to the other nations of the Spanish state.

In each area the LCR applies a consistent policy of united action among working class organisations. Experience has shown that our comrades were correct to insist that the central task for revolutionaries in the present period was the encouragement and generalisation of the self-organisation of the masses.

In repeated general strikes in the Basque country, united independent action by the workers movement — with the reformist parties often dragged in against their will — has developed into factory and regional assemblies in which the workers themselves are able to determine the course of their struggle. Here lies the

germ of an alternative workers' state power, a regime of workers' councils capable of confronting the capitalist state.

If all this seems rather a rosy picture, this is because the building of a revolutionary party able to lead such a confrontation with the state is further advanced in Spain than elsewhere in Europe. Nevertheless, it is impossible that such developments could have taken place without serious problems and failures.

One such is the election campaign, from which the LCR draws an extremely negative balance sheet. In previous articles I have discussed many of these shortcomings, of which the most serious was an electoral agreement with other parties which hampered the LCR's ability to put forward some of its most important policies: on the trade union question, for instance.

But there were other problems too — problems of inexperience. LCR leaders I have spoken to talk of their failure to break the day-to-day routine of their work;

Spanish far left

in other words, they tended to underestimate the significance of the elections.

They also feel that the central democratic demand raised throughout the election — for a Constituent Assembly — was inadequate to express all the complex problems of democratic rights. What was needed was a very exact understanding of what sort of constitution revolutionaries fight for, to implement the maximum democracy possible under the capitalist state. It is an error which has since been rectified.

Other problems flow from the heavy burden of clandestinity. Before legalisation the LCR was not able to do away with many of the old structures it had used as an underground organisation. And these are not the most efficient structures for running an election campaign, for maintaining regular communications within the organisation, nor for recruiting large numbers of workers.

WOMEN

Other problems afflict all revolutionary organisations, above all the low representation of women comrades in the leadership, and the obstacles to women playing a full role in the organisation at all levels.

None of these problems will solve themselves, but the legalisation of the LCR and the impending unification of the Trotskyist organisations will create far more favourable conditions for their resolution.

If, as the LCR expects, the decision of the Supreme Tribunal opens the doors to still more massive growth, many more such problems will emerge. But they will be the problems of a healthy organisation.

COMBATE

Apartheid transplant in the heart of Bolivia

A hundred and fifty thousand white settlers from Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, mainly of German and Dutch origin, will be emigrating to Bolivia this year.

This information was originally published in Bolivia by the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), dated 12 February. Despite repression and strict press censorship in Bolivia, the news spread quickly, astonishing many people. Four days later it was picked up by Agence France Presse and published the following day in the Catholic morning paper *Presencia*.

On 18 February, in Paris, *Le Monde* broadcast the news to the world. The plan was welcomed by the Bolivian Government which initially backed the operation with \$150 million.

The Bolivian Government had been planning the deal since April 1975. Then the Minister of Planning and Co-ordination, General Juan Lechin Suarez, had talks with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Immigration (CIME) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), with the aim of promoting white immigration to Bolivia.

Some months later the Minister met with the CIME managing board in Geneva and committed Bolivia to receiving an unlimited number of Portuguese colonists leaving Angola. A visit of representatives of the colonists to Bolivia was arranged. After this visit it was apparently impossible to get any agreement.

POPULAR

But at the end of 1976, the resurgence of the armed struggle in Namibia and Zimbabwe and the popular mobilisations in South Africa posed the European Governments with the problem of the absorption of the former white settlers who had to leave southern

Africa in the near future. Not being in a position to confront the grave social and economic problems preventing the integration of the settlers in their country of origin, the governments of West Germany, and to a lesser extent the Netherlands and Britain, looked for a solution to the problem in Latin America.

So the West German Government discreetly called a meeting in Costa Rica, attended by representatives of the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and Venezuela. The West Germans proposed the transfer of 30,000 white families from the southern African countries, and offered a credit of \$150 million for the operation, which would be carried out under the auspices of CIME.

Brazil and Venezuela said they would only take professional and technically qualified people who would be rigorously selected. Uruguay and Argentina rejected the proposal because of the difficult political situation in their countries. Only the Bolivian Government accepted the plan as a whole and appointed a 'high commission' to carry it out.

On 9 January 1977, with the aim of softening up public opinion, Guido Strauss, Immigration Undersecretary at the Ministry of the Interior, outlined his plan to promote the entry of significant groups of white immigrants of

Dutch and German origin, particularly from Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Bolivian public opinion, used to hearing different policy statements from Government spokespeople, did not attach much significance to Strauss's statement.

The project went ahead until, on 14 February, the Bolivian Government received a visit from Senor Leon, in charge of CIME in Latin America, to clarify the final details of the plan. The areas where the future immigrants were to settle had already been chosen: San Borja, Secure and Abapo Izogog, areas of the richest agricultural land and the huge oil-bearing reserves in the Eastern Department of Santa Cruz and Beni.

ADVANTAGE

These areas have considerable advantages: not only those already mentioned but also the substantial investment in the infrastructure of roads, irrigation and services in general.

These same areas had originally been designated for the internal migration of thousands of peasants who would move out of the poorest and most populated areas of the valleys and Altiplano. The original intention of this investment had ostensibly been to give these peasants an adequate standard of living.

