

# Socialist Challenge

## FLEET STREET'S MOUNTAIN OF SLANDER

**The Daily Telegraph**  
the Anti-Nazi League. In some ways we should not be surprised. The organising muscle behind the League is supplied by the Socialist Workers party, which may be interested in fighting racism in the ANL as a political recruiting-ground. And the SWP, like all Marxist parties, views liberal principles with bottomless contempt. On the other hand, another

**DAILY TELEGRAPH**  
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1978

**MIRROR COMMENT**  
**BLACKING THE FRONT**  
THE Anti-Nazi League wants technicians to "pull" any National Front the next General election. It could not be adopted. You cannot be adopting Nazi n...  
**No newspaper, fought the National Front and dete...**

**THE SUN**  
**SPOTS AND KETTLES**  
"ANTI-RACISM" is today pre-eminently the cause which attracts the best and worst. To the best, particularly those who are young and perhaps unaware that evil has persecution on...

**MIRROR**  
**No plug worth the pulling**  
The National Front is planning to contest about half the seats at the next general election. It is likely to prove an expensive decision. Campaign costs aside, the Front is almost certain to lose its deposit in every election it contests. There are...  
"proves" that the National Front...

**Inside politics**  
**Peter Hain and the forces of darkness**  
By HUGO YOUNG, Political Editor



# FIGHT BACK!

# COME TO THE CARNIVAL!

# ASSEMBLE. HYDE PARK 11AM-MARCH TO BRIXTON

# EDITORIAL

Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper Street, London N1.  
Editorial 01-359 8180/9. Distribution/Advertising 01-359 8371.

## The future of the ANL

TEN YEARS ago the British press unleashed a vicious witch-hunt against the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. Its main argument was that the VSC was led by Trotskyists and that one of them was a 'foreigner', i.e. a black. Its second argument was that the VSC march scheduled for October 1968 was going to lead to massive violence, and that attempts were under way to occupy the Ministry of Defence and lay siege to Downing Street.

While the gutter press was in the forefront of this campaign, it was The Times which ran a series of scurrilous articles attacking the VSC and its leaders. History is repeating itself and the farcical undertones are clearly present.

Now The Times claims that the ANL is an 'ultra-left plot'. It is apparently dominated by the SWP, and in order to substantiate this claim The Times actually refers to the editorial which we published under the title 'Hats Off to the SWP' after the first Carnival.

That the SWP has played a major role in building the ANL is beyond dispute. To deny it is both foolish and unnecessarily puts us on the defensive. The central point to stress is that the SWP on its own could not have succeeded.

It need not just Rock Against Racism, but also the united front with social-democrats in order to get the ANL where it is at the moment. After all, the fact that a Labour Cabinet Minister and a major trade union leader are speaking at Hyde Park this Sunday at 11am is not an unimportant fact.

The best response to the witch-hunters of Fleet Street is to go on the counter-offensive. Why is it that the SWP could take such an initiative? Why was it not taken by the numerous politicians, leader-writers and political organisations who now profess to be strongly anti-racist?

Why did Rock Against Racism get such a popular response? Why could the Joint Committee Against Racism not get more than a thousand people at its rally supported by the Labour, Liberal and Tory parties? To ask these questions is, in effect, to also give the reply.

Which direction should the ANL now take? In our opinion, and we have stressed this before, the only way in which the ANL can take permanent roots is to extend the non-exclusive character of its Carnivals to its organisation at the base. To extend the campaigns and to build viable ANL branches throughout the country.

These should be built to unite all anti-fascists by breaking down the ANL into tiny units. Thus one borough in London, for instance, has four different ANL units, a factor which actually hampers the activities in that district and leads to a total lack of co-ordination. A conference is needed urgently to discuss all these matters.

What would be disastrous is if the ANL supporters who are at the moment prepared to be active were allowed to lapse into passivity. For the only real basis for the ANL is a self-active base, which vastly outnumbers the members of the CP, SWP and IMG put together.

## Callaghan and Iran

CALLAGHAN'S LETTER to the Shah during the latter's troubles is in the glorious tradition of British Labour Governments. It grovels before the Iranian butcher and expressed sympathy for the predicament in which he now finds himself.

The letter was clearly written on the insistence of the Foreign Office and British oil companies, for an overthrow of the Pahlavi regime would certainly 'imperil British interests'.

Labour Party activists or MPs opposed to this display of solidarity with a notorious and brutal dictatorship should not allow either this or the sanction-busting in Zimbabwe to be ignored at the Labour Party conference next week. The only argument of Foot, Benn and co. in recent years has been: 'At least we're better than the Tories'. This was always a load of rubbish, but with Zimbabwe and Iran we can simply reply: 'Really?'

### LATE NEWS

THERE ARE various rumours that the NF is preparing to march on Sunday in an attempt to divert and wreck Carnival 2. The Anti Nazi League is advising all its supporters not to be affected by these rumours. They recall the wild goose chase which took place in Manchester last year.

However, the possibility that the Front might try to march through Brick Lane cannot be excluded. The ANL is calling on all its East London supporters to picket Brick Lane this Sunday. When the march reaches Brixton and more information about the NF demo is available, contingents will be struck off to go from Brixton to Liverpool Street and join the comrades at Brick Lane.

Socialist Challenge is in full support of this decision. We believe that any attempt to divide the march and disrupt the ANL Carnival at Hyde Park would be totally counter-productive. Apart from anything else it would imply that it is the Nazis who determine where we march.

# HOME NEWS

## Airtime for Hitler?

IT IS UNUSUAL for a campaign mounted by the left to receive the undivided attention of the mass media.

Yet over the past week, virtually every national newspaper in Britain has devoted a lead article to attack the demand of the Anti Nazi League and the Campaign Against Racism in the Media for 'No plugs for NF thugs'.

The argument of the leader writers is a straightforward one: it would be anti-democratic to deny the Front a party political broadcast, and — newspapers such as the Daily Mirror and Guardian added — it would also be counter-productive.

Socialists need to treat very seriously any apparent denial of democratic rights. GEOFFREY SHERIDAN, a founder of CARM, examines the arguments about 'No plugs'.

For the media bosses and managers, the composition of the platform at the 'No plugs' meeting held in London on 12 September (see photo p3) was most disconcerting.

### ADVOCATE

Jonathan Dimbleby, David Edgar and Peter Hain called uncompromisingly for media workers to ensure that Martin Webster does not secure five minutes of air-time to advocate the Front's virulent race hatred.

In addition to this demand for no party political broadcast for the Front, they stressed that there should be no uncritical coverage of the NF by the media during the election campaign or at any other time.

The spokespersons for the Journalist and TV Technician Unions did not advocate the same policies as the other speakers. NUJ president Denis MacShane and ACTT general secretary Alan Sapper, while vigorously condemning racism and fascism, said that they could not issue editorial instructions to their members.

But both unions would back members who refused to handle racist material on the grounds of conscience.

Union militants know how to interpret a green-light for action, and the picket of the BBC headquarters last Thursday in support of 'No plugs' was only the first in what is planned to be a series of pickets of regional and local radio and TV stations. That is what League spokesperson, Peter Hain, has called for in the run-up to the election.

What has provoked the media's hostility to the campaign is not any fond feelings towards the Front, even from the Tory's Daily Telegraph: 'To the young... discrimination or persecution on grounds of colour is quite simply the greatest evil...'

But the issues the leader writers and columnists have raised need to be considered seriously by socialists. The most cogent argument in the press against the ANL/CARM initiative came last weekend from the political editor of the Sunday Times, Hugo Young,

and they are worth reproducing:

'Hain's justification (for the 'No plugs' position) boils down to two points. First he says that because the Front stirs up racial ferment and has an interest in violence it should be silenced. A

limited anyway — by libel, sedition and contempt laws — one more limitation would be of no account.

'The pragmatic answer to these arguments is obvious enough,' Young's article continued. 'Censorship would only worsen the evil Mr Hain seeks to eliminate; giving more publicity to the Front, with the added horror of allowing the fascists who compose it to depict themselves as martyrs...'

'If Mr Hain gets his way in bending the rules against the National Front, what argument could then be used against some other organised group at some other time that wished to silence the SWP, or whichever cause Mr Hain was then associated with?'

### CRUX

The crux of the matter is this. A fascist organisation aims to serve a particular task for major sections of Capital: it is to heighten the extraction of surplus value by physically and in due course 'legally' liquidating the organised workers' movement.

At the very core of their programme, therefore, is the ambition of wiping out the limited democratic (as well as material) gains that trades unionists and parties of the left have made.

The leaders of the National Front do not publicly acknowledge their adherence to

fascism. But as the recent World in Action programme and journals such as Searchlight reveal, the evidence is readily to be found in internal NF documents and letters.

At the present time the Front centres its propaganda on the systematic denigration of black people in Britain; lies and abuse which go hand in hand with the widespread physical assaults on

Oppression of a people is a profound denial of democratic rights. 'Repatriation', the main plank in the NF's 'solution', could not possibly be achieved without the most brutal violence, on a par with that of the Third Reich's holocaust.

Above all, it is in defence of the democratic rights that socialists call for extreme and unusual action against the fascists. When such rights are at stake, we put our trust in the one source of action that can effectively dispense with the threat; that of the workers' movement.

The course of such action has to be: No platform for fascists. It is a slogan that has to be applied with care. We must ensure that Martin Webster and his friends cannot effectively parade themselves as martyrs. Hence the ANL/CARM slogan for the media: No uncritical coverage.

### PLAUSIBLE

How should this be translated into election coverage? It means that any statement by an NF candidate or supporter must not be uncritically reported.

If it were technically feasible and politically plausible for statements of fact about the NF to be inserted into Webster's party political broadcast, then by all means let us support that, and call for the plugs to be pulled if the demand is denied.

As a general principle, where we advocate the right of reply, that would be the course of action we should insist on. But the right of reply is not what we call for in relation to the fascists: it is No Platform.

While we should not shun a debate with Enoch Powell on a public platform, we would certainly not join with any fascist on any platform. We do not 'reply' to the Front. To do so would be to dignify them with the status of an ordinary political party.

In the local elections last May, journalists on the East Ender newspaper in East London published the manifestos of all the local candidates — bar that of the Front. In its place was a statement about what the NF represents.

That action is exemplary. The Front has made no secret of why it wants the maximum possible number of candidates in the General Election: for the sake of publicity. Pull the plugs on the thugs!



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

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

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

[Delete if not applicable]

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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

## OUR POLICIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THE 'NO PLUGS' PLATFORM [l to r]: playwright David Edgar, NUJ president Denis MacShane, ACTT general secretary, Alan Sapper (chair), Jonathan Dimbleby, and ANL press officer Peter Hain.

# TV reporter Jonathan Dimbleby Why I'm profoundly opposed to air-time for Webster

Television reporter JONATHAN DIMBLEBY spoke in London last week at the 'No Plugs for Nazi Thugs' rally organised by the Anti Nazi League and the Campaign Against Racism in the Media. Here we publish the speech that Dimbleby, a sponsor of the League, made.

THE LAST TIME I was here at the Friends Meeting House was ten years ago; it was a London University student meeting to discuss racism. In the middle of the meeting a very large man walked down from the gallery, came to the front of the platform and requested to speak.

There then followed a debate — the most noisy debate I have ever attended — about the skills that we are supposed to possess, that we expose what had the debate, as you may have guessed, was because the very large man was none other than Martin Webster.

As a consequence of this sort of debate, we gullible, good feeling liberals and others said, Yes, of course he should be allowed to speak.

At which Webster took hold of the microphone and he spoke and he spoke and he spoke — and the chairperson decided that the time had come for him to stop speaking, and he didn't stop speaking, so an usher was asked to invite him to leave.

## LESSON

At which the entire gallery stood up and denounced the floor, dangling chains, and yelling: 'The National Front, The National Front'.

At which some courteous friends from the Metropolitan Police were invited, who escorted our unwanted guests out of the room and we learnt a pretty good lesson about free speech.

The issue is highly complex

and very simple. Basically the way it's used is to weave myths around reality. It's a concept that can be appropriated by any old hoodlum to justify any old deed that he or she wishes to perform.

It is a concept also borrowed by the establishment, a concept like democracy, when it's convenient, to justify decisions which are made on our behalf — correctly, wisely, properly, improperly as you will.

## CENSOR

The point is that in broadcasting and newspapers there is no absolute freedom of speech: editors edit, censors censor.

Editors suggest we don't say 'fuck' on the air; censors say that we can't say what's happening in the North of Ireland as accurately as some of us would like to.

We treat men like Vorster with courtesy and Nyerere we probably describe as a butcher; that's a mixture of editing and censoring.

The question is not: Is there an absolute right of free speech? But: How should broadcasters and journalists treat the National Front?

There are rules and there are conventions, none more than in broadcasting... It is my belief that in a constituency where you have 15 or 20 candidates standing, from flat-earthers to Jonathan King, the programme that reports their activities doesn't have to include all of those people.

There are editorial decisions

made about their relevance to the campaign. That seems to me to open important doors with respect to the NF. We have already talked at this meeting about the right — which is a conventional rather than legal right — of the Front to have free time, free advertising, on party political broadcasts, to which I am profoundly opposed.

## FASCIST

Why not the National Front? I don't want to go into this at great length — it seems to me a lot of you will know it already. The basic and simple reason is that the Front challenges the very basis upon which rest the democratic principles to which we in this society are supposed to aspire.

They are anti-democratic. They are, by their own mouth, fascist...

Had we been German democrats, would we with the hindsight we now have say that according to the BBC rules and the Representation of the Peoples Act that Hitler should have his air-time? That Mosley, had he been able to get 300 thugs to stand in various constituencies, should be denied the right to five minutes of air-time? Of course, we would.

## EXPOSE

It is very important for us at the same time to make it very clear that we are in no way averse to the coverage of the activities of the National Front.

Indeed, one of the great problems of the last ten years has been the belief that if you ignore the Front it will go away. The contrary was devastatingly proved to be the case.

It is by reporting the National Front accurately and openly, and by carefully using

the skills that we are supposed to possess that we expose what is wrong with the Front.

And with respect to what Alan Sapper — General Secretary of the TV Technicians' Union — just said about their main plank being to get sewer, and rats whom we have to put back down that sewer, be the fundamental point, that that's a means to an end: it's not an end in itself...

After that it's the Jews and socialists and, of course, even the woolliest of liberals whom they regard as something akin to criminals, probably having some chromosome deficiency.

We should report their activities, but in context — and that particularly during an election period in context. It means reminding people every single time... that they are a white supremacist, racist, fascist party. It needs to be said every time; we have the right to say it; we can fight for that right, and we should do so.

## RATS

There is a tendency to say that the by-election results show the Front is on the decline, not a serious party. That is a very dangerous belief.

The National Front can exploit that anxiety and fear very successfully. So we are engaged, as responsible and, I think, tolerant people in a tolerant society doing our job properly in a struggle which in the case of the Front is against an army of rats.

Rats who come out of the sewer, and rats who we have to put back down that sewer.

We do not do it as some of the institutions seem to wish us to do it, by playing Pontius Pilate and saying: 'It's not our responsibility. We just do as we're told and get on with it.'

## We accuse

THE RECENT showing of *Holocaust* has excited a real debate on both sides of the Atlantic. There has been a great deal of irritation expressed at the fact that it was only the Zionists in the various Jewish communities who provided the leadership in the fight against extermination.

This impression created by the TV series is even more outrageous because there are numerous instances where agreements were reached between Zionist leaders and the Nazis. The most notorious of these was the agreement between the SS leader Eichmann and Kastner, the Hungarian Zionist leader. Its aim was to remove pro-Zionist Jews to Palestine.

The *Jewish Chronicle* is perfectly well aware of this fact. It printed a text on 1 September which made precisely that point. In that case why is the *Chronicle* refusing to publish an advertisement for a book entitled *The Holocaust Victims Accuse*, whose author is none other than rabbi Moshe Shonfield, a leader of an orthodox Jewish grouping in the USA?

The book is a devastating indictment of Nazi-Zionist collaboration during World War Two. Surely editorial policy should not be defined so rigidly as to prevent knowledge being disseminated which would be of some interest to the *Chronicle's* readers? Or is there more in it than even that?

## Tory knives are ready

TORY LEADER Peter Walker delivered the 'Ian Macleod Memorial Lecture' last Thursday. Macleod was a well-known Tory reformer and Walker made full use of his subject.

He delivered an impassioned broadside against the party leadership. He attacked unemployment and racism in strong language (for a Tory) and virtually made it obvious that if the Tories fared badly the knives would be ready to travel the short route to Thatcher's back.

On its own, this would be nothing new. Walker is a well-known opponent of Thatcher. But to add salt to the wounds of the Tory leadership, Penguin Books has just produced a Penguin Special by Trevor Russel entitled *The Tory Party: Its Policies, Divisions and Future*.

