# Socialist Challenge

# ASIANS UNITE AGAINST THE NAZIS

The racist attacks, the fire-bombs and the harasment of Asians in the East End of London still continues.

- ■On Saturday 29 July a meeting in Southall attended by all the major Asian organisations in the country endorse voted to the sentiments expressed in the letter from the Indian Workers Association and the Conference Standing Pakistani Organisations convening the meeting. The letter stated:
- Asian Welfare Organisations have resisted pressures in encouraging their members to join self-defence groups in face of attacks and in spite of considerable apathy from the supposed forces of law and order.
- We now believe that the time has come when we must urge our people to look to their own defence. The leading ethnic minority groups in Britain should be supporting each other in a practical and effective sense,

measures as are needed for the physical defence of our various peoples.

all Asians to join the Anti Nazi League, which we regard as the best Anti-Nazi movement in Britain so far.'

The meeting agreed to make

from taking over their pitch at the top of Brick Lane. This enraged the NF and they attacked a number of ANL activists who were painting out racist slogans. Five ANL supporters were accordingly arrested by the police,

The same day a gang of NF youths attacked Graham

tion of the 'guardians of law and order'.

# immense symbolic importance for the Nazis. It's at the centre of the area they regard as their stronghold; the area where Webster and Tyndall will be standing in the General Election. Their presence at the top of Brick Lane is a threat to the people who live and work in the area. The assault on Graham Turner is only the latest incident.

■The Anti Nazi League is calling on every anti-racist to make this a priority. Brick Lane is our Lane. We want it back. If we want to enjoy the market, to shop, to eat, to live in peace, we must safeguard it against pollution. Sunday after Sunday we must be there to show our solidarity with all the people who are the victims of racist violence. On 20 August we will have the support of people from throughout Britain. But WE must be there on 27 August as well and every Sunday until the elections are over.

# BRICK LANE DAY OF NATIONAL SOLIDARITY 20 AUGUST

### EDINBURGH ANL CARNIVAL — SEE PAGE 6

20 August a day of national solidarity with Brick Lane and pledged contingents from all over the country to show the unity and solidarity of Asians with their brothers and sisters in Brick Lane.

■The following Sunday 600 anti-fascists prevented the NF

Turner, a white street trader, who together with other traders had issued a statement calling for an end to the violence.

Turner was badly beaten up, presumably a reason why he could not be arrested. His attackers escaped the atten-

NO MORE RACIST MURDERS

### **EDITORIAL**

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

### The defence strike

THE DECISION by manual workers in Britain's 'defence bases' to call a one-day strike on 2 August has sent shock waves through the ruline class.

The reason for concern is not the workers' demand for an extra £5 a week to bring wages into line with those of workers in nationalised shipbuilding firms and other outside industries. It is rather the precedent these workers are establishing.

The strike was due to involve 180,000 civilians at all service bases.

The strike was due to involve 180,000 civilians at all service bases in the country. Four Labour ministers — Fred Mulley [Defence]. Jim Wellbeloved [RAF], Patrick Duffy [Navy] and Robert Brown [Army] — organised an immediate meeting with service and British intelligence chiefs to discuss 'what might happen if NATO went on to a war footing in circumstances that did not meet with the approval of British trade unions'.

For it is a fact that trade unions are quite capable of paralysing a number of complex and delicate defence mechanisms. And why not? Suppose British troops were sent to crush workers in a NATO country in Europe and British trade unionists were opposed to the action. Should they stand idly by while their fellow workers are crushed?

The increase in unionisation and wage militancy does not automatically imply an increase in political consciousness. But it does establish a framework through which actions could be mounted if a political situation crupts which leads to a rapid change in consciousness.

The calling of the strike by defence workers therefore marks an important advance. Of necessity, it also raises another question: the unionisation of soldiers and sailors in this country. Their right to join a trade union is an important democratic right which still has to be won.

# Soviet dissenters and the Morning Star'

THE OUTRAGEOUS bomb attack on the Morning Star was undoubtedly the work of right-wing extremists annoyed by the growing anti-Nazi coverage in the paper.