The potential transplant of thousands of white racists to Latin America is only the most serious example of a growing solidarity between the right-wing governments of southern Africa



and America. The United States, in the Kissinger era, was an enthusiastic champion of the 'South Atlantic Treaty Organisation' (SATO), which would formally link these right-wing regimes.

The change in US policy in Africa under the Carter administration has placed the project in abeyance, though it is still fondly entertained by South Africa and

Argentina. And it cannot be ruled out that the United States, or the European powers who have been instrumental in the migration plan, may take up the SATO cause again in the future.

** This article originally appeared in *Combate*, the Spanish-language paper of the Swedish section of the Fourth International.*

In Brief

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Vladimir Lastuvka and Ales Machacek, supporters of the Charter 77 human rights manifesto, have been sentenced to three and a half years in jail for 'subversion'. The Charter demands the implementation of certain clauses of the Constitution.

FRANCE: The Government has introduced a new scheme for cash-induced repatriation of immigrant workers. Individual letters have been sent to 50,000 immigrants, but only 3,600 have agreed to repatriation. The plan, which was denounced by union and left-wing leaders as racist, came only a few days after a report by the main French community relations organisation had warned of increasing racist attacks. It seems that the danger does not just lie with the racist fringe.

JAMAICA: D.K. Duncan, a leading left winger in the governing People's National Party, has resigned as the party's general secretary and Minister of Mobilisation. Prime Minister Michael Manley has recently concluded terms for a loan from the International Monetary Fund and imposed wage limits. Duncan's resignation may only be the first of a series of splits as the PNP drifts rightwards.

MOZAMBIQUE: Voting in elections for village assemblies last week began a process to culminate in elections to the National People's Assembly in December, the first since independence. All candidates are nominated by the ruling Frelimo party.

POLAND: Stanislaw Pietraszko, a student who testified at an inquiry into the mysterious death of a dissident student earlier this year, has himself been found dead in unexplained circumstances. A statement by the Workers Defence Committee reports that his body was found floating in an artificial lake.

ZIMBABWE: Latest figures show that the white population is shrinking, through emigration, at a rate of 9,000 a year. If this continues, there will be no whites left by the year 2006 — but it's unlikely that the black population wants to wait that long!

believe that Janta Sangh leaders have changed their spots?

Politicians keep changing everywhere and especially in India. In our conditions the right-left split doesn't make much sense. Caste and language are more important than class differences.

State repression is continuing in the towns and the countryside. What would it take to get you out of the Government?

It's difficult to foresee the extent of future clashes. I think workers appreciate the problems facing the country and I don't think we'll see the same sort of struggles that we've seen in the past. I don't visualise the situation you anticipate.

A number of Maoists have been released, but what about the Nugas? Do you support their right to self-determination?

Certainly not. No one in India wants that including the Naga leaders themselves.

So George Fernandes, like his counterparts in the British Labour Party, has evolved rapidly to the right. As Minister for Industry he is widely respected by industrialists because he is a rare animal: he is not corrupt.

But moral fervour cannot deal with Indian capitalism either and all the indications are that Fernandes and his supporters will be squeezed out of office over the coming years, unless of course they accept all the 'necessities' of office such as killing workers and peasants, imprisoning students and banning trade unions.

'Caste and language more important than class'

Indian Socialist Speaks

GEORGE FERNANDES led the famous railway workers' strike in India in 1974. He was a courageous opponent of the State of Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi in 1975 and was imprisoned and tortured. After the defeat of the Gandhi government, Fernandes dissolved his Socialist Party into the predominantly right-wing Janta Party and joined the new Government.

He was recently in London. Tariq Ali spoke to him. G.M. Cookson took the photographs.

You're best known for your role in the railway workers' strike of 1974. In retrospect why do you think it was smashed?

Because of our own inadequate organisation. Most of the leadership was not prepared to visualise the kind of repression that would be let loose. This meant that ways of countering that repression were not developed. Secondly our failure to link up with the rest of the trade union movement and more importantly with the mass of the people. It became a pure and simple industrial action by railway workers. We completely overlooked its revolutionary

potential.

Did you believe when you were in prison that an electoral overthrow of the Indira Gandhi regime was possible?