Russel makes no secret of his views as a Tory. He savages Thatcher, Joseph & Co, describing them as Tory reactionaries and suggesting that a fierce internal struggle is necessary to remove them.

Given the nearness of an election, the Thatcherites will probably hold their fire. But whatever the outcome at the polls, there will be troubles for the Tory leaders in the not too distant future.

## From Budapest to Huntley Street

NICOLAS KRASSO was one of the leaders of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. As a pupil of the communist philosopher Georg Lukacs, Krasso was well-versed in what needed to be done in a revolutionary crisis. It was he who proposed the setting up of the Budapest

## Soviet.

After the revolt was crushed, Krasso escaped to Britain; but unlike many others he did not abandon socialism. Instead he subjected the Hungarian state to a savage critique and joined the editorial board of *New Left Review*. Clearly, if Krasso had become a renegade he could have made a lot of easy money. He chose to remain loyal to his socialist precepts.

Nicholas Krasso was arrested during the recent police raid on the Huntley Street Squat, together with Piers Corbyn ('our Bakunin' as one squatter described him!). Krasso was enraged and delivered a serious lecture to the arresting constables in the police van. They were not amused and Krasso was charged with being in possession of drugs.

The case will be heard on 21 September and the squatters are calling for maximum support.\*

A successful benefit concert took place last Thursday. For other squatters the police raid was a normal hazard. But for Nicolas it was more traumatic.

Since the invasion of Hungary he has not been able to sleep properly at night. He sleeps at 5am. So when the police raiders burst in at 6am, Nicolas was reminded of Budapest. Certainly, while in a haze, the bulldozers could be mistaken for tanks.

Defend the squatters! Defend the victims of Hungarian Stalinism!

\*The Picket of Bow Street court in defence of the 14 squatters charged under the Criminal Trespass Act begins at 10am. It's backed by several London trades councils, tenants and residents associations, and CACTI.



## A skeleton in someone's cupboard

A CANADIAN visitor recently visited one of London's more enticing tourist attractions — the London Dungeon. To his horror, the visitor found that the skeletons were real. But he thought that this was too ghoulish to be true.

Being a meticulous searcher after the truth he made further inquiries. The results of his investigation revealed that the skeletons were real and that they had been imported into the country (import controls lobby take note: nice decent British skeletons are being ignored in favour of low grade stuff). The importer in question, T. Gerard & Co. is West Sussex.

Lastly and more sensationally, our Canadian informant was told that the skeletons' country of origin was Pakistan.

Defiling the sacred graves of dead Muslims is sacrilege for believers. If this information is correct, then either the Pakistan Government is desperate for foreign exchange or some secret grave diggers are at work and engaged in smuggling.

MFN will not let the matter rest there. Rumours that the skeletons were bought at cost price from the National Liberal Club have been strongly denied.

## HOME NEWS

### Leyland toolmakers stay out

# Edwardes turns the heat on

THE ENGINEERING union's executive suffered a sharp rebuff last week from the workers at SU Carburettors. They refused to work despite threats of immediate expulsion. Nonetheless the strategy employed by the toolmakers' leaders raises some problems, as PAT HICKEY, a shop steward at British Leyland, reports below.

The SU toolmakers refused to bow to pressure designed to compel them to call off their strike. As a result the district committee withdrew its threats. The latter were still smarting from their defeat at Leyland's Bathgate plant. The membership there had refused to give way despite the threat to withdraw credentials from the shop stewards leading the dispute. The executive had backed down.

But the toolmakers will now have to confront the pressure of management. Edwardes' ruthlessness has already been demonstrated in the closure of Speke. He will now turn his attention to the toolmakers who have become the single most important threat to developing a corporate bargaining structure for British Leyland Cars. Such a structure is a central prong of management strategy. Its aim is to reduce shop floor control of wage negotiations.

#### CENTRALISE

Leyland is attempting to centralise all the major questions of productivity, wages and investment. The toolmakers are challenging this strategy. As such they must be supported by all militant

workers. If they break this structure it will be a striking lesson to other workers.

#### DANGERS

Unfortunately the toolroom committee is not bringing this issue to the fore. So despite the potential gains there are clear dangers. For the committee has concentrated on emphasising wage differentials and separate negotiating rights. This has resulted in them going it alone and not even attempting to draw wider support from other sectors.

Such a line of attack contains the seeds of isolating the toolmakers from other sections of Leyland workers. This danger can be seen in some of Roy Frazer's more recent statements. He has begun to talk of both minority representation and 'recognition of the rights of minority groups'. This means, in effect, an acceptance of the corporate bargaining set up with a special place for the toolmakers at the negotiating table.

This kind of development was inevitable once the central problem confronting Leyland was ignored — namely the viability of the company itself. The toolroom committee discovered this last year. Since

then they have begun to modify their tactics and seek a special place inside the corporate set up.

#### WRANGLES

This could lead to wrangling between different groups within the company about who gets what within the limits laid down by management and the National Enterprise Board. This will do nothing to protect the interests of Leyland workers as a whole.

Michael Edwardes has made it clear that his response to strikes is to create redundancies. The tactic used at Speke will now be used at Bathgate. In a letter to employees he has declared that any strike by the toolroom would lead to redundancies at Longbridge, Cowley, Abingdon and at Canley.

Both Swindon and Speke number 1 are threatened with closure and Edwardes will use strikes as the cover up for such moves in an attempt to put the blame on the workforce. As the Edwardes letter puts it, this vote would be the awful consequence of such a strike now or at any time in the future.

#### DIVIDE

This line of attack from management threatens to divide the workforce against itself. It needs answers that simple militancy and sectional interest cannot provide. Yet such a response will become more not less important in the

future. The European car industry is undergoing major changes which will mean big cut-backs in jobs, and which will mean some companies going to the wall.

Leyland is a prime candidate for the latter. The unions in Leyland will need to develop answers to the problem of redundancies from rationalisation which prioritises the needs of the workforce as a whole.

#### PLAN

A first step towards this should be the drawing up of a workers plan for the car industry. This plan would have to be based on social need and not profit.

In Leyland struggles around wages and conditions become immediately political. As one of the leaders of the SU strikers put it: 'They are using all my patriotism against me! The only answer to that is to use socialist criteria against them.'

The attempts of the Engineering Union leaders to expel members who do not agree with Duffy and Boyd give us an indication of what help workers are likely to receive from those quarters.

The Broad Left has remained silent throughout the recent attacks on the toolroom workers. They still have not learnt the lessons of their defeat, namely, that if the left does not provide an alternative the right will continue to advance.



LEYLAND boss Michael Edwardes

## Campaign to save Paddington hospital

FOLLOWING a mass meeting of staff, a campaign to save St Mary's Hospital has been initiated. The hospital, which serves the depressed inner-city areas of London's Paddington, is threatened with closure. The local health authority is attempting to make two hospitals do the work of three. KEVIN WOOD reports.

St Mary's contains one of London's best Accident and Emergency units. In spite of this, locals have been told that centralisation, coupled with a 'simultaneous decrease' in hospital facilities, necessitates its closure.

Not surprisingly, they can see through such jargon and are preparing to fight cuts that

could lead to the loss of 200 beds and 600 jobs in this, an area of special medical needs.

The mass meeting formed a 'Hospital Defence Committee' and the fightback continued at a meeting of the Community Health Authority. This was attended by many users of St Mary's and motions of total opposition to cuts and closures were passed.

The campaign is receiving wide support from the local labour movement, with Westminster Trades Council and Labour MP Arthur Latham pledged to give aid. At a public meeting early next week, defence committee members will outline the next steps in the fight to save St Mary's.

## Women in Manual Trades discuss Sexism at work

Women in Manual Trades is a group of women who are working, or training, in skilled manual jobs, which are traditionally done by men. Saturday 16 September saw the fourth national meeting organised by the group. JENNY TIZARD, who was at the meeting, reports.

There were over fifty of us, including carpenters, gardeners and bricklayers. We are all fighting discrimination against women in male dominated areas of work.

In the morning there were workshops which dealt with the problems of coping with the

sexism we face at work. The difficulties of building confidence when you are treated as an incompetent, or being isolated from other women and feeling utterly battered by the sexist remarks of our work mates and those we meet at work. Above all, how we are

made to feel like some kind of freaks.

On the positive side, women talked about how much they enjoyed learning a skilled trade and how enthusiastic they were about their work.

In the afternoon we discussed various other aspects of discrimination and sexism at work.

One workshop discussed experiences of discrimination against women training for 'men's jobs' at government retraining centres. The examples were so numerous that we decided to compile a dossier of some of these experiences to present to the Equal Opportunities Commission.

A workshop on the unions discussed the general cynicism towards, and lack of interest in, the unions amongst the men we work with. Support from our unions was seen as very important, but all of us reported that we felt very intimidated at our union branches. The attitude of the bureaucracy and the patronising manner of the men combine to make it difficult to even open our mouths at the meetings. Let alone raise questions like positive discrimination in favour of women.

We decided that this was such an important area of discussion for the future of our



work, and for all women in manual trades, that we would hold a day school in January specifically for women who want to be active in their union branches.

#### FILM

Some of the women involved in the group are producing a pamphlet and a video film for girls at school. They show what it is like to train to be a plumber or a plasterer, and give information about how you go about it. We discussed the progress of these two ventures in the general session at the end of the afternoon.

The next national meeting will be in Leeds next March. Anyone interested in contacting us should write to Women in Manual Trades, c/o 23 Bridge Avenue Mansions, Bridge Avenue, London W6 or WIMT North c/o 16 Sholebroke Ave, Leeds 7. We would like to hear from any woman working in manual trades.

Woman electrician at work, p 13.

## Build 14 Oct Sales Day!

A NUMBER of supporters have written and asked: 'Why is it that we often encounter Socialist Worker and Morning Star sellers in markets and outside important underground stations, but never Socialist Challenge?'

Our replies have often been evasive. The fact of the matter is that many supporters have become somewhat complacent. They are content to rest on the successes which our paper has achieved.

In order to combat this complacency we are organising

a National Sales Day on Saturday 14 October as part of a drive to increase our sales by 50 per cent. We hope that we will be able to establish new sales areas in different towns.

We are appealing to all active supporters of Socialist Challenge to join us and help sell on the 14th. The more of us there are, the easier it is to sell.

So supporters' groups should select areas now and place special orders with the distribution office: 01-359 8371.



One of the few women apprentices at Vauxhall, Luton.

# HOMENEWS

## Journalism—a high risk profession

ON A WET February night last year, I and fellow journalist Duncan Campbell went to the North London home of ex-soldier John Berry.

We were both working for Time Out. Berry had made a statement in which he made serious allegations about his former employers and expressed concern over the deportations of Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball.

In the week that those deportations were confirmed after several months argument this was a good news story.

We interviewed Berry for three hours. When we emerged, the Special Branch pounced. A journalistic interview had

suddenly become a crime.

As Journalist editor Ron Knowles put it at the time: "Journalism has become a high risk profession."

Some people still firmly believe, partly through sadly inaccurate press coverage, that

we published something.

Others might think that a couple of Time Out reporters pursuing the murkier depths of Britain's supposedly secret intelligence gathering organisations has nothing to do with them.

To a certain extent they're right. Duncan and myself would not have been picked up but for continual secret surveillance (by mail interception and phone tapping) of the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee — set up to protest at their outrageous deportation.

### FIRING LINE

Time Out, as one of the few publications following that protest closely, was right in the firing line.

But then, what right has the Special Branch to arrest journalists before they've even considered whether to put finger to typewriter? That sort of thing only happens in Russia, doesn't it?

It was no coincidence that the prosecuting counsel at our committal hearing last November managed to avoid once mentioning that we were journalists.

### INVESTIGATIVE

As far as he was concerned, the freedom of the press had very clear limits.

The truth is that, since Watergate, journalism has taken on a new 'investigative' face.

Anyone who's read All The President's Men must have felt their heart beat just a little bit faster at the thought of what their local bureaucrats might be hiding.

What the much abused term 'investigative reporting' really means is that many journalists are no longer prepared to



### BLAND

accept the bland press release, the official statement, the 'no comment'.

If there's a doubt, they're going to chase it. At the same time, the authorities have become increasingly worried that their embarrassing secrets will be revealed.

It may be us in the firing line at the moment. But the powerful Official Secrets Act is always there, waiting to be used.

Despite promises of reform, the discredited Section 2, which covers any 'off the record' conversation you may have with a government official, is still on the statute book.

And it's not just used against the 'left' press. The last prosecution was against the Sunday Telegraph.

But the Act is only the stick at the end of a very long line of carrots intended to distract journalists from probing further — 'we'll give you this piece of information if you

leave it at that'.

Britain's governing institutions remain among the most secretive in the world. Even the Russians, believe it or not, reveal the names of their secret service chiefs. Here, they're top secret.

The most encouraging thing about the last eighteen months has been that the protest at our arrest and charging has been accompanied by far broader demands for the public's 'right to know'.

NUJ members have been active in both movements, and

the union has stood behind all three of us in the tedious waiting period up to the trial.

Whichever way the verdict goes, there is little doubt that the case has already raised important issues.

Most crucially, it has shown that the right of journalists and the public at large to know what is being done in their name is now a subject that the government and their bureaucrats can no longer ignore.

Special picket of the Old Bailey on Monday 25 September, 12.30 to 2 pm.

### THE RETURN OF COLONEL B



Berry and Campbell are innocent

impartiality of the jury's foreperson, Leslie Blackburn, a former member of the Special Air Service, the army's commando trained undercover unit.

Judge Willis turned down their request to have him removed and added that the press should keep its mouth shut about the whole issue.

London Weekend Television however must have missed the judge's warning, because in a Saturday night chat programme the incident was mentioned.

Since the jury now knows the defence is unhappy with its credentials, then there is a likelihood that it may not feel happy about the defence. If it wasn't already.

Now we have to wait and see how many ex-members of the SAS are called to serve on the new jury!

LES GIBBARD (COURTESY OF TIME OUT)



## POEU Conference Engineers bow to threats

A SPECIAL conference of the Post Office Engineering Union, last Saturday, voted by a margin of nearly two to one to accept an offer by management of 37½ hours in reply to their claim for a 35 hour week. DENIS RICHARDS reports.

The 2½ hours reduction in the present working week will be achieved by engineers working faster to do the same work.

## The burglars who don't steal

PEOPLE who break into houses or shops are usually looking for money or other valuables. So when there's a break in and nothing's stolen you can be sure something odd is happening, writes JOHN WEIR.

That's why we think some recent burglaries in Glasgow have little to do with the city's crime wave.

The Socialist Workers Party has a bookshop in Glasgow, Right next door in the very same building is Scottish Socialist Books, run by the International Marxist Group.

Both shops have suffered break-ins — five in the last nine months. But nothing went missing from either shop. Petty cash went untouched. Valuable

book stocks were unharmed.

Even more curious is what happened to Martin O'Leary. On 7 September he arrived home to find that his flat had been ransacked. Clothes, books and papers had been spread across the floor.

But nothing had been taken. A small sum of money in one of his drawers had simply been dropped on the floor.

Just by coincidence, Martin is the public relations officer of the Irish Defence League. The League organises Irish solidarity activity in Glasgow.

Readers are invited to guess just who is so interested in the left and the Irish solidarity movement that they'd use burglary to find out more.

in less time. In other words, the deal means that no jobs will be maintained by cutting the hours.

The union leadership had really prepared the conference by sending speakers around the country to mass meetings. They argued that continuing the action would not only harm the Post Office but would strengthen the hand of those lobbying for an end to the Post Office monopoly in telecommunications, thereby opening the door to private enterprise.

They claimed that they were the only union taking action and would be isolated; that the Government were determined not to concede the 35 hours, and so the union would lose any confrontation.

### ALTERNATIVE

The delegates could only vote to reject or accept the leadership's report, no other resolutions or amendments being allowed.

So the left had no real chance to put the alternative — of combining selective strike-action with a campaign aimed at winning support and solidarity from other unions whose leaders voted at the TUC for a 35-hour week.

Such a campaign could have mobilised workers in other

industries who have a real interest in the engineers getting 35 hours, and who are the best allies in fighting the private enterprise lobby.

As it is, the left will not be taking things lying down. On 14 October the POEU Broad Left is holding its first open conference.

With a pay claim for a 20 per cent increase to be fought for, and the continuing threat of job-loss due to modernisation, the left must be organised to prevent any further retreat.

## Socialism and Safety

Weekend

Saturday 30 September  
Sunday 1 October  
10.30am - 5pm

Central London Polytechnic, New Cavendish Street, London, W1 (Nearest tube Warren Street).