But there are others who must be almost as scandalised by what has recently appeared in the paper. Sid French and the New Communist Party must have found Tony Chater's two articles on the trials of dissidents in the USSR (in the 27 and 28 July Issues) extremely distasteful. And John Foster and the Glasgow oppositionists couldn't have been too pleased either.

Chater's articles strongly criticised the treatment of dissidents, gently chided the bureaucracy, and explained that socialism was weakened and not strengthened by these trials. But while the publication of these articles is a tiny step forward, it nonetheless shows the extreme caution of the CPGB leadership. For Chater refuses to go the whole way. He stops short of his own logic.

He writes: 'The freer the confrontation of differing views and assessments, the more the collective wisdom of the society as a whole will be brought to bear in seeking the correct path forward.' Good. We agree. But how can there be a 'confrontation of differing views' within the framework established by the existing structures of the Soviet state?

Who decides what views are acceptable or not? The 'collective wisdom of society as a whole'? Fine, but how is this expressed? Revolutionary Marxist opponents of Stalinism have consistently (starting with Trotsky) argued that the political monopoly of the bureaucracy has to be broken; that to carry out this task will require mass struggles, and that on the beels of these we shall see the establishment of socialist democracy.

Chater writes: 'Those who present the Soviet Union as a monolithic dictatorship devoid of all discussion are drawing a grotesque caricature of reality.' This is an empty assertion unless Chater means that discussions take place on the Politburo. They do. But on the cultural and literary fronts there is less discussion than there was in the Khrushchev period. And in the sphere of politics the monopoly of the bureaucracy is supreme.

Is Chater for pluralism in the USSR? Is he for rights of tendencies and factions in the CPSU as existed in that party at the height of the Civil War? Is what exists in the USSR today a dictatorship of the proletariat as Lenin conceived it — a society a 'million times more democratic' than the most advanced bourgeois democracy? And if not, why not? These are the questions which the Morning Star cannot answer.

And lustly: it is correct to defend the Soviet dissidents regardless of their politics. But why no serious article on Rudolf Bahro? Why no campaign to demand his release? The ruling classes in the West are not interested in Bahro, but we most certainly are. Is the Morning Star?

### THE FIRST WORD

# Big turnout for Communist University Triumph for Eurocommunism?

'EUROCOMMUNISM triumphs again' — that was the verdict of Geoff Roberts, Communist University of London organiser, after the nine-day event. It was attended this year by 1,000 full-time and 600 part-time students, of whom between 50 and 60 per cent were women. CLIVE TURNBULL reports.

If Eurocommunism triumphed it was by default. The central leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain hardly entered the fray in the keynote dehates and courses. When it did the results were lamentable.

In the 'Retrospect on Czechoslovakia '68', Jack Woddis, head of the CP's International Department, could only shrug his shoulders at questions on the Soviet invasion and East European dissidents, and bleat: 'What could we have done?'

could we have done?'

The answer had been given earlier by CP member George Bridges—the same as is done on any other issue. He called for active campaigns against the trials and imprisonment of dissidents, rather than just token statements belatedly printed in the Morning Star.

In the forum on Ireland, a Socialist Challenge supporter called on the CPGB to support the fight by H Block prisoners for political status, and the Tribunal on the role of British troops.

Irene Brennan, a member of the CP's Political Committee, was reduced to saying that they 'had a point, but there is no broad movement on Ireland in this country'. Which is precisely why campaigns like these need to be built.

#### HOTHOUSE

The CUL is something of a hothouse. The party leadership seems to be quite happy for all sorts of ideas to grow in its rarefied environment, secure in the knowledge that few will survive to penetrate the party outside.

In the CUL anything goes. At a forum with the authors of Marx's Capital and Capitalism Today, the notion of Marxism

as a science was questioned.

As was pointed out, this would leave a socialist utopian vision of the future plus today's reality, with no points of reference for advance from one to the other — a theorisation for the classic social-democratic split between the maximum and minimum programme.

At the forum on Eurocommunism, Ken Spours called for an end to antagonistic opposition to the crisis, Positive solutions were needed. Where has sixty years of propagandising got us, he asked.