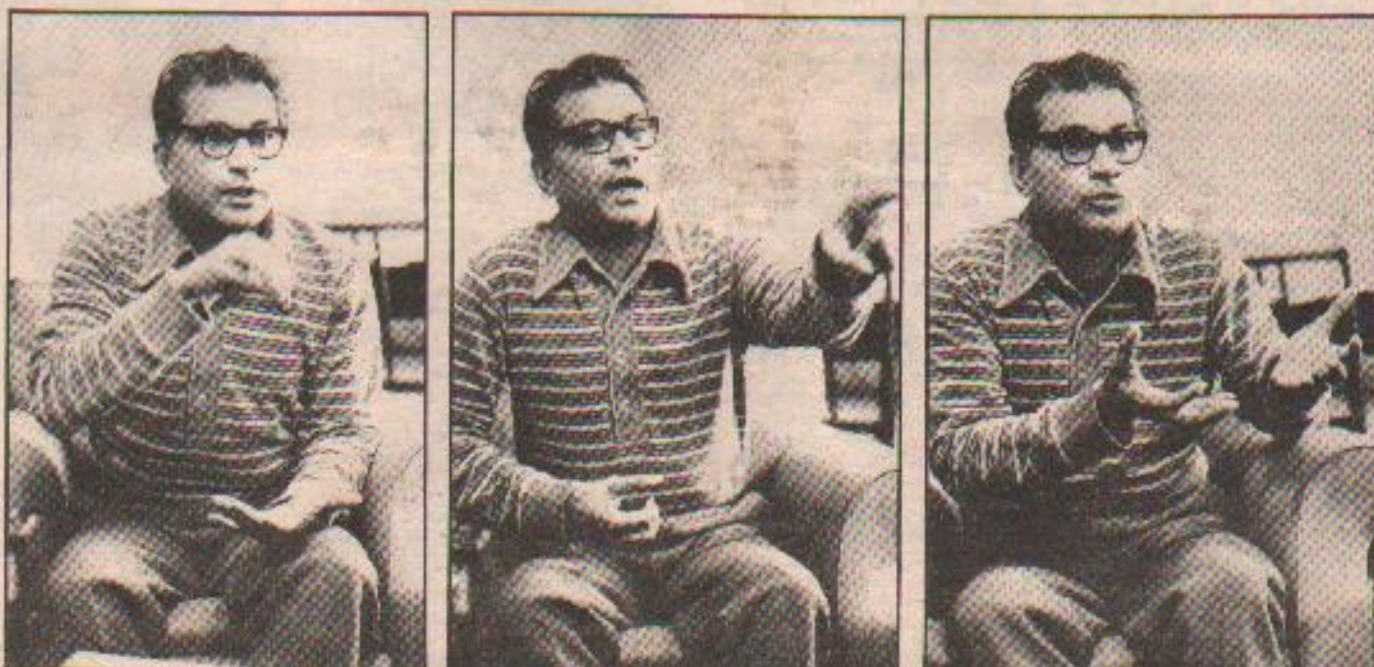
I frankly did not believe it. Initially I called for a boycott because I thought there was no chance of a free election under her regime.

Most people were surprised at your rapid transition from an imprisoned trade union leader to a minister in a bourgeois government. Why did you join this coalition?

Well, in the circumstances in which we found ourselves, I had

no alternative. I tried to keep aloof at first as I wanted to work for the mass organisations of the working class. But there were people who felt that my not joining the Government would create a lot of misunderstandings and problems. They insisted that as we had all got rid of the dictatorship together I should serve in the Government. In any case Janta has accepted the socialist ideal.

But the strongest pole within Janta is the right-wing, communalist Janta Sangh. This organisation has always opposed and been opposed by socialists and communists. Do you really



GEORGE FERNANDES: 'Janta has accepted the socialist ideal.'

The Real 'HITLER'S CHILDREN'

THE 'Hitler's Children' campaign against the kidnapers of West German host Hans Martin Schleyer has met with another little setback. Last week a Frankfurt newspaper uncovered a real nest of 'Hitler's Children' — inside the West German army!

Eight to ten officers apparently staged a mock 'Barrage of the Jews' ceremony at the Munich Armed Forces University while singing Nazi hymns. The incident took place last February but was hushed up at the time by the college authorities.

This is not the first indication of Nazi sympathies inside the West German army. Only a year ago, two top airforce generals were sacked after inviting a Nazi war hero to visit a fighter base.

Meanwhile the West German Government has added further meaning to its concept of democracy by rushing a new law through Parliament which enables them to cut off imprisoned urban guerrillas from all contact with the outside world. They are worried that too many defence lawyers end up sympathising with their guerrillas against the State.

Not is this disease limited to the legal profession. The junior coalition party, the Free Democrats, is in turmoil after its youth paper published an article giving qualified approval to the killing of the Chief Federal Prosecutor by guerrillas last April.

That hardly suggests the unanimous support for the Government's police state methods which is trumpeted by the press over here.

Colquhoun's removal

IT IS WITH concern that we note the misfortunes of Maureen Colquhoun, the Labour MP for Northampton. We think a mistake has been made in equating her with right-wing MPs such as Reg Prentice.

The campaign to remove Colquhoun was started by an emergency resolution moved by Kevin Mayes, of Northampton North Labour Party Young Socialists, at the LPYS national conference. The resolution wanted to remove Maureen Colquhoun as their MP, due to her support for Powell's racist outburst. This was supported by Workers Action and Left Action, a paper backed by ICL and Socialist Challenge supporters.

In *The Guardian* (5 September) Colquhoun told Polly Toynbee in relation to the charge of racism: 'I was exasperated at politicians pretending that no race problem exists, setting up Powell as a bogey man. The real bogey-men are in the Labour Party, who use soft words and put no money into solving the problems of poor blacks and poor whites in inner cities.'

She further pointed out that her constituency party withdrew the charge of racism and accepted that there had been a misunderstanding. But the damage had been done and the way opened up by Workers Action and Left Action for real right wing moves against Colquhoun. The central question at issue

was the fact that she is a lesbian and states it quite openly. The *Daily Mirror* recognised this fact in a front-page editorial on 29 September. Surely the left should do the same.

We don't advocate blanket support for any Tribune MP, but nor do we participate in confused witch hunts. It's probably too late to redress the balance, but it is time Socialist Challenge ended its silence and commented on the issue. MICHELE CONNOR [Pontypool Labour Party] CALUM TURNER [Secretary Newport LPYS]

We have scheduled an interview with Maureen Colquhoun for a forthcoming issue — Ed.