SWP PO Box 82  
LONDON E2

## Don't play with asbestos

AN ENTIRE theatre company has been sacked in the middle of rehearsals. The 18 members of the Burnley-based Theatre Mobile were dismissed on 21 August. KEVIN WOOD explains why.

The Artistic Director and Administrator have been accused of maladministration. The charges were trivial.

The company then returned from holiday to find out that they had been locked out of their building.

Why such drastic measures? Well, last season the group wrote a play about Asbestos, an asbestos factory in Hebden Bridge notorious for its high number of asbestos deaths.

While researching, the group got hold of an internal document from the owners, Cape Asbestos. Although they returned it, Cape still slapped a High Court injunction on use of the material.

Not having enough money to

fight the multinational in the courts, they were forced to accept the injunction. Cape were satisfied. But apparently the executive board of the theatre were not.

Opening night was delayed twice. Cuts and alterations in the script were demanded. Finally, after long arguments, came the sackings.

The Mid Pennines Association for the Arts, which funded the group, are obviously more concerned to protect the good name of local bosses than to support a theatre company exposing their misdeeds.

The company is demanding full reinstatement of all those sacked. Letters of protest should be sent to: The Evening Star, 40 St James St, Burnley; and The Burnley Express, Bull St, Burnley. Messages of support and money to: Theatre Mobile, The Old Coop, Whitwell Bottom, Waterfoot, Rossendale, Lancs.

# ANTI-RACIST NEWS

## KIRKLEES

KIRKLEES, near Huddersfield, must be one of the most notorious right wing councils in the country. It absolutely refuses to stop the Front using its rooms. ERICA BARNETT reports.

The Mayor's only response to recent deputations from the trades council, the Young Socialists and the Anti Nazi League was to say that he believed in freedom of speech for all, including fascists.

The Dewsbury and Huddersfield branches of the ANL staged a picket of the Leisure Services Office where bookings for rooms are taken.

Just to show how far this reactionary council were prepared to go, one of the pickets booked a room in the name of the Ku Klux Klan. No objection was raised.

In Dewsbury, a large picket of a National Front meeting in the Town Hall discouraged NF supporters from attending.

## JUDGE' JURY AND EXECUTIONER

IN 1976, a total of 788 deportation orders were signed by the Home Secretary. Of these 519 were enforced. In 1977, there were 1,153 orders signed, of which 725 were enforced.

In all cases the victims had no recourse to the law. They could not challenge these orders in the court. The Home Secretary was judge, jury and executioner.

Of those deported, the overwhelming majority were blacks: 135 from Ghana, 113 from Pakistan, 105 from India, 134 from Nigeria, 66 from Turkey, and 72 from Cyprus.

Compare this with 14 from Australia, 5 from Austria, 1 from Belgium and Finland, 4 from Canada and none from white Rhodesia.

The latter are pouring into the country, but they are 'patrials'. In other words they have parents or grandparents born in this country.

Pentonville prison in North London houses most of these prisoners, with 147 incarcerated at the present time.

## PICKETS

The others are shared by Winson Green in Birmingham (23), Armley in Leeds (10), Risley Remund Centre (20) and a few others.

The Bradford-based Campaign Against Deportations and Racist Immigration Laws has mounted pickets of Armley and obtained the release of Saeed Rahman and some others held there.

This success is being built on by co-ordinated pickets of several jails this Saturday. In London, Pentonville and Holloway are being picketed between 11am and 2pm, organised by the Campaign Against Immigration Laws.

Details of this and future activities from: CAIL, Box 133, c/o 182 Upper St, London N1. Tel Emily 01-720 7641.



THE THIRTY thousand members of the Journalists' Union are receiving this week an individual copy of Black and Front, a guide to race reporting written by NUJ president Denis MacShane.

As the introduction to the 24-page pamphlet notes: 'Racism and journalists are bound together with the stickiest of verbal glue.'

The union is advising its members to 'hold newsroom meetings to discuss the problems of race reporting and coverage of extremist organisations like the NF.'

Copies of the pamphlet from: NUJ, 314 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1.

## WOLVES

WOLVERHAMPTON is acquiring an even nastier reputation. JEFNY ASHCROFT reports on a new scandal involving an Asian teacher.

At a well attended CARF meeting Jag Atwell explained his case. He was interviewed and selected for a job at Valley Park Secondary School in Wolves. Four weeks later instead of the routine ratification of his appointment, Jag had a visit from a local education inspector who said that the school management sub-committee had opposed his appointment.

Both in this and a subsequent meeting with the director of education Jag received patronising 'sympathy' but no reasons for this decision. Why? Because Wolverhampton like many other education authorities, pays lip service to equality of opportunity for black teachers. In reality it has a poor record.

Both Wolves Anti-Racist Committee and Wolves CARF have passed motions of support and WARC has asked for a meeting with the director of education to discuss the question of the scarcity of black teachers in Wolverhampton.

At a meeting of anti-racist teachers, a support committee was set up and a picket of the next meeting of Wolverhampton teachers association has been called.

Jag's case exposes the discreet racism in our schools and colleges and should be raised wherever possible. If you would like further information or can help in any way contact Jag Atwell, Wolverhampton 754 457.



THE 'COSMOPOLITAN' magazine office in London was graced by two dozen anti-racist pickets on Friday over an article in this month's issue which sings the praises of a woman NF activist.

The pickets, mainly newspaper and magazine workers, demanded that Cosmo publishes their statement on the NF and racism.

The NUJ chapel committee at the National Magazines told the hundred journalists in the company that it could not support the complaint and advised them not to talk with the pickets.

Hopefully, the NUJ's race relations sub-committee will be looking into the matter.

# Wolverhampton anti-racists acquitted Success boosts defence campaign

TWO YOUTHS arrested on an anti-racist demo in Wolverhampton last January were acquitted in the Crown Court last week.

This success has given a fresh boost to the campaign to defend anti-racists still awaiting trial. DAVE ASHCROFT reports.

The youths on trial at Stoke Trent Crown Court over the past fortnight were three of the seven black youths arrested in Wolverhampton on 27 January.

Scuffles had broken out when a spontaneous demonstration against harassment took place after the National Front threatened to attack a black disco in the town.

This was the last straw after weeks of racist attacks, arson attempts, and harassment of the black and Asian communities.

The three on trial were

George Beek, NUM; Terry Duffy, President AUEW; Reg Birch, Gen Council AUEW; Len Chouletton, Regional Officer AUEW; Ben Rutner, FTAT; C Christie, SCPS; Sean Hassey, ANC (formerly ASTMS); Bill Dalton AUEW Hull.

The following from the AUEW Engineering Section delegation to the TUC: N Davies; J Reed; J E Collingswood; J Hamilton; G Morgan;

the more serious charges against those arrested that day. Despite this, two were acquitted.

The third was persuaded to change his plea to guilty when the jury failed to agree on his case!

It was in the course of the campaign that developed as a result of the 27 January events that Dave Stevens, treasurer of the Wolverhampton Campaign Against Racism, and three other anti-racists were arrested on 11 March.

The Crown Court was picketed by the North Staffs

the following from the AUEW Foundry Section TUC delegation: W Prince; Michael Harkins; E N Jenkins; G D Ryan; G P Burne; Jim Welch.

AUEW Construction Section TUC delegation: T Gaynor; A Sparrock; F Miller; John Baldwin; Judith Hunt; AUEW/TASS Nat Women's Organiser; J Bala, ISTO; H K Tynan, AUEW/TASS; Frank Sullivan; CPSA; Terry Adams, CPSA; Alex Lyon MP; S Chhokar, IWA Southall.

From Oxford: Cllr Olive Gibbs, Leader Labour Opposition, former Lord Mayor of Oxford; Cllr Andrew Smith, Sec Lab Group, Oxford City Council; Anne Mobbs, Asst CRO; Malcolm Saunders, Lab Party/Anti-racist Ctee; Roger Prosser, ANL/SOGAT; Tony Kitchener, Lab Party, chairperson Oxford Anti-Fascist Ctee.

AUEW/TASS TUC delegation: Helen Cowan; Bill Wright; M J Heffernan; Vera Mooney; S Goddard; M Gill; B Price; J Bowers; R McBratney; Tom Beck; N McKay.

English accent [which is relevant in this context], and he is visually prominent. He was saying, loudly, but in a controlled manner that he wanted to complain of police assault and what was the proper way to go about it.

He was immediately arrested and charged with breach of the peace.

I, and my BBC colleague, gave evidence for the defence. Suffice it to say that the evidence from two police officers was completely different.

The magistrate said: 'We have a conflict of evidence here and it is up to me to decide whose I accept.' He chose to believe the police and Stevens was convicted.

I am writing this because the Glasgow conviction will have an influence on any sentence passed on Stevens. And that conviction was unjust.

Please use this in any way you see fit.

Yours faithfully,  
RON MCKAY

## NATIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE

### of Teachers Against the Nazis

**SAT 23rd SEPT**

FRIENDS HOUSE  
EUSTON ROAD LONDON NW1  
Opp. Euston Sta.

£5.00 and booklets 22p 10p  
Conference Starts 11am. ends 4.30pm

Teachers please arrive 10.45am general assembly. 11.00am. T.E. films, science, music, etc.

There will be food, drink and entertainment at the Conference

**CONTRIBUTORS**

Arthur Scargill  
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Eric Cluett  
Stuart Hill  
Carol Evans  
Joan Little MP

**SESSIONS ON**  
Workers, Parents and the Schools  
The Plan (Trust) to School  
Parents and Schools  
Fighting Racism in the Secondary School  
Fighting Racism in the Primary School

Admission Free

I AM writing to you having read a recent issue of Socialist Challenge concerning David Stevens. I do not know whether he is innocent or guilty of the charges he now faces [and it would obviously be dangerous for me to speculate], but I do know something about a previous charge he faced and was convicted on, although he was innocent.

I am a journalist [it may be relevant to say that I am not a member of any political party] and it was in that capacity that I attended a demonstration in Glasgow in 1975 against the letting of a council hall to the National Front to hold a meeting [you will have to check the exact date - it was Kingston Halls].

Several hundred demonstrators blocked the way into the hall and the police forced a way through for the day band of NF members, not before more than eighty people were arrested for obstruction, police assault and the like.

After the NF meeting had

## Comment The Dave Stevens affair

finished the police led out those who had attended the meeting and walked them down the street to a bus about 250 yards away. There were scuffles again.

I was covering the demonstration for a national daily paper and was walking behind

the NF party with a colleague from BBC television. One demonstrator was wrestled to the ground and a man [whom I now know to be Stevens] protested about the manner of the arrest.

Stevens is tall, he has an

# OPEN FORUM

## Pioneers of self-defence

# When the Panthers fought back

AS THE question of black self-organisation becomes more burning in Britain, STEVE NEWTON looks at some aspects of the rise and fall of the Black Panther Party in the United States.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was founded in Oakland, California in 1966 as a response to the dissatisfaction produced by the civil rights movement of the early 1960s.

The promised 'Freedom Now' never materialised. Instead Black America saw increasing police repression. In reply the Panthers organised armed patrols of the police and informed blacks of their right to fight back against any racist attacks.

During 1966-68 the Panthers grew at a phenomenal rate — helped partly by the media's obsession with 'Black Men with Guns', and partly by certain key events. In 1968 the party's founder, Huey Newton, was charged with first degree murder of a police officer.

The subsequent defence campaign — the largest around a black activist since the 1930s — did not concentrate on Newton's guilt or innocence. It simply demanded 'Free Huey' because it was impossible for him to receive a fair trial in American courts.

This struck an obvious response with any black American who had run foul of the courts (i.e. most blacks). So did Newton's stand against the police. As another Panther leader, Eldridge Cleaver, noted:

'For four hundred years black people have been wanting to do exactly what Huey Newton did... to stand up in front of the most deadly tentacle of the white racist power structure, and to defy that deadly tentacle, and to tell that tentacle that he will not accept the aggression and the brutality, and that if he is moved against, he will retaliate in kind.'

### CONNECTION

Along with this dissatisfaction, the Panthers also expressed black people's growing affinity with the Third World. In rapid succession, black people had made the connection between conditions in the Third World, conditions in the ghetto, and American imperialism. The Panthers expressed all this.

They characterised Black America as an internal colony of American imperialism, and the police as an occupation force playing the same role as the GIs played in Vietnam. And they said that black people had a right to fight back and demand their freedom.

Inside the ghettos, their active base was the 'lumpen' — the unemployed street blacks who felt the brunt of the crisis of American capitalism and of the rightist reaction to it.

The BPP said that the white working class had been bought off by the gains of racism and imperialism



HUEY P. Newton and Bobby Seale after the funeral of George Jackson.

and had ceased to have revolutionary potential. Instead it was the growing class of the lumpen which would make the revolution, as they saw their lives and their future being expropriated by the ruling class.

Organisationally, the Panthers combined armed self-defence with policies of black self-organisation, in the form of community services (free breakfasts for schoolchildren, free medical services, etc.) and by building important campaigns inside the community (solidarity with black political prisoners, against the drafting of black people to fight racist-imperialist wars, etc.).

The Panthers emphasised, though, that there could be no islands of black self-determination in a sea of white capitalism.

If that was all the Panthers had said, they would have posed a huge enough threat to the American ruling class. But it wasn't. They also said that an answer was not a race war of black against white, but a class war of oppressed peoples against their exploiters.

The problem was not simply racism and imperialism, but the capitalism they grew out of. Their position was for 'national liberation in the black colony; revolution in the (white) mother country'.

Nixon had proved that black nationalism per se could either be

bought off or else used to split off black from white allies. But an armed black revolutionary group which preached unity... the FBI were not wrong to call the BPP the biggest threat to America's internal security.

This isn't to say that the Panthers' alliances were always of the best. Up to 1969 these had been with New Left groups which had encouraged the BPP to consider itself the 'vanguard' of the American revolution — which resulted in its progression out of the black community to become a white leftist cult group.

After 1969 the Panthers had increasing links with the American Communist Party, because of the influence of their lawyer (a CP member), and because the CP was the only group to defend the Panthers consistently and actively against state repression.

This led to a Stalinisation of their already authoritarian internal structure and a deterioration of their relationship with other groups.

On top of this, the Panthers were acutely internationalist. They (at least) had solidarity links with other 'liberation forces' (notably the NLF and Al Fatah) and believed that the world revolution would start in the Third World.

Influenced by Maoist ideas, and the course of the Cuban revolution, they

saw American imperialism being slowly strangled as all the Third World became liberated territory. As the 'countryside' was liberated, the 'metropolis' would become more isolated and fall itself.

The role of American revolutionary forces was both to throw a spanner in the works of the 'metropolis' and to occupy as many of the security forces as possible so that the other liberation forces gained strength.

The Panthers certainly had problems. Under Cleaver, the 'self-defence' of the earlier period was transformed into a militarist guerrilla strategy, which led to a form of substitutionism: the BPP, as the vanguard, became the army to fight for liberation for (and instead of) the black masses.

Further, Cleaver's line that, by forcing the state to reveal its most

'To say that race and racism is the primary contradiction between the slave and master, the oppressed and oppressor, the colonised and the coloniser, is to be one-sided and subjective in your analysis. The logical extension of this argument would be that if racism was eliminated all the oppression and exploitation... would immediately cease...'

'(But) it is plain to see that capitalism is the primary contradiction... Capitalism is the disease of mankind that allows five per cent of the people to control 95 per cent of the wealth. Imperialism is the cancer of capitalism that spreads and destroys whole countries and whole nations of people. Greed is the purpose. Racism is the excuse.'

— from a speech by Field Marshal 'D.C.' of the Black Panthers in San Francisco (April 1969)

repressive side, the masses would be stirred to resistance and revolution was wrong. Repression bred isolation for the Panthers, not black resistance.

In 1968, the BPP had had at least the passive support of most of the black community; by 1970 this had been all but dissipated.

These and other ideological weaknesses were compounded by the structure of the party. All discussion and decision-making was isolated to the leading circles, and political education was restricted to rote learning of Mao's *Little Red Book*.

This lack of leadership experience was crucial in 1969-70 when the Panther leadership felt the full force of state repression — death, imprisonment, and exile.

It was this combination of ideological and organisational unpreparedness, plus massive FBI infiltration and 'dirty tricks', which destroyed the Panthers. Under extreme state pressure the 'guerrillaist' and 'community organisation' trends became classically counter-

posed as the alternatives for the black community.

With a little help from the FBI, the BPP split apart with bitter recriminations — Newton and Cleaver vying for the leadership of the party. Newton carried most of the organisation, but as a shadow of its old self.

Self-defence was replaced by 'survival pending revolution', the same old civil rights reforms with a new rhetoric. When Newton had to flee the country, the party was carried into the Democratic Party which it had once so vehemently opposed.