#### SOLIDARITY

The move by some CPers to call for campaigns on democratic rights in Eastern Europe is to be welcomed. But as Oliver Macdonald of

But as Oliver Macdonald of the IMG, on the platform along with Boris Kaval (CPSU) and Monty Johnstone (CPGB), pointed out in the debate on dissidents; you have to identify who is going to bring about change in Eastern Europe.

This means building political solidarity, debating and publishing the works of the socialist oppositions, bringing together currents breaking with the Stalinist parties and the working class movements outside th....

The call for plurality of parties is an advance on the previous papal monolithism, but is completely contradictory while a ban on tendencies and factions is upheld.

Debate and a battle of ideas between parties is now good, but within the party still bad. The obvious course for anyone in the CP with differences is to solid!

In the general debate on strategy two points stuck out in the Eurocommunist strategy.



IRENE BRENNAN



#### GEOFF ROBERTS

The first is an increasing tendency to try to remove all notions of capitalist crisis and antagonism between the bourgeoiste and proletariat. This was glossed over with 'the common interest in defending democracy'.

The second related to the role of the masses in socialist revolution, and the institution of the bourgeoisie state. When the oppressed and exploited can no longer go on being ruled in the old way, the form of struggle they adopt is mass self-organisation — through trade unions, black and women's organisations, etc.

For the Eurocommunists, these organisations and struggles are subordinated to the institutions of a minority class. But there is no way these institutions can express the rule of the majority, let alone lay the

basis for the withering away of the state.

This was understood 130 years ago by two socialists who could teach a few of those who try to render Gramsci's writings on the state more profound:

'All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immerse majority, in the interest of the immerse majority.

'The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.' (Marx and Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party).

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 confronling resolutionary socialists are:

<sup>1</sup> To build broad-based class struggle tradencies 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 ulternative by thousands of workers engaged in struggles. Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

The struggle for socialism seeks to unite the light of the workers against /ise bosses with that of other oppressed fayers of society — women, hisek prophe, gays — struggling for their liberation. This socialism can only be achieved by creating new organs of power and defeating with all strussury means the power of the capitalist state.

Our sucinfism will be infinitely more democratic than what exists in Britain today, with full rights for all political parties and currents that do not take up arms against the socialist state. The Stalinist models of succealism in the USSR and Lastern Burope 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 democract.

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. This we fight for working class units on an international scale. This units will in the long run be decisive in defeating both the imperials regimes in the West and the brutal dictatorships they sustain in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

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

The Communist Parlies in Europe are in crists. 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 industry move favourable than over the preceding three docardss. But suck parties can only be built by sejecting sectarization and seeing internal democracy not as a luxury but as a vital necessity. This means the right to organise factions and tendencies.

### **HOME NEWS**

Leyland trial: Exhibit 53

# Is this the document which proves the

slush-fund?

'Socialist Challenge' is at last able to print one of the 'Leyland slush fund' documents we have had in our possession since January this year, reports GEOFF

who told us that by doing so we would be liable to prosecution for contempt of court.

This was in connection with the trial of former Leyland executive Graham Barton and his wife Farma now taking place at the Old Bailey.

But on 26 July the document we now reproduce - known as Exhibit 53 - was read out in court by Graham Barton's defence lawyer, William

#### DENIED

Howard was questioning Lord Ryder about the existence of the Leyland slush fund.
Ryder used to head the
National Enterprise Board,
who hold 95 per cent of the

We were prevented from earlier witness, Leyland trea-publishing our Leyland file by sury manager J.A. Champion, Chief Superintendent Bob had confirmed its authenticity, 'Tug' Wilson of Scotland Yard, August 1975.

Among those to whom the memo was addressed was Alex Park, Leyland's former chief executive. At the trial Park also denied seeing the document at the time of its circulation.

The document as quoted in court runs to three pages. Socialist Challenge is in possession of only two of them.

The third page concerns 'remedies' to the 'problems' listed on page two, which in general suggest a tightening-up of the way the 'commissions' are paid.