The novels of our time

JOHN BERGER'S *A Painter of our Time* is indeed a fine novel but ironically, in an article (22 September) that deals so fully with the relationship between art and revolution, Peter Fuller's praise for it is exclusively in political terms: that 'it raised the possibility of a socialist future' where contemporaneous novels were 'locked within the now discredited ideology of the fifties'.

Thus the novel becomes a vehicle for the making of a number of statements; the way in which those statements are given meaning by their placing in a fictional work, like the way in which Lavin the painter wrestles with the problems of form in his painting, is ignored by Fuller.

By caricaturing all English writing in the late fifties as reactionary (Doris Lessing? John Arden?) and by reducing it all to a monolithic 'Angry Young Man' phenomenon (are Colin MacInnes and Alan Sillitoe really the bedfellows of Wain, Amis and Braine and is the anger so uncritically handled in David Storey and Keith Waterhouse?), Fuller is able to pluck Berger from any cultural context, making him a transcender [what does this involve?] of his time

and an exile from his country.

The assumption that a novel can be judged primarily by its ideological correctness is a falsification of the experience of reading: do we have to deny that much of *Lucky Jim* is funny? It would be much more instructive to understand that humour than repress it in the name of political virtue. And what do we make of the great bourgeois writers? Are they 'museum pieces'? Can we safely assume that they have nothing more to tell us, no more power to make us feel, because they did not relate their work to a socialist future?

It is true that few recent British writers have achieved any kind of world view and that most recent novels have been firmly class bound, whether those of the 'bourgeois' Anthony Powell or of the 'proletarian' Alan Sillitoe. By contrast, Berger has been inspired by the Cubist painters and by Marxism to attempt a fuller world view: the question of the extent of his achievement is not simply one of theoretical correctness, but of his ability to give shape and life to his material by putting it in creative relationship with his ideology.

If we do not see this, we will simply produce our own 'New

Left' novels as predictable and as unreadable as those of Stalin's socialist realism. And if, like Fuller, we insist on treating our favoured novelists as somehow detached from our cultural condition, we will become arrogant about our commitment. There are worse ways of finding out something about why the working class is not in a state of revolution than by considering why David Storey has not written Marxist novels — and that involves acknowledging those ways in which he is a good novelist.

When I was in the International Socialists (now the Socialist Workers Party), I once suggested leading a discussion on Berger's *G*. One comrade said that he would not have time to read it (the meeting was scheduled for three months ahead), another suggested that I spoke about whatever it was that the book 'was about' and brought it in 'as an example'. Too much talk like that, too many of the assumptions that Peter Fuller makes and we'll be lucky to have anything worth reading after the Revolution.

And *A Painter of our Time* is such a good novel, too! STEPHEN CHALKE [London N.19]

NF ban a victory?

BEFORE WE get too euphoric about the 'victory' achieved by the banning of the National Front march in Tameside, we should carefully analyse all the implications.

When, in the thirties, the demand arose for a government ban on fascist marches, this was strongly opposed by the revolutionary left who argued that a Tory government would only introduce legislation which could effectively be used against the working class. And, indeed, such proved to be the case.

In 1937, after the workers defeated the Mosleyite fascists in Cable Street all political processions were banned in the East End of London. This included the traditional May Day

march of the working class, demonstrations in support of the embattled Spanish workers and peasants, etc. Similarly, during the war the Public Order Act was used to ban all processions in the streets of Britain's cities. Between April 1948 and May 1951, marches were effectively banned in several parts of London.

Although these bans were ostensibly caused by the activities of the National Union of Fascists, what the ruling class really feared was the reaction of the workers to the fascist provocation. Time and again the ban has been used against progressive causes — after the rent strikes in St. Pancras in 1960 and a 12 month ban in rallies in Trafalgar Square in order to

suppress the anti-nuclear demonstrations of the Committee of 100.

The last ban was in 1974, to stop the funeral procession of James McDavid, the IRA man who died in a British gaol after a hunger strike.

It can be taken for granted that the Tory council of Tameside, which had given the National Front the use of the town hall for a meeting and had declared its readiness to do so again (in the interests of 'free speech' of course), reluctantly supported the ban because they feared — not the fascists — but the counter-demonstration.

The forces of 'law and order' will always concentrate their fire against the anti-fascists, and the task of clearing the streets of the fascist scum cannot be left to them. Only the workers taking massive possession of the streets, as they did in Cable Street and, more recently, at the mass picket at Brunwick, can finally eliminate the fascist threat. CHARLIE VAN GELDEREN [London N.15]

Socialist Challenge EVENTS

EAST ANGLIA

NORWICH: For details of Socialist Challenge support group contact: C. Scott, 7 Clearendon Road, Norwich.

COLCHESTER: Socialist Challenge supporters group meets fortnightly on Tuesdays, 5pm. Room 3.322 University of Essex. Public meeting 'What is Socialist Challenge?' Thursday 13 October. Dodie Wegpler from the editorial board, 1pm.

SCOTLAND

For information on Socialist Challenge contact Scottish Socialist/Socialist Challenge bookshop, 94 Queen Street, Glasgow (Tel: 041-221 7481). Open weekdays 10-4. Late closing Thursday 8.00pm. Wide range of FI publications.

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

SOUTH/WEST

PORTSMOUTH: Socialist Challenge readers group every Monday, 7.30pm at Wiltshire pub (upstairs), Hampshire Terrace. Next meeting 10 October. 'Unity of the left, revolutionary regroupment'.