But if the organisation has long since disappeared from most of the black communities of America, its heritage has not. Black patrols of the police are common in many cities still, even if the arms have gone.

More importantly, it has left imprinted on the black consciousness the image of black self-organisation, not seen since Garvey's movement in the 1920s. And the image of armed black people standing up to 'The Man' and winning.

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# WHAT'S LEFT

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**TYPIST WANTED**  
Comrade with fast, accurate typing needed immediately for full-time position. Be part of the Socialist Challenge team. Wages £55 a week. Send applications to FI Lillo, 328 Upper St, London N1 2AP stating experience, etc.

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

**SOCIALIST ORGANISER:** out 22 Sept. Special 16 page newspaper put out by the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory. Calls for a Labour vote and for a working-class fightback against the Labour leadership. Order from SCLV, Box 127, 182 Upper St, London N1. Single copies 15p plus 7p p&P. Bundles of 10 for £1 post free.

**RED COLLAR:** ASTMS Rank and File paper now available from EOA Books, 34 Cowley Rd, Oxford, price 10p. Rank and File conference on ASTMS Rules Revision at Central London Poly on 21 Oct. Details from above address.



## TO-DAY IN N. IRELAND...

THE ABOVE, and other badges in red, black and white, available from Just Books, 7 Windybank Street, Belfast. 25p plus 7p postage. Cheaper bulk orders on request. Tel. Belfast 26526.

**PICKET GARNERS:** Main pickets every day, noon to 3pm and 5.30 to 11 pm at 389 Oxford St., London W1 (opp. Selfridges); 243 Oxford St. (Oxford Circus); 40-41 Haymarket; 66 Whitcombe St. (Leicester Sq.). Mass picket every Saturday at noon, 389 Oxford St. Donations urgently needed as strike pay is only £8. All donations to Garners Strike Fund, c/o TGWU, Rm 24, 12-13 Henrietta St., London WC2 9J 240 1056.

**CONNECTIONS:** Britain and Southern Africa — a one day conference for

trade unionist and youth. Sponsored by the North West TUC. Organised by Colin Barnett (Sec. NWTUC). Workshops on: action in the workplace, action in the Labour Party, an ABC of Southern Africa, Soweto and youth-women under apartheid, the media. Venue: Abraham Moss Centre, Crumplewell, Manchester. Sat 11 Nov. 10-8pm. Details of creche and conference from Manchester Anti-Apartheid, 59 Tintern Ave, Manchester M20 8ND. Tel: 081-434 7549.

**SMALL room available** in flat shared by writer and songstress. Sept-Feb. £24 per month. Ring 01-285 2097 on 18 Sept — 9 to midday.

**ISLINGTON Campaign against Racism and Fascism** one day conference 10am to 5pm on Sat 23 Sept at the Community Health Foundation, 168-194 Old St, London EC1 (11 mins Old St tube). An official launching and a plan for future action, speakers and workshops. Creche. Food. All welcome.

**CRITIQUE CONFERENCE on Stalinism in Decline:** Eurocommunism, Africa and Soviet Foreign Policy, at Ealing College of Higher Education, St Mary's Rd, London W5. 29 & 30 Sept. For further information contact Critique, 31 Cleveland Rd, Glasgow G12 5PH, (041) 339 5287.

**WHO NEEDS the Labour Party?** New pamphlet from the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, it analyses the

evolution and politics of the British Labour Party and explains its pro-imperialist role today. The pamphlet argues against 'critical support' for Labour and provides a strategy for confronting reformism. 35p (1+12p p&P). Payments to RCI Association, BM RCT (4), London WC1V 6XX.

**REVOLUTIONARY Communist Tendency** public meeting: The Labour Movement and Racism, speaker Frank Richards. Tues 3 Oct. 7.30pm. Conway Hall, Holborn Tube, adm. 20p.

**WOMEN'S STUDIES CLASSES 78-79:** Women in Society: Past and Present — Morley College, Waterloo, at 6.30pm Mon, beginning 18 Sept. Tutor: Barbara Taylor. Socialism and Feminism in 19th and 20th Century Britain — 7pm Tues beginning 19 Sept. For location ring 326-3726. Tutor: Sally Alexander. c/o Barbara Taylor. Sponsored by WEA. Marxism and Feminism: the theory and practice of the modern women's movement. 8.30pm Thursdays beginning 21 Sept (time might be altered to 7pm after first meeting) at S. London Women's Centre, 45 North St, London SW4. Tutor: Barbara Taylor. Sponsored by WEA. All classes run for 24 weeks.

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

**LATIN AMERICA:** IMG Day School, 24 Sept. open to IMG members and close

contacts. Topic: the crisis of Castroist centrism, with special reference to Chile and Argentina. Cost: £1 plus pooled fare. Possible reduction for wageless. Details from local IMG organisers or write to LAF, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

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

**CLASS on Marx's economics** and capitalism today. Tutor: Trevor Evans. 7.30pm on Wednesdays from 27 Sept at St Matthew's Meeting Place, Brighton Hill, London SW2. 30p per class. 15p wageless. WEA for information ring — 622 4118.

**TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Unity** is holding a 'media' jumble sale on 8 Oct. We urgently need books, records, posters, tapes etc. Bring anything suitable to the Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1 or phone 247 2717 for arrangement to collect.

**COLONEL B-BOP Benefit** on 11 Oct at Queen's Head, 877 Green Lanes, London N8. (Nearest tube: Turnpike Lane). With the inmates, Khaya Villains and the Leighton Buzzards plus disco. Adm £1.50 (£1 wageless and students). 8pm to 2am later bar!

**THE NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN** needs a new office worker to coordinate the campaign work, run the office, organise activities, demos, etc. Office experience useful, commitment to women's liberation essential. Hours 10-5 with some evening and weekend meetings. Salary

approx £180 per month after tax. Please apply in writing giving previous work and other experience to: NAC, 33 Camden Rd, London NW1.

**PADDINGTON Festival Against Racism**, Sat 30 Sept. 12 noon-6pm and 8pm-1am. Rock Against Racism with Mighty Shades, Innocents, Maybuds, disco, bar. 51 Day's events: food, stalls, video, theatre, film, children's events, speakers on SUS. Caribbean solidarity, Brito Lane, Irish women — adm free. A: at the Factory, Chippenham Mews, London W8. (Westbourne Park and Warwick Ave tubes). Details from PCAR, 510 Harrow Rd, W9. Tel: 969 7437.

**LONDON GAA** picket of Nolting. His branch of WH Smiths on Sat 23 Sept. 12 noon to 2pm.

**NOTTINGHAM Rock Against Racism**, Galla, the Taurate, Trevor Dann, Slip Hazard and the Blitzarea at the Sandpiper on Mon 2 Oct. 9pm-2am. Adm 25p in advance, £1 on door.

**SPARTACIST League Public Meeting:** Bourgeois democracy and the fight against fascism. Tues 26 Sept. 7.30pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

**THE LABOUR Government and Irish Self-Determination:** public meeting with Ken Livingstone (IPC Hampstead), Kevin Collier (Sinn Féin) and Peter Grimes (IRSP). Wed 27 Sept at 7.30pm, Kingsgate School, Kingsgate Rd, London NW6. W. Hampstead tube. Organised by North West London UJOW.

# WHAT'S HAPPENING

## Five Questions

### 1. How did the crisis of the Iranian regime begin?

In 1973-74 the huge oil revenues fuelled the illusions of the Iranian bourgeoisie about the possibility of a very rapid industrialisation and even of catching up with the developed capitalist countries.

Four years later the spell had been broken: while the petro-dollars had delayed the effects of the international economic crisis in the country, they had also boosted internal inflation.

Meanwhile the depreciation of the US dollar (the currency used in the oil payments), as well as the impact of inflation on the price of capital equipment in the Western countries and an overproduction of oil, had nibbled away at the oil super-profits.

In the spring of 1977, in the wake of Carter's election and the illusions it aroused, a movement of intellectuals raised the question of human rights appeared in Iran.

Taking advantage of a slight relaxation of the repression, writers and lawyers sent 'open letters' to the prime minister demanding the abolition of censorship, freedom of expression, and the right to establish a writers' union. Jurists and lawyers demanded openly that the independence of the judiciary be respected.

From August 1977 'poetic' readings in the universities of Tehran brought together several thousand oppositionists who came to hear the works of poets long banned, repressed, or imprisoned. Intervention by the police and paramilitary groups against these meetings in October and November provoked an important strike movement in the universities.

On 15 November the Shah's police intervened at Ariameh university to stop a political discussion. There were several deaths. The repression which followed, together with the strike in the Bazaar of Tehran, saw the extension of the movement — a movement which was soon to be led by the religious hierarchy.

### 2. Why is the opposition dominated by the religious hierarchy?

From January, and every forty days (the Moslem period of mourning), Iran was shaken by riots in the holy towns (Qom, Mashhad) and provincial capitals (Tabriz, Ahad, Isfahan). And at the centre of these mobilisations was the religious hierarchy.

There were several reasons for this. In a country where 90 per cent of the population are Shiite Moslems, and where all political or group life is forbidden, religion is a focal point of social life.

Furthermore, in the history of Iranian Shiism, there is a long tradition of opposition between the central power and the mullahs (local priests). In the 19th century it was the mullahs, like the lower clergy during the French Revolution, who took up the struggle to impose a constitutional monarchy, laid down in the 1906 Constitution.

There is also a dynastic dispute which goes back to the coup d'état by Reza Khan — the Cossack division colonel who overthrew the Qajar dynasty with the support of the Intelligence Service. This dispute reveals the contradictory aspect of the religious opposition.

The religious hierarchy condemned Reza Khan not only for his despotism and non-application of the liberal Moslem Constitution of 1906, but also for his desire to modernise the country and his hesitation over whether to follow the example of Atatürk and proclaim the republic before he finally

had himself declared Shah in 1925.

Since the 1953 coup d'état against the moderate nationalist Mossaddeq, and the destruction of the workers movement — that is, the Tudeh (Communist) Party — the religious hierarchy has remained the only living opposition force. In 1963 it was the mullahs who led the Tehran riots against the Shah, after which Ayatollah Khomeini was called to Iraq.

In the years of repression which followed the 1963 uprising, the mosques were still the only places where people could meet. One has only to recall the role that the churches played as opposition centres under Francoism or in Brazil to understand this phenomenon.

### 3. What are the different tendencies inside the religious hierarchy?

The Moslem current is divided. The most radical — but also, one should add, the most fundamentalist — tendency is led by Ayatollah Khomeini.

It is fundamentalist in that it demands a return to strict Islamic authority as laid down in the 1906 Constitution, which provided for a council of *ulemas* (Moslem jurists) to rule whether laws and decrees were in accord with Moslem law.



CHINA's top bureaucrat, Hua Kuo-Feng, drinks a champagne toast with Iran's Marie Antoinette, Farah Diba, on his recent visit to Tehran.

But it is also the most radical tendency in that it demands the ousting of the Shah and even the end of the dynasty. Inside the country, the chief moderate of the Shiite hierarchy is Ayatollah Charatmadari of Qom, who, to try to head off a movement which could outflank him, was ready for a compromise with the regime on the return to a constitutional monarchy and the holding of free elections.

The very radicalisation of the mass movement in Iran, the sharpening of the conflict brought about by the repression, favoured the current of Khomeini, whose portrait was brandished by the gigantic demonstration in Tehran at the end of Ramadan.

Three days after the appointment of the new government headed by Shari' Emami, and some demagogic measures (closure of the casinos, return to the Islamic calendar), Charatmadari was ready to negotiate with the regime.

But Khomeini's message to the Iranian nation on 31 August denouncing the new government 'as a grave betrayal of the nation and the people' cut short all attempts at compromise. Two days later Charatmadari denied that he had been in contact with the regime, explaining that there was nothing to negotiate.

The religious hierarchy, which set in motion the massive Tehran demonstration and launched the slogan for the general strike on 7 and 14 September, seems to have decided to

go along with the movement for fear of being outflanked by it.

And this is a movement which is today demanding in its mass the freeing of all political prisoners, the dissolution of the Shah's secret police and the martial law courts, the return of the cities, the freedom to meet and organise, and finally the ousting of the Shah.

### 4. Is there a liberal opposition?

The liberalisation of the press which followed the appointment of Shari' Emami as prime minister has seen the emergence of a number of liberal political groups who are demanding their legalisation.

Today this liberal opposition is organisationally weak. The post-1963 system of the single Rastakhs party, which has now collapsed, did not really permit these liberal bourgeois formations to develop, even when they were semi-tolerated in the most recent period.

The main party is the National Front (Mossaddeqist), which consists mainly of old leaders from the time of Mossaddeq. Its only demand until recently was for the implementation of the 1956 Constitution.

The defenders of human rights, whose leader is Bazargan, are very close to the religious hierarchy.

These parties have little popular base today, and their programme of demands falls short of those raised by the demonstrations (on the ousting of the Shah, for example).

But if what happened at the end of August is repeated — when the liberal opposition refused to grant the new government the least credence, whereas a section of the religious hierarchy was prepared to negotiate — that could bring about a renewal of their popularity.

Finally, in the event of any liberalisation or even an open crisis of the regime, these parties will immediately swell in importance. The example of the CDS and PPD in Portugal shows that the bourgeoisie always has a horror of a political void in its own ranks.

### 5. Why is the workers' movement so much absent from the demonstrations against the Shah?

The dramatic fact that the Iranian working class is today absent as such from the battle which is developing against the dictatorship is no historical accident.

In contrast with the entire Moslem world (except for Turkey), it was with the development of the Russian Revolution and not at the end of the Second World War that Marxism penetrated the country.

The first cadres of the Iranian communist movement arose from among the 300,000 Iranian workers who were labouring in the oil industries in Baku at the time of the

eruptions of February and October 1917.

The Communist Party was formed in 1920 and soon had several thousand members. It organised the Iranian working class to build the trade union movement. But before too long Stalinism did its work.

The main Iranian Communist leader, Soltanzadeh, a remarkable intellectual who is thought to have been not unsympathetic to the theses of the Left Opposition, was forced to return to Moscow (where he vanished in the Stalinist purges launched in 1938), while the sadly celebrated Ordzhonikidze purged the Iranian party. The party was to be further annihilated under the repression of Reza Khan.

But then came the Second World War. The Communists, reorganised in the framework of the Tudeh Party, confronting a Reza Khan who was deposed by the Allies for his Nazi sympathies (his son, the present Shah, replaced him), became the country's sole political force.

But Stalin, in the spirit of the Yalta agreements, and with the Tudeh's active complicity, allowed the autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan which had been set up in the North to be crushed, along with the oil workers' strike in the South.

The Tudeh also reversed its position on oil concessions. After having rejected this form of imperialist robbery, it then accepted it on condition that equal concessions were granted to the USSR. This allowed Mossaddeq's National Front to reap the benefit of the anti-imperialist feelings of the Iranian masses.

In 1953 the Tudeh had an organisation of 600 officers in the Iranian army who warned it of the preparations by the CIA and the Shah for a coup. But the Tudeh refused to organise the arming of the people and the setting up of militias as suggested.

The coup was successful. And thanks to the Tudeh all these officers, apart from a few who escaped to the USSR, were shot without having resisted.

Today the Iranian working class is just beginning to shake off its apathy, which was fed by the terrible repression. During the summer of 1977 very hard struggles took place on the question of housing in the insalubrious quarters of South Tehran.

More recently still, in August, there were disputes in the car assembly plant in Tabriz and textile industry in Behabad which also testified to this reawakening.

The workers who are taking part in the street demonstrations will undoubtedly bring a new political experience into the factory, but the gap between the two '3s' will very considerable.

It should be grasped that there does not yet exist a clandestine trade union movement in Iran. Not merely is there nothing like the Workers' Commissions under Francoism, but nor is there anything even on the model of the International during the last years of the Caetano regime in Portugal, of the type of trade union opposition which has developed over the last two years in the industrial centres of Brazil.

This organic backwardness of the Iranian workers' movement explains the weight of the religious hierarchy in the process. Furthermore, in its unceasing ideological struggle against Marxism, this religious hierarchy has not failed to use the instructive example of proletarian internationalism constituted by the diplomatic support and policy of both Moscow and Peking towards the Shah.



## The crash of '77

POLITICAL THRILLERS are a relatively new addition to the world of Anglo-Saxon fiction. The economic and political crisis which has tormented the capitalist world over the last decade and a half has provided the objective basis for such a development, writes TARIQ ALI.

Paul F. Erdman is without doubt the most talented of the authors engaged in this project. His specialisation in the sordid intrigues which characterise International Finance capital, Erdman writes with a cynicism and detachment which indicates that he knows the system and with a verve which implies that he loathes it.