Socialist Challenge is prevented by the contempt of court warning from publishing other documents relating to what appears to be the Leyland slush fund while the trial of Graham Ryder denied any previous knowledge of exhibit 53, but an and obtaining money under



**GRAHAM and FATMA BARTON** 

false pretences — continues. These other documents, unlike the one reproduced here, have not been quoted in full in

#### CONTRADICTION

In apparent contradiction of the contempt warning, how-ever, Judge Alan King-Hamilton has said throughout the trial that in his opinion the

whole issue of the slush fund has little relevance to the court proceedings.

On 26 July he said such documents were 'not directly material to the issues which the jury had to try'. On 19 July he said the slush fund was 'not an issue in this case'

The trial of Graham and Faima Barton continues. So too does the story of the Leyland shush fund.

# News from nowhere

#### New found Marriner

BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL is presently considering an appli-cation from the British Movement to hold a rally in the city's town hall in October. The person who made the application says that he hopes 500 members will attend, including a hundred 'neo-Nazis' — his expression from Belgium, Germany, Italy,

The applicant in question is one Peter Marriner, and thereby—as they say—hangs

During the by-election campaign in Ladywood last summer Socialist Unity and Socialist Challenge revealed Marriner's fascist connections. We reported that Marriner had been acknowledged as a 'leader of the National Youth Movement' by the BM's organ British Patriot: that he was associated with Column 88, and had been seen organising a demo for Robert Relf.

Marriner's role was a little unusual. He was the agent for John Sever, Labour's successful candidate in the by-election. In reply to our revelations, Marriner claimed that he had infiltrated the fascist movement. It didn't wash. He was forced to resign.

And was Sever pleased to be rid of his Nazi agent? Not a bit of it. He denounced 'these monstrous smears', adding: 'I am delighted Peter will continue to work in the campaign.'

Marriner has now told the Birmingham Post that he has been the British Movement's political adviser since the by-election and that he joined the organisation when it was formed in 1968. Socialist Unity and Socialist Challenge look forward to a financial contribution from the hapless Mr Sever, MP.

\*WE REPORTED in our 22
June issue that NF leader
Derrick Day was being taken to
court for refusing to send his
11-year-old daughter to school.
Day has now been fined £50
with £75 costs by North
London municipales.

London magistrates. He told the court: 'My child could never ever go to a school that was inundated with immigrants because of the left-wing activities of the teachers.' Day says he will appeal.

#### **Board Game**

IT'S ABOUT time a board game to counter the best-selling and brainwashing Monopoly has been marketed. It's called Class Struggle and comes (where else?) from the United States. The game's creator, Bertell Ollman, is a lecturer and he says the profits will go to socialist schools and journals.

Fine. Class Struggle looks like it's taking off. It is selling very well in the heartland of monopoly capitalism and will soon be available in seven languages. Big business isn't taking this lying down. Ollman's recent appointment as head of department at Maryland University led to a major political controversy.

The only problem is that commercial success leads to one thing and another. The game's largest distributor, Brentano's Bookstores, is experiencing a battle for unionisation. Workers at some of the suburban stores have been on strike for seven months, and they asked

Ollman to remove Class Struggle in solidarity. Ollman has declined. He says

that his business can't afford it.

#### Right lift

THE FACE of Euro-communism is taking shape in the National Union of Students, with a new plan by the Communist Party to reach out to the right wing while continuing to build its barricades against the far left.

Their idea is to wind up the Broad Left, which runs the NUS, and launch a 'Demo-cratic Students Alliance'. This would embrace Labour and Liberal students, the Student Christian Movement, und possibly some students close to

The dropping of 'left' from the provisional title and the acquisition of 'democratic' can be taken as a sign of the times. The plan includes hiving off the union's women and racism campaigns, in an effort to

prevent the regular criticisms of the Broad Left executive for its failure to pursue these issues. None of this proposed face lift has so fur been communicated to the National Organisation of Labour Stu-dents, the CP's principal partner in the Broad Left. At the last conference, the Communists unsuccessfully opposed a NOLS move to reintroduce the No Platform for Fascists policy.

for Fascists policy.