BRISTOL: Socialist Challenge Forum, Tuesday 25 October, 'The October Revolution — 80 years on, Focus on Eastern Europe', Baptist Mills Centre, Horely Road, Bristol 2, 7.30pm. Then every fourth Tuesday of the month.

SOUTHAMPTON: Socialist Challenge group supporters meeting, 13 October, 'Defend abortion rights', Anchor pub, East Street, 8pm.

YORKSHIRE

SHEFFIELD: readers meet fortnightly, 7.30pm, the Lion Hotel, 3 Nursery Street (off the Wicker), Sheffield.

YORK: Socialist Challenge group meeting, Friday 14 October, University of York, speaker Steve Potter from editorial board.

HULL: Socialist Challenge meeting, Friday 28 October, Tariq Ali, 'Socialist Challenge and left unity', 1.15pm at University Union. Evening meeting, 7.30pm, Bevin House; Tariq Ali, 'The Labour Government and building a socialist opposition'.

LEIGH Socialist Challenge group just formed. First meeting at Courts Hotel, Church Street, Leigh, 24 September, 7.30pm. Then Thursday evenings, every fortnight.

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.

LIVERPOOL: Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly on Wednesdays at Stanley House, Upper Parliament Street. Next meeting 19 October.

BURY: Socialist Challenge group meets at the Royal Hotel, Silver Street every Tuesday at 8pm.

WARRINGTON: Socialist Challenge discussion and action group meets every Tuesday, 8pm at Bowling Green, Liverpool Road, Warrington.

LONDON

SOUTHALL: Supporters group meets fortnightly. For details phone 01-573 5095.

BRENT: Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly on Mondays at Willesden Junction Hotel, Station Road NW10, 7.30pm.

NORTH LONDON: Socialist Challenge meeting: 'How to fight fascists: Bars or mass action?' Thursday 13 October, 7.30pm, John Barnes Library, Camden Road, N7.

TARIQ ALI, editor of *Socialist Challenge*, will be speaking on 'Building a united movement against racism' at the following meetings:

NORTH-EAST LONDON: Polytechnic Tuesday, 11 October, 12.15pm, Room 2062, Barking Precinct, Longbridge Road, Dagenham.

CENTRAL LONDON: at the London School of Economics, Thursday 13 October, 12.30pm, St Clements Building.

HOME COUNTIES

BASINGSTOKE: readers' meeting every Tuesday at Chute House, Church Street, 8pm.

CANTERBURY: Socialist Challenge meeting, University of Kent, Friday 7 October, 7pm. Dodie Wegpler, 'Left Unity and Socialist Challenge'.

MIDLANDS

For details of activities of local supporters contact Socialist Challenge Centre, 76b Digbeth High Street, Birmingham, (021-643 9205).

NORTHAMPTON: Socialist Challenge forum, Geoff Bell on 'Britain's campaign of repression against the Irish people', Wednesday 26 October, 7.30pm, The Fish, Fish Street, Northampton.

COVENTRY: Socialist Challenge meeting, Friday 7 October, Students Union building, University of Warwick, Bob Pennington, 'The Fight for Socialism', 1pm.

Wanted: a programme for struggle

WE ARE surprised that Anthony Barnett's article (15 September) has provoked no editorial response. We feel that some comment is necessary and endorse his plea for honesty on the left.

This goes beyond the context of reports of demonstrations. In order to be honest as socialists we must develop and present a thorough understanding of the economic and political situation in which we are working. So far, the left has hardly begun this task, although few are prepared to admit it.

The first precondition is recognising that the current situation is not revolutionary and doesn't offer immediate revolutionary prospects. Given that, we must work, through open debate, towards a programme of economic and political changes which would create more favourable conditions for revolutionary working class struggle. Too often the left is satisfied with either a collection of ad hoc reforms, or revolutionary intentions dressed up as a programme.

We hope that the November Socialist Unity Conference will be seen in this light, as the starting point for a continuing political debate, and not as a one-off affair ratifying one or other pre-existing position. NORMAN and SALLY WATSON [Edinburgh]

Democratise broadcasting

GEOFFREY SHERIDAN (Open Forum, 22 September) raised many important issues in his contribution on press freedom.

In particular, his references to broadcasting need to be considered in depth. He says: 'The labour movement here has been

slow to appreciate the potential of broadcasting, and entirely conservative in its demands.' But I feel that is really too mild a characterisation of the situation. The truth is that the labour movement in general has, essentially, ignored the huge development in broadcasting and half a century ago. Not only has this technology become almost universal in the advanced capitalist countries, but it has also become much more portable and cheaper in receiving and transmitting.

The processes used for the transmission of ideas by the labour movement here, including the revolutionary left, are in

practice pre-radio and TV. The bourgeoisie has a monopoly on the most up-to-date methods of information and data distribution.

We are all aware that anti-establishment views, including specifically socialist ones, are only permitted to appear on radio or TV in such circumstances as to either ridicule or denigrate them. But I feel the most powerful weapon is the conspiracy of silence on a whole series of issues and news items. When did anyone last see a strike committee given time to state their case?

In the early nineteenth century there were stamp taxes imposed upon newspapers in this country, so that they were made relatively expensive for the working class. By this means it was hoped to stop the spread of radical ideas. The impositions were fought by the production of unstamped newspapers, i.e. by illegal presses.