His latest novel, *The Crash of '77* is a brilliant synthesis of the politics of oil and how they intersect with the interests of capital in the West. The novel centres on the decision of the



# ENING IN IRAN? Labour's record



'In so far as the description of Iran as a country with a reputation for ruthless political repression and torture has ever been applicable in modern times, it was more true of the dictatorial regime of Dr Musaddeq which was overthrown following the uprising in 1953.

## DISGRACE

You may think that the above is a quotation from an Iranian government publicity brochure, attempting to deny and explain away its repressive character. You would be wrong. This statement is taken from a letter to the International Department of the Labour Party, written by no one other than Dr David Owen, the Foreign Secretary!

The letter is a scrawl and a disgrace. It was written in response to a letter from the International Department concerning a motion on Iran by the Wolverhampton South West Constituency Labour Party at the 1977 Labour Party Conference.

It is this record which Dr Owen tries to defend by claiming that Mossaddeq's government was more ruthless and dictatorial than the present regime.

## ARROGANT

As the motion did not come up for discussion and vote at the Conference itself, it was referred to the International Department for a follow-up. The original motion read:

This Conference deplores the British Government's policy of encouraging the export of arms to Iran, a country with an international reputation for ruthless political repression and torture, whose despotic ruler undermined a democratically-elected Government in 1951 with the help of the Central Intelligence Agency. It therefore calls upon the Government to reconsider this policy.

Owen's letter employs the most arrogant colonial-type statements to justify the Labour government's support for the Iranian dictatorship.

Quoting himself, Dr Owen states, 'I think you have to look at the culture, the tradition, the history, the whole business of the authority of the Shah in its origin in Persian history, if you are going to really take a balanced view.

The authority of the Shah, far from having its origin in the culture and tradition of the Iranian people, can be traced back to the 1951 CIA-organised coup (1).

As for its 'historical origin', one only has to remind Dr Owen of the role of Britain in bringing to power in 1921, the present Pahlavi dynasty.

In August 1919, Lord Curzon, in a memorandum to his Cabinet colleagues stated, '...now that we are about to assume the mandate for Mesopotamia, which will make us co-terminous with the western frontiers of Persia, we cannot permit the existence, between the frontiers of our Indian Empire in Baluchistan and our new Protectorate, of a hotbed of misrule, enemy intrigue, financial chaos, and political disorder.'

## FREE ELECTIONS

The British interest in securing 'order' in Iran translated itself, through the efforts of General Ironside, into a military coup led by Reza Khan, the present Shah's father, in February 1921. Upon hearing the news of the coup, Ironside wrote in his diary, 'So far so good... I fancy that all the people think that I engineered the coup d'état. I suppose I did, strictly speaking. (2)

As a matter of fact, since the advent of the Pahlavi dynasty, Mossaddeq's period of premiership from March 1951 to August 1953 has been the only period in which Iran enjoyed a government with real popular support.

Dr Owen's reference to the 'dictatorial regime of Dr Musaddeq' notwithstanding, the only 'free elections' in Iran in recent times, i.e. an election not manipulated by the government of the day, was the one held in January 1952.

The labelling of Mossaddeq's government as dictatorial cannot

supply be dismissed as ignorance on Dr Owen's part. It serves the purpose of whitewashing the disgraceful record of past Labour governments.

It was a Labour Government, under Attlee, in March 1951 which rejected the terms of the oil nationalisation negotiations offered by Mossaddeq's government. It was a Labour Foreign Secretary, Herbert Morrison, who declared a blockade of Iranian ports to prevent any oil exports.

It was a Labour Government which ordered the battleship *Mauritius* to move towards Abadan as an open act of gunboat diplomacy, and imposed, with the help of the United States, a total financial and economic blockade on Iran.

Having 'set the record straight', Dr Owen then gets to the present reason for the Labour Government's policy of support to the Iranian regime: 'common' military, political, and economic interests and responsibilities.

Iran's 'key role' as the guardian of 'security' in the Gulf area, particularly after the withdrawal of the direct British presence from Bahrain and other Gulf islands in 1972, is among the 'factors taken into account' for the sale of military equipment to Iran.

Britain is now the second largest supplier of arms to Iran after the United States. The Iranian Navy, apart from the destroyers now being purchased from the United States, has been almost completely equipped and trained by Britain, which has supplied it, among other things, with the world's largest fleet of military hovercrafts.

Britain has already supplied large numbers of Chieftain tanks, scorpion armoured cars, rapid missiles and other military hardware to Iran.

Another 'factor' to be taken into account, we are told, is Iran's 'moderate attitude' on issues such as the price of oil and 'the Middle East problem'. After all Iran has agreed to a price freeze, and Iranian troops are carrying out their 'responsibility' in South Lebanon to keep 'the Middle East problem' in check.

Last, but not least, is of course the matter of trade with Iran. According

to the Middle East Economic Digest (14.4. 1978), 'a 28 per cent rise in the sterling value of UK sales to Iran during 1977 helped to keep that market as Britain's biggest in the Middle East...'

With so much 'at stake', no wonder Dr Owen takes it upon himself to defend the 'human rights' record of the Shah as against the 'dictatorial regime of Dr Musaddeq'. Dr Owen speaks in his letter, dated 7 February 1978, of certain 'improvements in this field' (of human rights), shortly after the Iranian police had carried out a bloody massacre in Qom, firing with sub-machine guns onto a peaceful demonstration of 5,000 people.

We hope that constituency Labour Parties, trade unions and trades councils and individual members of the labour movement also take up the issue by writing to Dr Owen, dissociating themselves from his attitude on Iran and calling on him to change these views.

## PROTEST

Changing the Labour Government's policy of support for the Shah is our important and concrete way for the British labour movement to give support to those who are fighting against oppression in Iran. Widespread protests to Dr Owen from the labour movement will be an important step in this direction. An emergency resolution at the 1978 Conference is an urgent necessity.

1. This fact is by now quite well-documented in several reliable sources, among them is the famous book of David Wise and Thomas B. Ross on the CIA, *The Invisible Government* (London, 1964). Another author, Andrew Gully, has also commented in his book, *CIA - The Inside Story* (London 1962), p. 95. It is noticeable as some observers have written, to say that the Iranian overthrow Mossaddeq all by themselves. It was an American operation from beginning to end.

2. For a full account of this 'historical origin' of the Shah's authority, readers are referred to Richard H. Ullman, *The Anglo-Soviet Accord*, Vol. III, Chap. IX, 'Persia'.

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Swiss government to loan the Shah of Iran a top nuclear scientist to aid in the development of the Iranian bomb. The characterisation of Swiss government officials and financiers are on a par with the pen portraits of the Arab leaders. Erdman regards the Shah as a power-crazy megalomaniac who stops at nothing to stay in power. A view recently vindicated on the streets of Iraq.

To say any more would spoil the effect and impact of the novel. We cannot recommend it too strongly to all our readers. It gives one an accurate flavour of Middle Eastern politics and the links between the oil potentates and the crusaders for 'human rights' in the West.

The Crash of '79 by Paul E. Erdman, Sphere, 95p.



MOSSADDEQ's nationalisation of the Anglo-Iranian oil company in 1951 led to mass jubilation. Here workers triumphantly display a torn signboard.

# Unity needed to topple Smith

**THE GROWING** crisis in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia is set to occupy an increasingly central position in British and world politics.

The 'internal settlement' is on the verge of collapse. The popular liberation forces are making major gains. Fleeing white Rhodesian racists are beginning to 'flood' into Britain. And the scandal over the breaking of oil sanctions has put the Labour Government well and truly on the spot.

Below, in the first of a series of articles for 'Socialist Challenge', the AFRICA IN STRUGGLE GROUP looks at the state of the national liberation movement.

Since defeat and colonisation in the 1890s there had been sporadic peasant and worker unrest. This culminated between 1957 and 1963 in the formation of the present nationalist organisations.

In 1964 the Smith regime completed a succession of bannings, imprisonments and killings of party leaders and militants and ordinary workers and peasants.

Together with his Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from British colonial rule in 1965, this unbridled repression of black opposition and the successful development of armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies propelled the movements into a guerrilla war of liberation.

## DIVISION

The first open division in the movement had been in 1963, when a faction led by Ndabaningi Sithole and Robert Mugabe and calling itself the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) split from the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo.

The general impetus behind this split was a growing and vocal groundswell amongst the younger activists for a more militant line against the settler regime.

Nkomo's broad acceptance (subsequently withdrawn under party pressure) of the 1961 constitutional proposals for Rhodesia, amounting to an abandonment of ZAPU's basic demands, generated considerable mistrust of his leadership.

Other factors of personal-

ities, tribalism and ideology compounded the situation and caused much inter-party strife.

This factional disunity, as well as poor military tactics and training and the absence of clear political strategies, resulted in sporadic and generally unsuccessful guerrilla campaigns mounted from Zambian bases in the middle to late 1960s.

## ENQUIRY

The 1972 Pearce Commission enquiry into the acceptability of Tory Government plans for the country threw up a new organisation led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. This is now known as the United African National Council (UANC).

In the political vacuum left by a decade of Smith's repression, Muzorewa and the UANC became the internal focus of mass resistance and rejection of the Pearce proposals.

This did not, however, represent a radically new political force. The meteoric rise of Muzorewa and the UANC resulted largely from the coalescence of the fragmented remnants of ZAPU and ZANU cadre.

## FOLLOWING

These pulled a huge mass following behind them, but the majority still owed allegiance directly to those two organisations. The UANC's central importance was that it offered a legal cover for political activity.

Certainly, until Muzorewa became party to the March

## Nationalists remain divided



THE AFRICAN National Council became the focus of the resistance to the 1972 Pearce settlement

1978 'internal settlement' deal with Smith, he and the UANC enjoyed a very considerable mass support, whether by proxy or in their own right. But this has now almost vanished.

The defeat of Portuguese fascism and colonialism in 1974, and the strategic opening up of the Mozambique-Rhodesia border to guerrilla activity, marked a watershed in the liberation struggle.

Pressured by this growing threat, and by the 'detente' strategy of imperialism to open

a settlement dialogue with the liberation movement, Smith released ZANU and ZAPU leaders in late 1974, including Nkomo, Sithole and Mugabe.

Divorced from radical developments in his party and the struggle, Sithole was dropped from the ZANU leadership. Mugabe became overall leader. By a succession of reactionary compromises Sithole has now plunged himself into collaboration with Smith's internal settlement.

The central problem, however, remains the lack of political and military unity

between ZAPU and ZANU.

The Patriotic Front (PF), formed in 1976 as a diplomatic alliance for the Geneva Constitutional Conference, has remained merely a loose collaboration through the many subsequent negotiations around the Anglo-American proposals. It has little organisational form, programmatic coherence, mass response, or military fusion.

The only serious attempt at military unity, the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), broke down within months of its formation in mid-1976. ZAPU

contingents were withdrawn by Nkomo, whilst those ZANU contingents who chose to maintain ZIPA were neutralised by the ZANU leadership.

Nkomo's unilateral, secret talks with Smith (the latest only last month), coupled with his refusal to fully commit his forces to the armed struggle, further undermine unity.

## STRUCTURE

In terms of party structure, both ZAPU and ZANU are monolithic and bureaucratic, and tendencies critical of the leadership have invariably been suppressed.

Although ZANU's programme is more radical and consistent than ZAPU's, both are ambivalent on a crucial strategy for land expropriations.

Both also omit the equally vital question of urban workers organisation, and its relationship to the general struggle together with the rural oppressed against their common exploitation by dominantly imperialist interests (mainly British).

These programmatic shortcomings are due partly to the contradictions of class interests embraced by the parties, and partly to their 'liberation in stages' conception — inherited from ZAPU's links with the Soviet Union and from ZANU's with China.

## STRATEGY

This 'national liberation first, socialism later' strategy, in its failure to address real class antagonisms nationally and internationally, has led many a 'socialist' national liberation struggle into a neo-colonial cul-de-sac.

Nevertheless, as the main expressions today of worker and peasant anti-imperialist struggle, and as the political vehicle for Zimbabwean socialist revolutionaries, a united Patriotic Front of ZAPU and ZANU carries the unconditional support of all revolutionary socialists.

# CHILE

**Five years later**

## Action is key to solidarity

Last week JOHN BALL outlined the ambiguous relationship between the Chile Solidarity Campaign and the parties of Popular Unity. Here he concludes our series on the solidarity movement by looking at the tasks it must fulfil.

Matters came to a head at the February AGM of the CSC, when conference voted down a resolution from Northampton local committee 'reaffirming the campaign's support for socialism in Chile'.

There is no doubt that this resolution expressed the feelings of the majority of the campaign activists, many Communist Party members included. It reaffirmed what had always been policy, expressing the reaction of the campaign's founders to a coup which was directed against a socialist movement.

So when the CP bludgeoned through their opposition, using their trade union support, it caused consternation. Sheffield and Stockport local committees disaffiliated.

The strength of feeling can be judged by the fact that Sheffield only reaffiliated after a special trades council meeting attended by seventy delegates.

The same motion was put to the next local committees conference, of which there are three between AGMs. It was

carried by a large majority. The leadership was furious.

Preparations have now begun to curtail the autonomy of the local committees. Everything seems to be shaping up for a confrontation.

Can the left wage a successful fight to see that the campaign serves the genuine needs of the Chilean people? A lot of problems arise from the issues on which the fight has developed.

Why is the CSC falling down on the job? Because it only represents half the Chilean resistance, by prioritising support to those forces (i.e. Popular Unity) which the CP agrees with.

The answer is to see that support is renewed for those who have been missed out, by campaigning for the kind of direct links with organisations in Chile that the Sheffield committee pioneered, and by fighting for full democracy in the campaign, including for the Chilean organisations.

To concentrate on demanding that the campaign commit itself to socialism is really to

misunderstand the relation between political struggle and united front.

A different role has to be played by revolutionary organisations and by united front bodies. As long as the cause of the Chilean workers can be taken forward by a fight for elementary democratic rights, then revolutionaries should be prepared to unite with anyone who will carry out this fight.

Of course we have to build an international revolutionary party that can ensure that the final outcome is socialist revolution, and that can

hammer home the lessons of the coup in both Britain and Chile.

It may also be necessary to build up socialist currents within united fronts, to fight against their distortion by class collaborationist policies.

But such currents can only succeed if they fight around an alternative programme of action for the campaign — for it is action which settles the meaning of the different political lines which exist in the campaign, and it is action which settles the kind of help the Chileans are going to get.

## Intercontinental Press combined with Inprecor

**THE MOUNTING** tension in Peru dominates the latest issue of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor [Vol. 16, No. 35]. Articles report the current strike wave and the sinister appearance of right-wing death squads; describe a day on the road with Hugo Blanco; cover the launch of *Revolucion*, a new paper for Trotskyist unification edited by Blanco; and reprint the text of his speech on his return to the town where he was tried for his life twelve years ago.

Nowhere else can you follow the unfolding of this crucial struggle in such detail. So don't waste any more time but subscribe now. One year [48 issues] costs £9; six months [24 issues], £5; and an introductory offer of 10 issues, £2.50. Please make all cheques/POs out to 'Intercontinental Press' and send to: IP/1, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

# Death squads out in Peru



**DEATH SQUADS** are out in Peru. Their target: left-wing party and union leaders. **DON DAVIES** reports from the capital, Lima.

It was on 19 July 1977 that all sections of the working class in Peru united in a massive one-day strike against austerity measures and sackings.

In the miners' union, the FNTMMP, a total of 319 activists were victimised, including general secretary Victor Cuadros (now a left-wing deputy in the Constituent Assembly).

Other means to win their reinstatement having failed, the FNTMMP called a national strike of Peru's 40,000 miners for 4 August this year.

Previous miners' strikes in 1969 and 1971 were isolated and brutally repressed. Realising the dangers, the miners of one of the biggest copper mines, La Oroya, made plans accordingly.

On 11 August, accompanied by their wives and children, 15,000 of them set out on a three day 'march of sacrifice' to Lima. On their arrival they set up camp in the spacious gardens of the Faculty of Medicine of San Marcos University.

## ARRESTED

A state of emergency was declared in five central provinces on 21 August. Troops surrounded the mining camps, refusing to allow food in. The various union

headquarters were taken over and the leaders arrested.

On 29 August the FNTMMP's legal adviser, Ricardo Diaz Chavez, who is also a left-wing deputy in the Constituent Assembly, was named on television as an agitator. Shortly afterwards a bomb exploded outside his house.

## BOMBS

Four days later, on 2 September, two more bombs exploded: one outside the offices of the POMR, a Trotskyist grouping which is

part of the left-wing FOCEP electoral alliance; and the other against the home of Magda Benavides, leader of the bank workers union and a FOCEP deputy in the Assembly.

Next day FOCEP leader Hugo Blanco was speaking at a meeting of the group he belongs to, the Trotskyist PST, when news reached him that a FOCEP member leaving the meeting had been kidnapped by armed men.