In the better traditions of diary journalism, NfN herewith appends the comments we received from several notables when usked about the plans:

Sally Hibbin, CP student organiser: 'We have always been committed to the Broad Left. The Communist Party will remain committed to the will remain committed to the Broad Left.'

Peter Silkin of NOLS: 'I would be very sceptical about this. It seems contrary to what the CP were saying at the Communist University of London.'

Dave Aaronovitch, CP member and NUS socretary:
'People in the CP have proposed things like this, but the CP does not formally hold this position. However, seeking to work with the Union of to work with the Union of Liberal Students and left Christians would be within the broad lines of CP policy.' In the better truditions of

investigative journalism, NfN would only add that when the CP student committee heard about our inquiries, they immediately launched a huntthe-leak exercise.

#### Boring

Lines On Hearing That Chris Harman has been Re-Appointed Editor of Socialist

Welcome back, welcome \* lok There's room for you ? They say you're a 'h , and predictable' hat x
Those 'petty-bourgeois radicals' of yore

#### (chorus)

It's curtains then for Nichol, for Foot and Laurie Flynn, SW's in a pickle For they've let the wrong man

We read it first in the New Stateaman, With Fleet Street in hot

pursuit, In SW under Harman, We're waiting for the truth!

It will be a long wait. (Above remark is boring and predictable — Ed)

His Eritish Layland Motor Corporation

SERVICION CONTREPERAL

SMITHING & BRITISHOWS

A review of the shows subject at Naver revealed a number of disquisiting features. Terrestrations with my colleagues in Service Action for the similar subject solar to the similar subject solar to the class ON Product Day against Parts A MID Pressure. Settist Legiand International Services (Legiandme) and Section Settist Legiand International Services (Legiandme) and Section Settist Legiand International Services (Legiandme) addices.

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# Shorter hours a long fight

MANY UNIONS already have formal positions in favour of the 35-hour week. But the union leaders don't take any notice of them. So the fight is on to build the lobby of the TUC on 4 September, to ensure that a real fight is launched for a measure that could help to curb unemployment.

In the Post Office Engineering Union, management is standing out firmly against giving an inch on the engineers' demands for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay. Yet massive profits were announced last week by the Post Office.

STEVE POTTER looks at the history of the struggle for the shorter working week.

# **Labour Party, TUC** and pay **Agreement into** the eighties

IT CAME as no surprise that the TUC rejected the Government's 5 per cent pay policy. But it would be highly surprising if the TUC were to start organising action to prevent it from going ahead. JUDE WOODWARD explains why.

Last year also the TUC rejected the pay policy. But when the Fire Brigades Union went on strike for terms that would have breached it, they got less than no support from Congress House,

Simply rejecting the pay policy is no more than a string of words unless the TUC really starts to organise effectively so that those workers wanting more can take on the Government and bosses and

The rejection of the 5 per cent hardly raised a ripple at the lauching of the new TUC-Labour Party document, Into the Eighties: an Agreement.

The document includes a reference to a broad understanding' on pay, which both the TUC and the Labour Government seem to think is perfectly consistent with verbal rejection of the 5 per cent.

The new agreement between the TUC and the Labour Party, which both sides claim is 'not an election programme', gets rid of the last remnants of any ideas for solving the crisis



which might upset the bosses. For instance, previous programmes included a call for nationalisation of the banks. This does not appear in the new document.

So the situation remains the me. The TUC leaders will stand by Labour whatever its strategy, because the alternative of mobilising their members independently would cut across the whole basis of their existence.

Evidence of the support that Callaghan will get came when chairperson David Basnett and six other union leaders decided to set up a trade union committee for a Labour victory'. This includes some fierce opponents of incomes policy.

It all goes to show that the confidence of the Labour leaders in their ability to push the TUC as far as they can, with only mild embarrassment at the latter's opposition, is more than justified. The TUC leaders won't fight Labour over pay we have to build a movement

A hundred years ago, the American Marxist Joseph Weydemeyer noted that Great Britain produced in one work day exactly 27 times as much in 1840 as had been produced 62 years previously.

In his case for the eight-hour day, Weydemeyer asked: 'Must not, in comparison with such a development, the demand of the labourer for a diminution of his work time by one-fifth appear as a very devout one?