As socialists we must, of course, raise demands for the opening up and democratisation of broadcasting. But for how long are we going to accept the bourgeois monopoly in practice? KEN TARBUCK [Hove]

Cultural boycott of Iran

SOME TIME ago, we wrote to you urging that a cultural boycott be imposed on Iran because of the intense persecution of writers and artists in that country. This came to a head last year when a large number of theatre people were imprisoned, after preparing a performance of a play by Gorky.

Eric Bentley, the distinguished American critic and writer, called for a world-wide boycott of the Shah's Shiraz Festival. This call was widely publicised and we wrote to a number of journals supporting it. Now we have been informed that the proposed boycott was highly successful.

The western democracies did not participate and Mr. Bentley reported to us that there was only one exception: an American troupe did appear, with a version of *As You Like It*. This troupe was the La Mama Troupe. The producer was Ellen Steward and the director was Andrei Serban. Neither of these people has made any press statement, and Mr. Serban 'seems to run away from our phone calls', says Mr. Bentley.

We hope that this boycott will be maintained and extended. KEN COATES [Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation]



Speakout from The Other Cinema If you've never been to a discussion at the Odeon, read on...

by PAUL MARRIS

It is axiomatic that the film industry overall is in decline. Unemployment and casualisation are high; cinemas everywhere are closing. Superimposed upon the general capitalist crisis of profitability is a shift of capital away from this specific branch of industry, especially into television and other 'entertainment' industries.

But the social effects of the crisis has of course generated a counter movement, which has affected the cinema. Politically and aesthetically radical film production — and film viewing — has burst forth anew on a scale not seen since the thirties.

The healthiest sector of the film industry as a whole recognises this, of course. In 1973 the newly independent big capital, this is necessarily politically and aesthetically the most advanced sector, because it is objectively (and predominantly subjectively) allied to the struggle of the working class for a new world.

In Britain one of the important components of the independent sector is The Other Cinema. It is a socialist cinema group, composed of a dozen women and men working collectively, for equal wages and not for profit.

We run a 300-seat cinema in Central London, open since last year. This is the latest stage in work we've been doing since 1971. Throughout that period film distribution has been a constant activity.

Distribution is the rough equivalent in the film medium to publishing in the printed media. The Other Cinema distributes anti-imperialist, feminist and socialist campaign documentaries, features from the Third World, and British independent films.

These are shown by film societies, regional film theatres, colleges and schools, socialist and women's groups, and at political campaign meetings up and down the country. For example, the excellent film series 'Challenge to Imperialism' organised by comrades in Nottingham at their local film theatre, is in a large measure made up of films we have been able to make available in Britain.

We work closely with the Independent Film-makers' Association, the association that organises film-makers who work outside the narrow political and aesthetic constraints of the bourgeois film and TV industries.

Our cinema in Central London shows the films we bring into distribution, and many others besides. Film-makers discuss with their audiences; there are speakers on many different political and aesthetic topics; campaigns hold meetings and benefits using film. We have recently installed a bar and opened up a clubroom.

The possibilities are vast. For instance, with Music for Socialism we have organised joint music and film performances. We are currently showing film commercials for *Wedge* magazine and *Socialist Challenge!*

But in the context of an ailing industry we suffer from a contradiction. While what is now the 'independent' sector is the artistically and politically most alive

part of the industry, it can only become truly economically healthy in the context of a socialised economy, just like other branches of the industry.

Many workers throughout the industry as a whole of course recognise this. In 1973 the conference of the film-workers' union, the Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians, adopted the policy of nationalisation under workers' control for the film industry. This is embodied in a detailed report prepared by the union's nationalisation forum which makes essential reading for all militants.

But the lack of a real fight for the implementation of this policy has allowed the right in the ACTT to gain ground as the crisis in the industry deepens, and led to the shelving of the report.

So as film-makers in the independent sector, we are left to fight for the extension of State subsidy for our work, while defending and extending our independence in the use of such money. This latter issue was the real content of the recent successful dispute waged by the Independent Film-makers' Association over the contract terms offered by the British Film Institute Production Board for its film-making grants.

In addition to the fight for State subsidy, in order to continue our work in film distribution and exhibition, The Other Cinema has launched a £25,000 fund drive to raise money from supporters inside and outside the labour movement. Please send us donations as individuals, and raise support at meetings of your trade union branch or student union. *Socialist Challenge* sup-



Posters illustrating some of the films distributed by The Other Cinema. The posters are available for publicity purposes. A catalogue of films distributed by the cinema is also obtainable from the address below.

porters' group or local film society. Use our films for your meetings. Our work furthers the struggle for socialism — in

London with our cinema, everywhere with our distribution service: we must be enabled to continue it.

Donations to: The Other Cinema, 12-13 Little Newport Street, London WC2H 7JJ. Tel: 01-7348508.

The gay papers we need, and don't have

by PHIL DERBYSHIRE

THE STATE of gay journalism in Britain is pretty grim. Apart from *Gay News* and *Gay Left*, the only national gay journals, there are local community-produced journals which appear erratically and are subject to frequent changes of editorial staff. A significant exception to this is *Outcome* which is produced by Lancaster Gaysoe and

is now on to its fifth issue. It's exceptional too in the breadth of its content and its commitment to a left politics, which is rare among local journals. They tended to repeat old-style Gay Liberation Front articles and sentiments without trying to work them into a broader analysis. Issue Four of *Outcome* has articles on the National Front; the development of left gay groups in France and Italy; and the hassles of trying to

campaign locally around a common left programme to include explicit anti-sexist and pro-gay positions. There are also articles on kids' comics, and anti-gay bias in the way libraries choose books on homosexuality. The fact that a university group can produce a magazine of high quality and sell it at 10p casts a new light on the possibilities of setting up a new national paper for the gay community.