Francisco Santa Cruz was tortured and beaten up by a group identifying themselves as the Peruvian Anti-communist Alliance before being released the following day.

Blanco and the PST supporters left their meeting in force but were pursued by a

number of vehicles whose number plates had been removed. Then a group of men armed with machine guns got out of the cars and fired volleys into the air.

In the confusion an Argentinian journalist, Roberto Fanjul, was abducted and held for a week under torture.

Needless to say, the police have not been able to arrest anyone in connection with any of these events. But then, they have been occupied with other plans — what to do about the miners, for example.

On 4 September the government-controlled press gleefully announced that the miners were returning to work. In fact the strikers at one mine, Toquepala, were forced to suspend their strike owing to lack of food and other necessities.

At the mine of Marcona, also, a number of strikers were forced back by the fierce repression of the Navy.

Meanwhile, in Lima, a large force of Guardia Civil, Guardia Republicana, and Policia de Investigacion used armoured cars to smash into the miners' makeshift camp early on the morning of 6 September.

Those who tried to resist were shot. Terrified children were separated from their parents in the confusion and were not reunited before everyone was loaded into buses and taken to the railway station.

There, in scenes reminiscent

of Nazi Germany, they were loaded onto a train at gun-point for transportation back to the mining centres — now virtual concentration camps.

As dawn broke the news of the 'massacre of the miners' spread like wildfire through the popular districts of Lima. Marches of striking public sector workers were used to express solidarity with the miners. But in general the protest was spontaneous and unorganised.

By noon the city centre was convulsed by street battles between police and demonstrators — rapidly moving fights in which the police were often forced into retreat despite their

use of armoured cars, gas, and even automatic weapons against the bare fists, sticks and stones of the outraged population.

The day ended with the news that many miners had escaped from the prison train, and that the strike would continue until their sacked comrades were given their jobs back.

International protests and expressions of solidarity are now desperately needed in the face of the growth of official and semi-official terrorism. They will be published in the left-wing weekly magazine *Marka*. Please send to: Marka, Camana 878, Lima-1, Peru.



MANUEL AZCARATE

## Spanish CP leader on USSR 'I'm more Trotskyist...'

**MANUEL AZCARATE** is a member of the Political Bureau of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE]. In a recent interview with the magazine 'Viejo Topo', extracts from which are printed below, he outlines a critique of the USSR which in many ways is very similar to that put forward by Trotskyists for the last forty years.

**This belated conversion is to be welcomed. But will the PCE leaders now start to apply a little more of the**

**What are your current reflections on the Soviet political regime?**

We distinguish between two areas on this question.

First, there is a political area where the party as such has to take a position because it affects our line, our programme, and even our ideal.

That means that we have to say that the Soviet model does not represent the socialism that we want, socialism in freedom. It means that we consider that the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been superseded, because it does not reflect the type of state we need...

Then there is another area in which the party favours absolute freedom of thought and scientific research. That's why we aren't going to say what is the most adequate definition of the existing regime in the USSR...

It is difficult for me to understand how socialist relations of production can manage to survive and coexist with a totally degenerated political superstructure. All that requires an analysis which I am unfortunately not in a position to make.

But it seems to me that in the USSR the relations of capitalist production — that is, private ownership of the means of production — have been destroyed. They have not been restored, there is not in the USSR private ownership of the means of production, which is the principal criterion for determining whether or not it is capitalism.

**But there is wage labour.**

No, because there is also wage labour under socialism... In the course of a discussion I had with Fernando Claudin, which was published several months ago, I said to him that I was

more Trotskyist than him, because Trotsky placed great emphasis on the role of the bureaucracy.

There is a ruling layer in the country which, thanks to its political position and not through the private appropriation of the means of production, enjoys a privileged social situation.

It's true that a part of the workers' labour goes to maintain this situation of privilege, but it's a method of indirect appropriation completely different from capitalist appropriation...

I believe that this bureaucratic and privileged layer, which is subject only to insignificant social mobility — I think the leaders in the USSR are the oldest in Europe or the world — can maintain itself because there is no debate, no political life. There is only technocratic administration by a privileged and stable social layer.

But to call that capitalism is to strain the definition,

same at home?

**Will they now abandon the Moncloa Pact of austerity measures and instead rely on the anti-capitalist mobilisation of the masses? Will they now withdraw support from the monarchy and NATO? Will they allow the democratic right to organise tendencies and factions in the party?**

**That is the real test of Azcarate's commitment to 'socialism and freedom'.**

because in capitalism there is private property; and what also characterises this layer is that it cannot buy a factory. It can have a villa, several cars,

but it cannot own a factory. If a comrade thinks that capitalism exists in the USSR I will listen to him and we will discuss it. But the party's



**PICKETS** outside the Brazilian Embassy last Monday to demand the release of socialists recently arrested — including two Argentinians, Hugo Bressano [Nahuel Moreno] and Rita Strassberg, who face death if they are deported back to Argentina.

position is that the political system is neither democratic nor socialist...

We defend all the dissident cases, but we cannot take a position in relation to these movements as if our role was to inspire or give direction to the changes to be brought about in the Eastern countries...

I believe that if we manage in the West to achieve a democratic pluralist socialism, that will have an enormous impact on the entire world process, starting with the Eastern countries...

We solidarise, and we say it publicly, with all those who are pursued, we demand the right for everyone to express themselves, to live in their own country, and we protest against all breaches of democratic freedoms.

The sole means of taking this situation forward is to create effective zones of freedom where the population can play a more decisive role...

What is necessary is that the workers become masters of their future. How are they going to achieve it? With this party that is part of the state? With this authoritarian state?

I see no other solution than a political revolution which would allow the workers to begin to determine the destinies of the country.

**A political revolution, involving violence?**

How can I make a forecast? How can I give advice? To launch oneself into absurd intrigues or ridiculous predictions would make no sense.

# IRELAND

## 'Republican News' editor arrested

# Paper under siege

THE EDITOR of 'Republican News', Danny Morrison, was 'lifted' in Belfast on 8 September. He is, as we write, being held without charge under the Emergency Provisions Act.

Danny was held in the original raids on 'Republican News' in December last, but was missed when they were repeated in April.

Two members of the United Troops Out Movement were able to see how a resistance newspaper is produced 'under siege conditions' when they were taken to a 'safe house' where a Republican News staff meeting was being held.

Danny Morrison was one of those at the meeting, in a house which might never be used again. The curtains were drawn throughout, while a constant watch was kept for the Army.

At one point an Army patrol hung around in the street outside. 'When it moved on there was a sigh of relief; no need to go over the wall this time', they reported. 'It was hard to realise that this was reality, not a scene from some spy novel.'

Such was the background to this interview with a member of the Republican News staff.

Could you give us an idea of your circulation?

We sell 16,000 copies a week. We could increase it, of course, but not under the present conditions. The organisation involved would have to be massive.

We send about 3,000 copies

abroad. That of course is also important, in that people are reading it and understand the situation and the revolutionary struggle here.

Have the conditions of producing Republican News changed a lot?

The difficulty we have — at this end of it, anyway — is that material coming in to the office through the post is stopped. Some gets through, but very little in comparison to what's in fact sent in.

We can't compile any articles. We can't sit down in the office to try and write articles because the office is visited regularly by the Brits, who in fact are looking for material for Republican News.

The office is surveyed from an Army post across the road and everyone entering the office is photographed.

Now every person whom the Brits have managed to get who has been involved at any level, be it producing or distributing the paper, has been arrested and has been held for a number of days.

Some have been released, fortunately enough, but some of them haven't.

So the people working now on the paper feel that they're liable to be arrested and put away?

No, that's not strictly true. Anybody that's involved in the paper won't be arrested — they will be shot.

That might sound drastic, but that in fact is the case. The people who are involved now would do the same job inside or outside jail. They are determined that the policies, the programme, the explanation for the revolution and situation here will get across.

The Brits are aware of this. And if the Brits find those who are responsible for the production of the paper at the highest level, the Brits will shoot them.

How then is the paper brought out?

It's really very difficult to get the paper out. If the articles come in to the office they are removed; they are taken to a safe house; they are left.

Someone dealing with the paper gets the articles, and takes them to where the paper is being compiled.

The day the paper comes in we have to cause diversions with the Brits to ensure they're not around.

If we're selling papers to a shop, let's say, who may receive fifty copies, we've got to send 25 by foot and 25 by car, so that they are not all got together.

When they are in the shops, they are sold generally below the counter.



KIERAN NUGENT has been 'on the blanket' for two years now for political status. Supporters of the courageous fight by Irish political prisoners picketed Downing Street last Sunday and also demanded the release of Republican News editor, Danny Morrison.

The case before was that all the paper boys had papers to sell. They have now organised themselves, much to their credit.

Half of them watch for the Brits. The other half sell the papers, and they divide

whatever money they make on the paper.

They've in fact developed a system of code, street-by-street, for when the Brits arrive. The kids have different whistles and shouts that they are two streets away or they are one street away.

And they have set aside houses in the street and if they are selling the paper they skate into a house — they run into a house — and they hide until the Brits are gone. And this is the kind of pressure the paper is under.

What do you think the main reasons are that the British are so keen to suppress the paper?

First of all the paper, and those involved in all aspects of the paper, are responsible for the highlighting of H Block.

They are responsible for the Amnesty investigation — indirectly, of course, in that they put out the articles, they caused concern, and people with influence put pressure on Amnesty to come and

investigate.

They also show the lie that the Brits are winning the war.

It is the most important vehicle we have got. It is the only opportunity we have to put our views across, to answer criticisms from either local groups or from the Brits.

The raids weren't directed at IRA volunteers. They were directed at those responsible for the paper, and responsible, if you like, for the public face of Republicanism. Those who meet the press, those who produce the paper, those who meet the people, the Advice Centres that are there for the people.

All the raids — and there were 150 raids in all on that night [27 April] — were directed at the public face.

And you look forward to continuing like this for several years?

We see no let up. In days to come we think that the pressure, if possible, by the Brits will be increased.

# CP cracks down on prisoners campaign

THE SCOTTISH Trades Union Congress, led by the Communist Party and the Broad Left, has reacted quickly against the support given by Edinburgh Trades Council to the campaign for political status for Irish prisoners. CHRISTINE RUSSELL and RON CORMACK report.

A letter from STUC General Secretary Jimmy Milne, a CP member, has subtly reminded the Trades Council, which represents 66,000 Edinburgh workers, that both the STUC and the leaderships of the big unions are against raising the issue.

A further letter from the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, prompted by the STUC, claims that there are no political prisoners in the Six Counties.

Milne has now announced that he will appear in person at Edinburgh Trades Council on 10 October — the first time in many years that an STUC General Secretary has done so.

Edinburgh Trades Council, one of the strongest and best organised in Scotland, was formerly a bastion for the CPGB and a loyal servant of the STUC machinery.

## CRISIS

In the wake of the crisis of the Broad Left strategy in the unions, however, the far left's influence has increasingly grown. Early this year a member of the Socialist Workers Party, Des Loughney, was elected Secretary of the Trades Council.

This is the first time that a

senior elected post in the Scottish trade union movement has been captured by the revolutionary left. And it has sent shivers through the CPGB.

It was the Trades Council's support for the 9 July demonstration called in London by the Prisoners Aid Committee which brought matters to a head. The motion, from ACTSS 7/133/54 and ASIMS insurance branch, was passed on 6 June and duly conveyed to both the STUC and the Home Secretary.

## BIG STICK

As soon as the Trades Council attempted to organise a campaign in support of political status, however, the CPGB began to wield the big stick.

The Council's Executive, still with a CPGB majority, announced that finances were not available for a PAC speaker and ignored delegates' suggestions of a campaign to raise the money.

Now the Executive is trying to shift the focus of the campaign towards condemning the Diplock courts, which it considers less controversial.

A number of Trades Council delegates and the Edinburgh Irish Solidarity Campaign are to launch a campaign to force

the Executive to honour the original motion. A public meeting, sponsored by Edinburgh Socialist Unity

and other groups, will be held on 27 September to publicise the campaign and press for action.



HOLCAUST IT WAS CALLED, THESE NAZIS WERE BEATING THESE JEWS UNTIL THEY COULDN'T WALK THE CELLS WERE FULL OF SHIT, POOR SCOS HAD NO CLOTHES SO THEY WRAPPED THEMSELVES IN BLANKETS. BASTARDS THAT DO THAT TO PEOPLE CAN'T BE HUMAN.

# Trafalgar Square arrests

THREE PEOPLE were arrested in Trafalgar Square on 10 September when the London support group of the Irish Republican Socialist Party and Sinn Fein attempted to intervene in an anti-racist rally organised jointly by the Labour, Liberal, and Tory parties.

Police seized Tony MacNeill, Cornelius Powell, and Jimmy Scanlon after the group had raised an H Block banner and started shouting slogans for 'Troops Out of Ireland' and 'Prisoners Out of Jail'. After appearing in court on 11 September they were remanded

until 2 October.

In a press statement the IRSP comment: 'Our arrests demonstrate the customary partiality of the British police against Irish political activists — of which the notorious PTA is the most obvious example. It has its counterpart in the 'Sus Laws' which are used to keep down the black communities in this country.'

'Indeed, we feel it appropriate to have been taken while demonstrating our opposition to racialism in this country, for we suffer under the same jackboot!'

**T**HE WORST TIME I've had was from my fellow apprentices. They were 16 and I was 19 when I started, so they weren't at exactly the same level at work and they gave me real hell. When we were at college every morning when I walked in they'd say: 'Fuck off, cow. We don't want you'. Every time I did anything they laughed at it. They used to break my pencils, and sometimes hit me.

But I didn't mind being hit so much. I mean, I used to have some fights with them, especially at the beginning, but that was okay. Some of them wouldn't touch me and if anybody talked to me or sat next to me, they'd all laugh at him.

It was a very difficult cycle to break, and it didn't for two years. There were horrific occasions when they used to throw things at me. But I could cope with all of that. It was just the fact that nobody would talk to me.

It was very odd being in this all-male situation. They went through awful rituals the whole time. They were very inhuman to each other. On Friday afternoons they always beat somebody up, with semi-co-operation from the instructors; usually it was the apprentice who got the worst marks that week.

They'd all charge after him, strap him to a bench, take his trousers off, and rub him over with Swarfega. They'd never do much damage, but it was a very brutalising experience.

They used to pick on me, and there was a lad with a slight speech defect they picked on, and another lad who was very small and weedy and used to crawl to the teachers, so they picked on him too. What I couldn't cope with was the fact that nobody ever talked to me, and that really didn't change very much.

I'm really angry with the teachers. I think they thought that if they took any notice of the fact that I was getting such hostile treatment it would get worse. It's like the attitude of many people to racism: ignore it and it'll go away. If it happened blatantly in front of them, if someone hit me, a teacher would probably see them after. But on the whole they just ignored it. So for the first two years, half the time I was with these horrible lads.

**ON SITE**

I was 19 when I began my apprenticeship, which is very old. I'd left school at 18, got a job in a factory and realised that I definitely didn't want to go to university, to learn how to manage other people's lives for them. I thought I'd get a skilled job. I wrote to the local authority and asked what trades they did apprenticeships in. They sent me back a list and when I looked down it I realised for the first time they were all jobs that men did.

I was living in Leeds at the time and I applied to all the firms in the area which took apprentices. I had just one offer, from a very large firm of electrical contractors, which does big jobs like the Humber Bridge as well as lots of smaller ones like hospitals, shops, and railway work.

After two interviews and a test they took me on as an apprentice under the joint industry board scheme. But they had to get an exemption, on account of my age. I started on a 17-year-old's wage, which meant taking home about £14 a week. I'm now on £35 — £1.28 an hour — and when I qualify as an electrician-installer in a year's time I'll get £1.50 an hour.

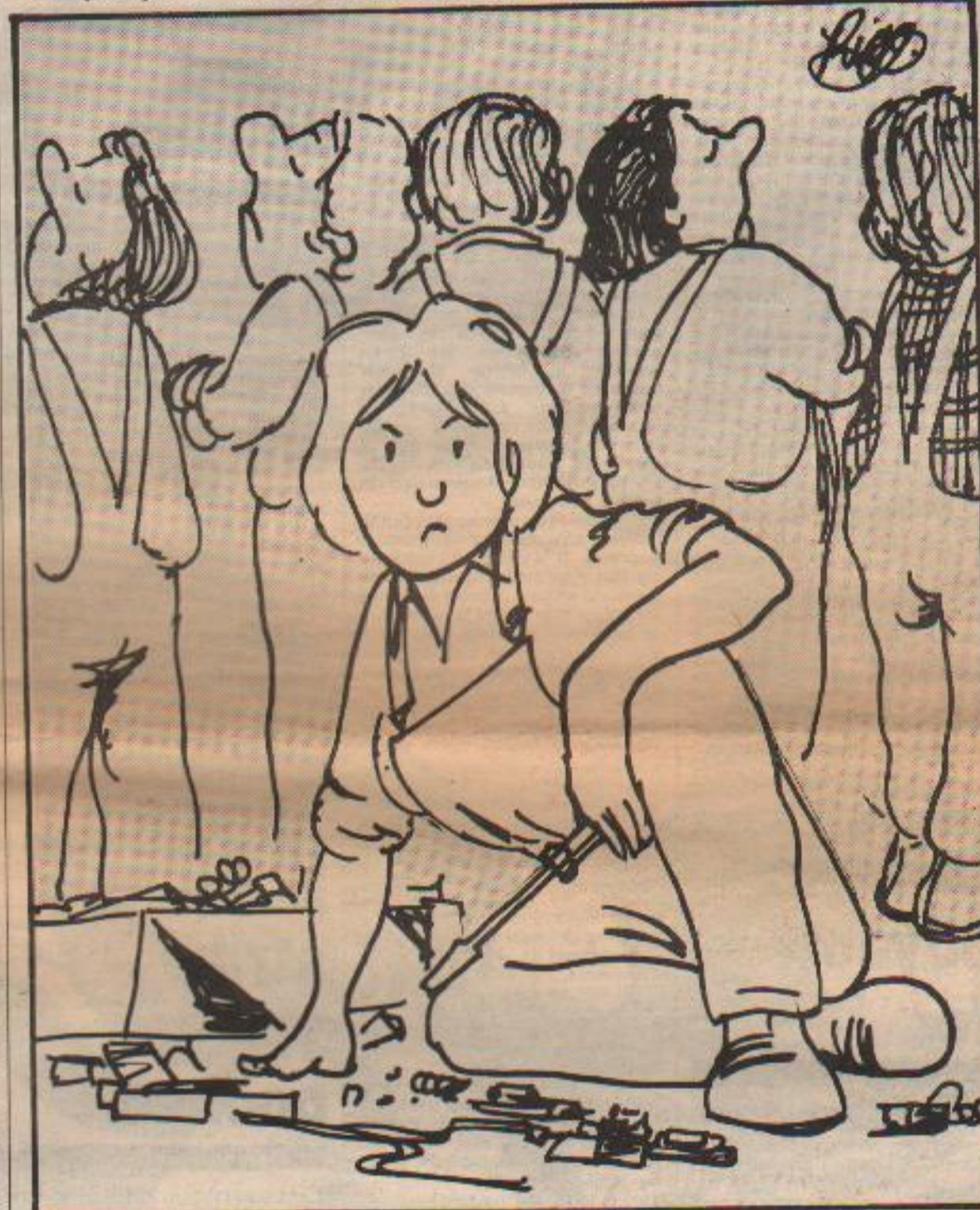
The firm was very surprised that a woman would want to do the job and, I suppose, a bit suspicious. But they took me on. I think they were thinking to the future. They see me going into management so that if in 20 years' time there are women doing these jobs, then it's handy to have a few in higher ranks. It's interesting that a private company should take me on, when British Rail and the Yorkshire Electricity Board turned me down flat.

Starting work on a building site is quite brutalising. Lads were beaten up on site, I think it has to do with proving you're a man. You're working entirely with men, in very horrible situations. As an apprentice you're in a real hierarchy and you are at the bottom with the rubbish jobs and people picking on you the whole time.

There is really witty repartee, which is great, but quite often it

# 'Nobody would talk to me' At work — woman electrician

IN A YEAR'S time, JENNY will qualify as an electrician-installer. Her training began three years ago, when she was 19, and Jenny will almost certainly be the first woman in Britain to qualify under the electrical industry's apprenticeship scheme. Jenny's experience has been bad and good, as she describes here



centres on destroying someone, and that's nearly always an apprentice. There's a big tradition about apprentices, about toughening them up. An apprentice walks on the site and you hit him. 'What's that for?' he asks. 'You haven't done nothing yet, but that's for when you do'.

I've never had that from a man. But that was what the lads were going through, and they took it out on me, probably because they saw me as a threat to their masculinity. Although I was working in just as unpleasant a situation as them, they wouldn't believe that; and even when I was working on the same job they just didn't believe it and thought I got all the cushy jobs. I was shouted at left, right and centre.

The really nice thing about working on site is the people and the social atmosphere. There are a lot of different people; you're moving around the whole time, from site to site, every two months, six months, whatever. People are coming and going, the various different contractors, and most building sites are very friendly places.

You go into all sorts of situations. If it's a new building there's all these contractors around, and you're chatting to the labourers and the heating engineers. If it's an existing building, say a hospital, everything is

going on just as though you weren't there. Everyone ignores you because you're just the electrician, and you watch the life of the hospital going on around you. Nurses bringing you cups of tea and things.

A lot of the women are very supportive and gang up with me against the other electricians. You also get older women who worked in engineering during the war and they're really moved to see me. They are quite excited and say: 'You're doing a great job'. Quite often women say: 'I always wanted to be a mechanic. Now I'm a nurse', or: 'Our Janet says she wants to do this'.

That's really nice, but the job is also badly paid and filthy. The architects and the engineers don't talk to electricians. People really look down on you and never ask your opinion about anything. Building workers know what's going on, but don't see that they have any power to change anything. A lot of them are very reactionary.

There's this creed that if you work hard enough you can make it and a lot of people seem to believe it. There's also a lot of self-employed people, either lump working or very small businesses.

I've yet to work with a militant electrician. There's very little organisation, in spite of the closed

shop. Few go to meetings — just 20 of us turn up at the Bradford branch of the Electricians' Union, which is pretty much moribund. My political involvement in the town was mainly with the Socialist Unity campaign.

On site they all find it quite difficult at first to accept working with a woman. Mind you, I do as well. They've never dreamt of working with a woman before and suddenly there I am.

The first week on a site is always awful. The first morning I walk into the canteen, there's a hundred blokes there and the walls are covered with page three from the Sun. A hush falls over the canteen and I shake all over. Then during the first week there's the same old comments which become very boring, the same jokes again and again.

If I'm sweeping up it's always: 'A woman's work is never done', or: 'I bet you're good at that.' There's jokes about boyfriends and when I'm going to get married. They say: 'Oh, is your boyfriend a ballet dancer?' And there's always a big discussion about whether they can swear in front of me.

They see me on a completely different level from their wife. For a lot of them, the only way they can cope with me is to pretend I'm a boy. It really annoys me. People call me Fred and say 'good lad'. I always

say, No, I'm not a lad. That's one way they cope with me being there, and they're surprised I don't want to be an honorary man and that I insist I am a woman. And that I couldn't care less about people swearing in front of me, but I don't want to be sworn at.

That's a very tricky issue. Normally they don't swear in front of a lady, so if I allow myself to be sworn in front of that means I'm not a lady so I'm not the same kind of person as their wife, while I'm trying to say I am like their wife.

One of the ways in which they cope with me is to deny me any sexuality, and that happened particularly with the apprentices. But it also happens a bit on site. There's pressure on you to be like a man, partly because you're wearing these clothes; you learn to sit with your legs apart and walk around taking big strides.

And you begin to become confused about what female sexuality is. Then they get out the pornography or they'll comment on all the women walking by and it's a horrible experience because you can't join in, you just feel very isolated and miserable.

I used to be very worried about pornography; very embarrassed and hurt. Now I just say: 'It's about time you learned to read'.

Everyone knows me now and I tend to get made the pet of the site. I walk on the site and twenty people say good morning to me. A lot of people are very nice to me; mood my roofs when they break; talk to me — in a way they don't talk to each other; about their hopes, their disappointments, family life; whereas in the canteen it's always cars and politics, mostly issues raised in that day's newspaper.

**RESPONSES**

There are basically three kinds of responses to me. Some people are supportive, and very nice and take a lot of trouble and interest in teaching me. And mostly if I work with one person they finish up being that way however they started. Some feel threatened by me and make a lot of horrible remarks. Others can't really cope, so they ignore me.

I may be getting on very well with the bloke I'm working with, but quite often there's a lot of problems created by the other blokes. If I'm working for a couple of weeks with another apprentice — this happened recently — he and I got on and we worked together well, dividing the work fairly equally. But if ever the other blokes saw me being in charge of some particular stage of the operation they'd always say to the other apprentice: 'Don't let her be the boss. Watch out, she'll be taking your job soon.'

That threw him into the position of having to defend giving me equality. There's always a vague fear in their mind that in a year's time there'll be hundreds of women pouring on the site. They'll say: 'We don't mind you but we don't want any more'. They feel threatened that women will take their jobs, skilled jobs.

There is a 16-year-old girl who starts at my firm this month. I just hope to god she doesn't go through what I went through. It'll be a bit easier for her. I find it tremendously encouraging. You get to the stage where you think, well, why should any woman ever want to do this job? In your head you know that it is a good job and that it's a lot better than being a packer or a factory worker and that it's important women do this kind of work, otherwise women can just be dismissed. Then a 16-year-old starts, and I thought, I wasn't mad, I was right!

I think the main political impact I've had is simply by blokes seeing me there and working with me. This makes quite an impression on people. Quite often they are surprised when I jump to the defence of, say, their wife when they run their own wife down. When they make anti-women jokes they expect me to laugh and it takes them a while to work out why I'm not laughing and why I'm attacking them. It makes them think again.

This contribution by JENNY is taken from a conversation with GEOFFREY SHERIDAN. If you know someone — perhaps yourself! — who could make a good subject for our At Work series, do let us know.

## Right to unite

I'M GLAD you reported (14 September) the scandalous police attacks on the Right to Work marchers at the TUC. Contrary to what the popular press would have us believe, the march definitely represented the whole spectrum of unemployment in Britain. I talked to school-leavers who had never had a job, to unemployed graduates, and to a 55-year-old ex-miner — all wanting the right to work.

The basis has now been laid for a mass youth unemployment campaign which links up with the labour movement on a political programme and answers the capitalists' 'unemployment industry'. To do this it has to come to grips with the problem of building a single united campaign.

But unfortunately the talk of unity on this march was overshadowed by sectarianism from the comrades of the SWP. I took part in the march, and I had to put up with anti-IMG songs even while we were marching. I was systematically excluded from any of the march committees 'because I was a member of the IMG'.

Not only is such behaviour very demoralising for comrades outside the SWP, but it is also not the way to build a united front against youth unemployment. Political debate we would welcome — in fact in Manchester we arranged such a debate. But such petty sectarianism shows nothing except a lack of understanding on how to advance the campaign.

Such a campaign should be based on the demands put forward by Tony Cliff in a recent *Socialist Worker* article: five days' work or five days' pay; 35-hour week without loss of pay; nationalisation without compensation of all firms threatening closure or redundancies; occupations of all firms threatening closure or redundancies.

These demands lay the basis for a real united front with a strategy for linking up with the labour movement and forcing it to fight with the unemployed.

GRAHAM HINDLE (Manchester)

## View of independents

TARIQ ALI's article 'The Case of the Non-Sectarian Sectarian' (7 September) made me very angry. He said that it is the duty of all true revolutionaries to join an organisation, due to the 'primacy of politics'. He dismisses the autonomous movements of women, blacks, and gays as mere 'cultural movements' who have no understanding of political power or of the nature of the state.

I am not a member of an organisation (I am ex-Big Flame), and I'm involved in a whole range of



political activities. I am not 'against organisation'. What I'm against is the blinkered and arrogant thinking expressed in Ali's article.

Politics, strategies, theories are not the sole preserve of organisations. At least as often as not, the comrades most committed to consistent work within all areas of political activity are independents. To pose the question of the way forward for revolutionaries, and of unity, as simply a debate between organisations is to deny the tremendous contribution of independents.

Some of us are not in organisations because their structures are seen as patriarchal, and the human needs and feelings of the members denied. Some of us are not in organisations because we have experienced manipulation and opportunism.

Others of us are not in organisations because they are not committed enough to our particular campaign. There are a whole variety of other reasons. Some people simply haven't got the time.

People remain independents because of the failings of organisations, rather than because of some psychological failings on the part of *Leveller* readers. When revolutionary organisations take more account of human feelings, and when they consistently put the movement before the party, then many more people will be attracted to them. But it will take both time and consistency for trust to be built up.

TONY HARRIS (Leeds)

## Olympic boycott for

I FEEL that Martin Meteyard's argument against a campaign to boycott the Moscow Olympics (7 September) contains serious flaws. The campaigning perspectives he proposes are exactly the same as those proposed by opponents of a boycott of the World Cup — with demands for no limitations on reporting, for the right of free movement, and so on. These were ineffective against Argentina and will be equally ineffective against Russia.

Comrade Meteyard asks what the effect of a boycott campaign would be. A Thatcher/NAFF-backed cam-

paign may have little impact on the regime, but a labour movement campaign against the Moscow bureaucracy could give added momentum to groups campaigning for democratic rights.

A boycott campaign against Moscow would also be a setback to the regime's attempts to increase its prestige by the national chauvinism that will inevitably surround its Olympic effort, and this could well serve as a spur to the repressed nationalities fighting for self-determination in states of the USSR such as Lithuania and the Ukraine.

Of course we should not support any campaign backed by anti-working class forces. We should combine a labour movement campaign to boycott the Olympics with merciless attacks on the hypocrisy of the right wing — their failure to campaign for a boycott of the World Cup, their support for Britain's violations of human rights in Ireland, and so on.

If we fail to do this, we are open to the same accusations of using double standards. It is not good enough to say that Argentinian 'dissidents' are murdered whereas Russian dissidents are only sent to forced labour camps or psychiatric hospitals. We cannot start playing a sort of numbers game with repressed peoples — saying that the USSR is not the number one culprit, so we should not campaign quite as vigorously against its violations of human rights as we would against Argentina's.

Comrade Meteyard implies in his article that we should not support a boycott campaign because such a campaign would help Cold Warriors 'to whip up feeling against the Soviet Union in order to justify repression at home'. We must reject the bourgeoisie's terms of reference.

The single most effective ideological weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the weapon used most effectively to disorient the working class, is the fact that they can point to the Soviet Union and claim that Stalinist dictatorship is what socialists stand for.

The best way to undermine these reactionaries and aid those struggling for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe is to show that we defend democratic rights consistently, unlike our right-wing enemies.

IAN HARRISON (Oxford)

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

## ...and against

IT WAS really good to see the article on the Moscow Olympics (7 September). However, the way that Martin Meteyard posed the question is misleading.

Surely the crucial question is the class nature of the Soviet Union. If you argue (as *Socialist Challenge* and the IMG do) that the Soviet Union is a workers state that has degenerated with the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, our answer should be clear. Martin Meteyard got this right when he said that any boycott campaign would only benefit imperialism.

His solution, though, was decidedly weak. Yes, it is important to protest against the specific conditions of repression, but we must go further than this. In response to the resurrected Cold Warriors, we must say that we are willing to support a campaign in favour of participation in the 1980 Moscow Olympics.

Such a campaign would allow us to reach into every nook and cranny in a protest against the hypocrisy of the ruling class when it comes to human rights.

MIKE BARR (SE London)

## Lump strike — you boobed

I AM WRITING to disclaim responsibility for the article headlined 'Lump looms on construction site' which was published last week under my by-line. I want to put the facts straight.

Malvern Construction handed redundancy notices to two brickies, including Dave Coull, the senior steward, who couldn't even receive his notice because he was on holiday!

The excuse given for these 'redundancies' was that there wasn't enough work. This was rubbish. The company has been increasing the number of subcontractors on the site.

A 'company' calling itself Bartrose construction receives £25 a day per man from Malvern and pays its workers £10 a day, no holiday stamps, etc. Even if they were fiddling the dole it would still add up to less than our members are getting.

Our strike is for the reinstatement of the workers made redundant, and also the removal of all 'lump labour' from the site. The contract is for Camden Council who have a clause included in all their contracts with private firms specifying that all workers on the job should be directly employed by the main contractor except in the case of specialised trades.

The article published contained a number of factual errors. The whole of the original workforce has not been laid off. There has not been one hundred per cent union membership since April last year. It was only in April this year that we started organising. It was only achieved in July this year around the time of the national pay award.

However, the most disturbing feature of the article was the reference to Dave Coull. What possible explanation could there be for a specific criticism of his views on abortion? The effect of this reference could only dampen support for our struggle. To quote the article: 'Dave Coull, who happens to have strong anti-abortion views'.

The accusation is not absolutely true. Dave is not pro-abortion but neither is he a supporter of SPUC, which the article makes him appear. Statements of this kind fail to educate readers on issues such as abortion (which I support) or aid the struggle which the article is supposed to be about. Where do we draw the line? Do we only call for support for trade union militants who possess the correct revolutionary programme? I am not saying trade union militants are beyond criticism. The question is how do we criticise them.