Gay News is the gay newspaper as far as everyone is concerned — including of course the Mary Whitehouses. And so long as this is the case we have to defend it, since it is the one contact that many gay people have with the gay world. An attack on it is an attack on gay people, tout court. But *Gay News* is committed to profit and is explicitly not committed to a left view. The organised left gay groups rarely get a chance to use its columns, and demonstrations on particular issues rarely receive advance publicity. It still comes over as a male-dominated enterprise, and panders via its commercial advertising to the sexism and objectification rife in the gay male world to which it primarily

appeals. It is far from being the paper that we as gay people need. *Gay Left* is socialist in its outlook, but is very much concerned with theoretical issues — the connections between sexual politics and Marxism. It is only published three or four times a year and has a restricted readership, essentially those people who already have some grasp of the abstract problems concerned with sexual liberation. We need a magazine like *Gay Left*, but we also need another, more regular, left oriented gay newspaper which can appeal to a broader section of the gay community and which can be used to organise campaigns.

national left gay paper is very much to be welcomed. Not only would it begin to politicise sections of the gay world at present out of touch with the gay movement, but it would also provide a national focus for co-ordinating campaigns around attacks by the reactionaries. Maybe we could even get *Gay Liberation* out of its own closet and begin to put our ideas across to working class people involved in the labour movement and in the organised left. *Gay Left* is available from: 36A Craven Road, London W2. Price 40p plus postage. *Outcome*, c/o Robert Mitchell, 9 Fernbank, Lancaster. There is a national conference on 15 October to discuss and coordinate the defence of *Gay News* and of gays generally against the backlash from Mary Whitehouse & Co. To be held at Birmingham Gay Community Centre, 6-10 Bordesley St., Digbeth. Tel 021-643 7889. Starts 7pm.

There are a large number of gay women and men who are getting pissed off with the way *Gay News* handles things but have no alternative. So the prospect of the *Outcome* collective expanding and attempting to set up a

COMMENT

Football's real hooligans

GEOFF BELL's article on Don Revie's departure to the Persian Gulf (*Socialist Challenge*, 15 September) slightly missed the point. The thinly veiled implication in the *Daily Mirror* revelation of the 'Godfather's' attempt to bribe opponents was that Revie hopped it because he realised that the *Mirror* was on to him.

Added to the fact that England will almost certainly fail to qualify for the 1978 World Cup final, Revie decided to get out while he still could. Of course the *Mirror* wouldn't have exposed Revie if he had been successful, but I think it's wrong to say that the paper only did it because he had deserted English football.

Geoff says 'Is there really that much difference between a football club buying a player from another team so he can win matches and buying a player from another team to lose?' Well, yes, there is.

The right of players to transfer to the club of their choosing has

recently been the objective of a threatened strike by The Professional Footballers Association. It is scandalous that a footballer should not have the right to sell his (it is still his skills) wherever he chooses. Leighton James, for example, is reputed to have signed a contract with Derby County for 10 years.

In addition, British clubs are banned from signing Continental players, so we are denied the opportunity of seeing the skills of foreign players in the English League.

It is too simple to describe professional football as merely 'big business'. Most clubs run at a loss because of poor attendances. At Darlington it is said that they announce the crowd changes to the team before the match. Would-be directors buy themselves on to boards for the prestige and power this offers them. The vast commercial benefits are generated as spin-offs

from the game, rather than from running the clubs themselves.

What voice do the hundreds of thousands of supporters have in all this? Very little. Only Nottingham Forest is not a limited company, and it has merely token supporter representation on its board.

The fans are charged exorbitant prices to stand in stadiums in conditions which would disgrace a cattle market. And yet the tired old men who run football wonder why there is violence on the terraces!

Going to watch League football, even by yourself, means taking part in a communal event. It is part of the lives of millions of working class people. Let's hope *Socialist Challenge* continues to comment and analyse developments in the game. But don't ask me to sell the paper at 3 o'clock on a Saturday afternoon.

DAVE CARTER (Middlesbrough).



SUBSCRIBE TO GAY NEWS
THE GAY NEWSPAPER TO BE PROUD OF
For gays — or heterosexuals — who aren't in the habit of standing around naked reading advertisements, *Gay News* self-advertisement above is less than alluring.

THE OTHER CINEMA

25 Tottenham Street, London W1. Tel: 637 9308

PIERROT LE FOU. Extended for third week: Jean-Luc Godard's much loved and most accessible film. A dazzling tale of the last romantic couple involved in a bizarre gun-running intrigue. Fri 7 Oct to Thurs 13 Oct. 8.45 on weekdays, 4.30pm.

OCTOBER. Eisenstein's socialist classic about October 1917 opens a 3-film series to mark the workers' jubilee — the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Sun 9 Oct, 4.30pm.

ANGEL CITY. The Chandler-style private-eye genre is turned inside-out to make a hilarious critique of American capitalism in general, and Hollywood in particular. Fri 7 Oct to Thurs 13 Oct. 8.30pm.

Socialist Challenge

This death wasn't all peaches and cream

£1855.09. You've made it! The summer fund drive has reached target. The dragon has been slain. *Socialist Challenge* lives on.

This week £130.27 poured in to ensure the dragon's timely death. That was nearly £60 more than we needed, so we are pleased to announce the fund drive target was actually topped.

One Scottish supporter and a member of NUPE sent the following letter: 'Please find enclosed a cheque for £10 being five months back pay tax concession from Bro. Healey. Such an insulting bribe can only be of use as a small regular donation to the paper. As soon as I can get a bankers order form you will get £2 per month.'

'Had we been offered a lump sum, a minimum wage made inflation proof, with no cuts and a 35-hour week — well then — I would not need an excuse to support Socialist Challenge.'

As this supporter points out, the most consistent means to back our newspaper is to make out a monthly bankers' order, as printed on this page. Follow this health worker's example — fill it out and post it off now.

In spite of the success of the summer fund drive, we cannot be complacent. A revolutionary paper survives from its support in the labour, student, women's, and gay movements. We have no big backers; no Gaddafi-like sponsors. We rely on your support. To survive until the new year we

need another £1800. By next week we'll have thought of another wonderful fund drive stunt, so keep the money rolling in.

To all those who contributed to the summer fund drive our warmest thanks, not least to the following who dealt the final blow:

N. Hewlett	1.00
Anon	5.00
T. Compton	1.00
Southampton meeting	14.00
P. Tobin	0.12
N.P.	0.87
Oxford supporters	15.00
Calthness comrades	1.00
Cardiff readers	10.00
N.L.	10.00
F.J.L.	5.00
Austrain supporter	5.00
Colchester reader	5.00
D. Stephens	2.50
P. Sikorski	10.00
M.B.	30.00
Teeside Poly readers	5.13
Southampton supporters	2.80
Cardiff TGWU member	5.00
B. Drummond	1.00
M. Woerner	1.25
TOTAL	£130.27

Last week's front page with the Benn 'speech' was a raging success in Brighton. In a day and a half, even before the Labour Party conference began, we sold over 150 copies to delegates and observers. Even the man himself said he'd read it! By Saturday, Birmingham and Liverpool had sold out as well and wanted more. Unfortunately we had none to send them!

Tameside 8 October BE THERE



Confusion reigns supreme in Tameside. Tameside Trades Council executive committee voted by 10 votes to 5 to go ahead with the mass picket of Hyde Town Hall, but Colin Barnett, secretary of the North-west TUC, succeeded in convening an emergency meeting of the trades council for Tuesday night to get the decision revoked.

As we go to press we do not know what the council will decide, but given that right-wingers are turning up in force and TV cameras will be there, we assume that Barnett's manoeuvres will succeed.

If the mass picket is called off by the trades council, anti-fascists will have little choice but to accept the decision. It would be foolish

to try and substitute for the thousands of trades unionists expected to attend. However, what is absolutely vital is for anti-fascist committees and others who have booked coaches to go to Manchester nonetheless.

Local anti-fascists are planning to have a mass anti-fascist rally in a hall in the city to discuss a whole number of important ques-

tions which are confronting the anti-fascist movement nationally.

As we have indicated before, the ban would be utilised by many people to argue that there was now no need to mobilise forces against the fascists. This has now happened with a vengeance and must be firmly combatted. The fascists are still intending to make their presence felt 'somewhere in Manchester'.

Given the existing confusion it would be futile for anti-fascists to run from one part of the city to another. It would be much more useful

on this occasion to discuss our own future activities and the whole question of bans.

It is worth stressing that the mass media nationally and locally have used the non-exclusive character of the ban to witch-hunt the left. As a result many left-wing groups are being denied the use of meeting halls and pubs.

A concerted counter-attack needs to be launched as a matter of some urgency. Tameside on 8 October offers the best opportunity to do so. So be there.

IMG coaches leave Uxbridge underground station at 5.30am; Hayes ['The Grapes'] at 5.40am, and York Way [Kings Cross station] at 6.10am. Cost £4 return.

Next week's *Socialist Challenge* will contain an extra four pages consisting of our first 'Review of Books'. Francis Mulhern writes a major article on 'The Crisis of the British Intelligence'. Other reviewers include Terry Eagleton, Martin Shaw, Karen Margolis and Angela Phillips. The price will remain the same. Order your extra copies now.



Socialist Challenge

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

Complete and return to:
Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper Street, London N1.

There have been more arrests on the Grunwick picket lines than in any industrial dispute since the General Strike in 1926. Over 400 of those who have come from the length and breadth of this land to stand with us have been charged, the vast majority in the weeks after the launching of the mass picketing on 13 June. We now urge you to stand by them in their hour of need.

Please donate generously and respond as quickly as possible because many of the cases are now going through the courts, with four being convicted for every one being acquitted. Make your cheques payable to 'The Grunwick Defendants' Fund', at Brent Trades and Labour Hall, 375 High Road, Willesden, London NW10.



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THE BATTLE OF GRUNWICK



view from the left
By Gaoff Bell, Mick Gosling, Jonathan Silberman, and Tessa van Gelderen

30p Socialist Challenge PAMPHLET

OUT NEXT WEEK: A new *Socialist Challenge* pamphlet which examines how the Grunwick dispute has become a central issue in national politics, and how it can still be won — as well as the consequences for the whole workers' movement if it is lost.

In easily readable sections and attractively designed, this 24-page pamphlet is a vital tool in

nailing the lies of the capitalist propaganda machine as the mass pickets again swirl around Ward's gates.

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