Our strike has still not been made official by either the TGWU or UCATT. We are not receiving any strike pay or social security. Contributions to our strike fund and messages of support to: Mick Gay, c/o Bread & Roses, 30 Camden Rd, London NW1.

DEREK BROUGH (Chairperson, Malvern Strike Committee, London NW6)

# SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

### NORTH WEST

WARRINGTON Socialist Challenge group meets regularly. Ring Manchester Socialist Challenge offices for details. 061-236 2362.

GREATER MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge. School students who support the paper and would like to get involved in anti-fascist activity, please contact Chris (273 5847), day or Steve (226 4287, evening) or write to Manchester SC Centre, 14 Piccadilly.

SALFORD Socialist Challenge supporters can be contacted at the Manchester Socialist Challenge office, Tel 061-235 2362 or by writing to Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre, c/o 14 Piccadilly, Manchester.

LEIGH Socialist Challenge group will be holding regular meetings shortly. For details ring Roy on Alherton 88 2890.

LIVERPOOL Speke Socialist Challenge Group meets every Wednesday at Noah's Ark pub, Speke. 8pm.

### SOUTH MANCHESTER

Socialist Challenge group meets every other Thursday at the Albert Inn, off Wilmslow Rd. Has full Socialist Challenge between 11.30am and 1pm at Moss Side shopping centre or Longsight Market, Dickenson Rd.

### NORTH EAST

NEWCASTLE Socialist Challenge local supporters are active. If you want to join them, phone Pete on (3632) 29057.

DURHAM Socialist Challenge Supporters Group. For details contact: Dave Brown, 2 Pinner Cottages, Low Pitington, Durham.

MIDDLESBROUGH Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside entrance to Cleveland Centre (opp. Woolworths) 11am to 1pm. Socialist Challenge is also available from Harrison's (Newsagent) in Linthorpe Road.

### LONDON

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

### WALTHAM FOREST

paper sales every Saturday 11am-noon outside the post office, Hoe St, Walthamstow, London E17.

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge Group meets fortnightly. For details phone 247 2777. Next meeting: Organising a lightbox in the public sector, Thurs, 28 Sept, 7.30pm, at Oxford House, Derbyshire St, E2. All Socialist Challenge supporters welcome.

HARINGEY Socialist Challenge public meeting: 'After the Carnival — what next?' Wed, 27 Sept, 7pm, at West Green Community Centre, Stanley Rd, N15.

CAMDEN Socialist Challenge Group public meeting on 'The Labour Government and 5 years here Labour'. Speaker: Stephen Marks, ISA, Wed 27 Sept, 8pm at Camden Neighbourhood Centre, 12 Greenland Rd, London N1.

WALTHAMSTOW readers can buy Socialist Challenge regularly from Shende's Newsagents, 85 Hoe St, E17.

LEYTON readers can buy Socialist Challenge from Pat's Newsagents, 295 Lea Bridge Road, E10.

### LONDON

fund-raising film show: 'Europe After the Rain', Mick Gold's highly praised documentary on the Socialist movement. Friday 13 Oct, 7.30pm, at London Film Makers Co-op, 42 Gloucester Ave, NW1, Admission 50p.

### SOUTH WEST

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

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

BRISTOL Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday, 11am-1pm in the 'Hole in the Ground', Haymarket.

### YORKSHIRE

LEEDS Socialist Challenge Group meeting. Building an anti-racist, anti-fascist movement. Thurs 21 Sept, 8pm, Leeds Trades Club, Saville Room, Leeds 7.

DEWSBURY Socialist Challenge sales regularly on Saturday mornings in Wakefield at the NZ Westminster Bank, 12.30-2.00pm.

HUDDERSFIELD Socialist Challenge Group meets next Thurs 25 Sept, 8pm.

### FRIENDLY & TRADES CLUB, NORTHUMBERLAND ST, LEEDS

socialist

HUDDERSFIELD Socialist Challenge sales regularly Saturdays 11.30am-1pm in the Piazza.

YORK Socialist Challenge is on sale at the York Community Bookshop, 73 Walmgate or from sellers on Thursdays (12.30-1.45) at York University, Vanbrugh College, Saturdays (11.30-1.30) at Cony Street.

### MIDLANDS

For details of activities at local supporters throughout the Midlands contact the Socialist Challenge Centre, 76a Digheth High Street, Birmingham: (021) 643 9209.

### SOUTH EAST

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

DOLCHESTER Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly. For details phone Steve on Winton 2949.

### BATH Socialist Challenge sales every

Saturday 2pm-3.30pm outside Map Fishers, Ring Bath 20220 or 29977 for further details of activities.

SOLE OF WIGHT readers can buy Socialist Challenge from the Oz Shop, 44 Union Street in Ryde.

### SCOTLAND

For information about the paper or its supporters' activities throughout Scotland please contact Socialist Challenge Books, 84 Queen St, Glasgow. Open Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday afternoons. Phone for alternative arrangements: (221) 7481. Wide range of Fourth International publications.

EDINBURGH Socialist Challenge supporters group meets regularly. Phone George at 031-346 0466 for details.

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

# Why workers must work harder, produce more and ask for less...

by  
Leon  
Rosselson

So that the wheels  
So that the wheels may continue  
So that the wheels may continue to turn,  
So that the wheels may turn  
Hours into ashes, days into dust, seasons into  
stone.

So that the turners of wheels may die of  
boredom every day, every day,  
Until one day they die of boredom.  
So that old age pensioners may feast on  
cardboard sandwiches and flasks of cough  
medicine.  
So that our pensions may be protected against  
inflation by investment in Cancer  
Incorporated.

So that the dust may drift,  
So that Bernard Levin may lay his moderately  
well-formed turds on the graveyard pages of  
The Times.  
So that children's heads may be marooned on  
high-rise traffic islands.  
So that we may all join the equal opportunity  
queues to be tranquillised, barbituised,  
amphetamised, hypnotised, exorcised,  
Lymbollised, expurgated, tabulated,  
regulated, stamped and sedated.  
So that the Archbishop of Canterbury may stir  
the teacup of the soul with the silver spoon of  
God.  
So that money-lenders may lend money to pay  
interest on money borrowed from

money-lenders to pay interest on money  
borrowed from money-lenders to pay  
money-lenders.  
So that the dust may rise.  
So that we may be free to choose between  
Tuberculosis International and the British  
Bronchitis Corporation.  
So that a regiment of Redcoats from Butlins

may lick our dreams into the proper shape for  
knock-out competitions.  
So that the ears may be filled with the din that  
the hands produce for the eyes to consume  
that the heart may wither away.  
So that oil-slick executives may dine out at  
Annabel's.  
So that allotments may be transformed into  
concrete memorials for the dead.  
So that the poor may dig dust from the earth for  
the wealthy to bury in vaults.  
So that our children may have bank accounts.  
So that the balance of terror may be maintained.  
So that the dust may fall.  
So that the meek may inherit the earth because  
they haven't the strength to refuse.  
So that the lungs may be lined with the dust that  
kills  
So that the blood may be choked with the dust  
that kills  
So that the mind may be logged with the dust  
that kills.  
So that the dust may kill.  
So that we may count the ashes until tomorrow,  
when, with energy, or after tomorrow, with  
determination, or after tomorrow, with a  
great national effort, or some time in the dust  
to come, when the stone is ripe, our children,  
or their children, or their children's children,  
or their children's children's children may —  
If the dust — know what it is — if the dust  
doesn't — to be — if the dust doesn't get  
them — Happy.

# Socialist Challenge

## Camp David peace show

# Begin nominated for Oscar

THE AMERICAN extravaganza 'Meeting at Camp David' has swept a number of Oscar awards, the highest honours awarded by the entertainment industry. Carter was nominated as Best Director, Begin as Best Actor, and Sadat as Best Supporting Actor. TARIQ ALI reports.

It was Jerusalem all over again. The dramatic entry, the handshakes, the warm embraces, the euphoric jokes, the world press, the servile and sycophantic response of Callaghan, Owen, et al.

Carter was beaming as he thought of the likelihood that his popularity (at an all time low) might increase somewhat.

Just after the Jerusalem summit Sadat lost his then Foreign Minister. After Camp David the present Foreign Minister, Ibrahim Kamal, resigned in protest against the agreements.

The settlements amount to a clear victory for Begin and the Zionist state.

### SETTLERS

The Western press is naturally presenting it as a difficult decision for Israel. They will have to forcibly remove the ultra-Zionist settlers from parts of the West Bank, etc.

In reality the Israelis have got what they were demanding at the Jerusalem summit. Sadat has accepted the idea of a separate peace with Israel.

In so doing he has put the interests of the Egyptian ruling class and state before those of the Arab world as a whole, not to mention those who are still suffering the consequences of the victories of Zionism ever

since 1948.

For the settlements amount to a typical mixture of colonialism and paternalism as far as the Palestinians are concerned. 'Self-government' for five years under Israeli supervision is a classic ploy culled from the textbooks of British imperialism.

### PALESTINIANS

The very fact that the Palestinians were not even consulted by those who claim to speak on their behalf tells us a lot more than the verbiage unleashed by the propaganda apparatus of Washington, Tel Aviv, and Cairo.

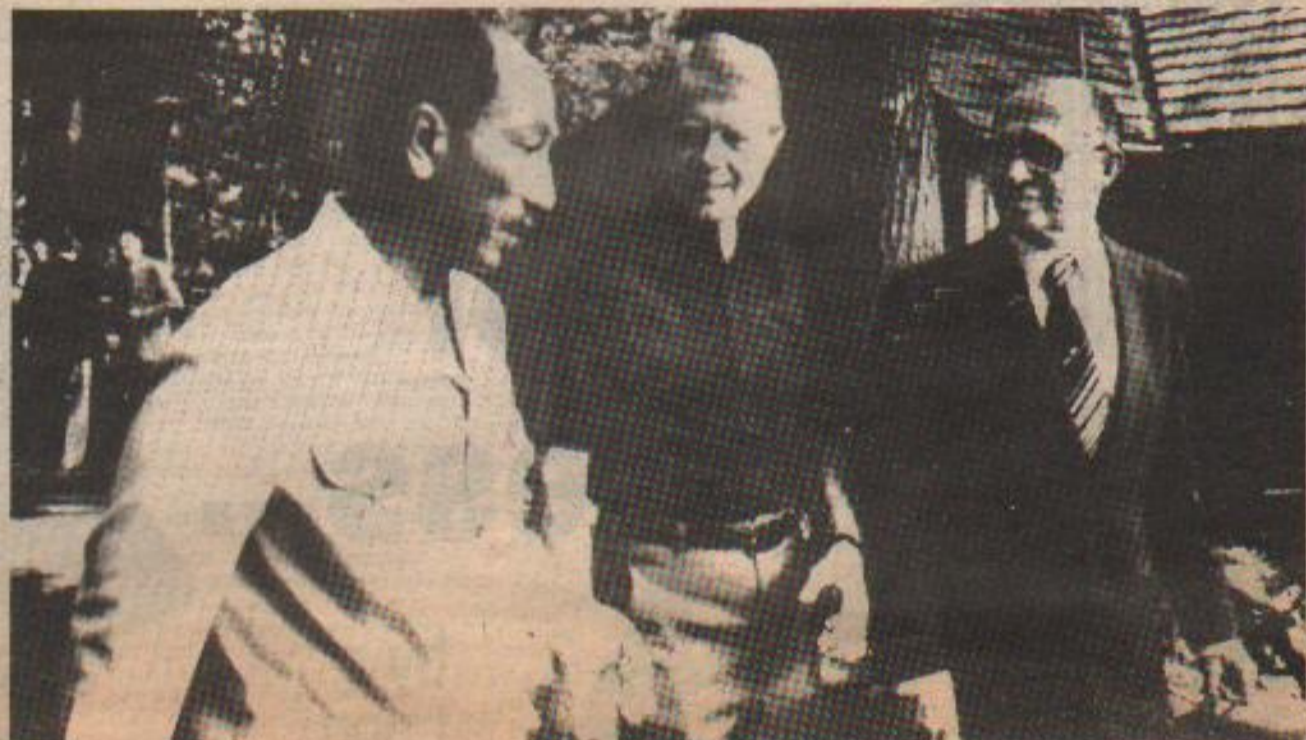
Sadat's main aim was to secure his position at home. His prestige was at a low ebb and he had been considerably weakened by the debacle of the Jerusalem summit.

Now he has accepted what he refused in November 1977. Then he said that his purpose was not 'to conclude a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel'.

### MASSES

He would therefore be foolish to imagine that the Egyptian masses will receive the settlements with joy, regardless of all the American aid which he has no doubt been promised.

Begin will present the settle-



ments as a victory for Zionist diplomacy: a separate agreement, a puppet administration on the West Bank, and Egyptian recognition of the Zionist state and its frontiers as permanent.

Of course the extreme right will complain that he has

pledged not to occupy more territory and to control Zionist expansionism for the time being, but the bulk of the country will support him. Though given Begin's own past and not-so-past positions, he might be hoisted on his own petard.

### NO SOLUTION

For the Palestinian Arab masses the struggle will go on. But the Camp David settlement will compel them, against their will, to intervene politically in the Arab states — to develop organisations which are not 'neutral' on the domestic or the international policy of Sadat or Khalid, Hussein or Assad, Gaddafi or Boumediene.

The Camp David settlements will, in our opinion, not solve the central issue posed after the establishment of Israel: the demand of the Palestinians for their own homeland.



**END MARTIAL LAW IN IRAN!**  
**NO ARMS FOR THE SHAH!**  
**FREE ALL IRANIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

PUBLIC MEETING (followed by Torchlight march to 10 Downing St)  
Friday 22 September, 7.30pm  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1

Speakers:  
BOB WRIGHT, Asst. Gen. Sec., AUEW  
TARIQ ALI, Editor, Socialist Challenge  
IRENE BRENNAN, Executive Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain  
TONY CLIFF, Editor, Socialist Worker  
PHIL FRAMPTON, National Chairperson, Labour Party Young Socialists  
A representative of CARI

LIZ THURGOOD, recently expelled Guardian correspondent in Iran, has also been invited.

Organised by the Committee Against Repression in Iran [CARI]

## OUR FUND DRIVE

SOCIALIST Challenge supporters in Tower Hamlets met last week to set up an active group in East London. A committee was elected — with two independent revolutionaries and two IMG members — to make proposals about

future activities and debates. The need to have regular group sales of the paper was stressed by many comrades at the meeting, and supporters will be discussing a regular local bulletin to get the paper's policies on local struggles

known. Tower Hamlets is not alone in its efforts to reorganise the paper's supporters. Leamington Spa sellers are on the streets once again, and several other towns have increased their orders.

With these kind of steps being taken, it is not surprising that two contributions to the fund drive this week come from the efforts of the paper's supporters groups. Cardiff comrades sent in £3.50 and from Bath came £42.58 from

the sale of books, badges, and so on at the Socialist Challenge stall at the Walcot Festival. Thanks to an anonymous donation of £100, almost £200 arrived at our offices this week. The £197.48 brings the total to £1734.65 — and another £800 to go before the end of September.

### GOOD APPLES

One novel way to help the fund drive this week came from the efforts of a local supporter in Camden who brought into our offices a bag of apples freshly picked from his tree. A quick sale brought us £3.93.

Our thanks this week to:

Sale of apples	£3.93
Ed Mahood	10.00
M Baer	5.00
M Eady	5.00
B Drummond	10.00
Anon	100.00
Cardiff supporters	3.50
Contribution from Symposium	5.47
A Wrapson	10.00
Bath supporters	42.58
P Bellis	1.00
Anon	1.00
Total	£197.48

THERE COMES a time when even the most open and honest newspaper is obliged to admit that it has been cloaking a skeleton.

We think our news coverage is quite good really. But if you've ever thought that it sometimes looks that up-to-the-minute touch, we have to admit there is a certain reason for this.

While we purchase and file every national daily and a good many magazines besides, our office lacks the other connection that practically every home enjoys.

Yes, we don't have a radio or a telly. Can you help us out? We would be delighted to take delivery of any functioning model, or even a defunct one if the repairs will not be too costly. Thank you for your attention.

**LOTTERY WINNER**  
The agony's over. On Monday we made the draw in our Summer Lottery, and the winner is the holder of ticket 000205, who lives in Liverpool. They win either a Yacht Boy [sic] 1100 transistor radio or, if preferred, a £50 book token.

## SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Domestic: 6 months, £5; 12 months, £10  
Abroad: Airmail, £16.50. Surface, £10 per annum.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose a donation for the Fighting Fund of \_\_\_\_\_

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

Complete and return to:

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