Devout or not, it was 1968 before the eight-hour, five-day week became established for manual workers in Britain.

At the beginning of the 19th century, 14 hours work a day was the norm. Only 17-18 hours was considered to be an abuse. So when in 1817 workers raised the slogan, '8 hours work, 8 hours leisure, 8 hours sleep', this was a really radical step.

Years of severe repression of the workers movement followed. It was not until 1836 that the first step towards this goal was achieved. In that year, engineers struck for eight months to gain the stepping stone of 10 hours.

But, with the partial exception of women and children, the bourgeoisie still fiercely resisted the demand for the shortening of the working

#### INTERNATIONAL

One of their chief arguments, then as today, was that if Britain introduced shorter working hours this would increase costs and make British products uncompetitive on the world market.

In response to this Karl Marx fought to make the demand for the eight-hour day central to the International Working Men's Association (The First International) in 1866.

By fighting for the demand in every country, an international struggle of the working class could be launched and the objections of the bosses defeated in struggle.

This dream was partially realised in 1890, when, on the first May Day, called by the Second International, workers throughout the world marched for the eight-hour day.

In Britain, engineers in the North-East successfully gained the nine-hour day in 1871.

One of their number, Tom Mann, exasperated by the slowness of the trade union leaders in fighting beyond this for the eight-hour day, formed the Eight Hour League to unite rank-and-file trade unionists in campaigning activity

While the eight-hour day became pretty general in the favourable conditions for labour that existed in the First World War, it was not until 1919 that engineers, this time on Clydeside, raised the banner of the 40-hour week.

It was forty years later before printers finally established the principle for a national industry.

#### **AVERAGE**

When Weydemeyer was writing, 'the English week' was the envy of American workers. Yet today British workers suffer badly in comparison.

The average working week of production workers in the USA was 36.8 hours in 1974, as compared with about 44 hours for British men and women manual workers.

The basic working week in the USA is lower, with the 35-hour, four-day week quite general for manual workers. As long ago as 1962 electricians in New York City won the 25-hour basic working week. In Western Europe, the difference is obvious if one

looks at the annual hours of work for manual workers in engineering. Britain is bottom of the league of the major industrial countries, with an engineer in Britain working 10

per cent more hours in the year than their Italian counterpart. The European TUC is committed to an international campaign for the 35-hour week without loss of pay. However, the British trade union leaders refuse to translate this policy into a reality

Instead they adopt strategies such as import controls; trying to make an alliance with the British bosses to export Britain's unemployment a-

As in Weydemeyer's time, so today. The demand for the shorter working week crosses frontiers to link worker with

The first step to making an international fight a reality would be conventions of shop stewards from the multinationals to fight for a common betterment of wages and hours, to act as a striking force for the whole international working



HUNTLEY STREET Squatters behind the barricades. These ex-police flats just off Tottenham Court Road in London have been occupied by homeless families and single people for 17 months now. Prior to their occupation they stood empty for three

The Area Health Authority moved to gain an eviction order within three days of the people moving in. They plan to replace the flats with single nursed accommodation and a car park.

The squatters will not go until the AHA changes its plans or until Camden Council agrees to rehouse them.



# Theresa Bennett loses to FA **Football's** too far

THERESA BENNETT, after winning the first round of her fight to play football in a boys team, has lost to the Football Association on appeal, SYLVIA BLISS reports.

Everyone was pleased when Theresa won her right to play football.

Not only because it represented a first step towards equality for women in sport, but because the FA, a mammoth bastion of male chauvinism, had been forced to step down.

But the latter was determined not to let her get away with it. Lord Denning, ruling at the Appeal Court, made some typically stupid remarks which reveal just what he and the FA think about women:

'To try to make girls into boys so that they can join these games would be carrying the Sex Discrimination Act too

Theresa would probably be surprised at the suggestion that she was trying to turn into a boy. Her point was that as a girl she was capable and skilled enough to join in the sport with the boys; that she shouldn't be excluded simply on the grounds that she is female.

The only way in which Lord Denning's remark makes sense is if he thinks that girls shouldn't play football at all. Denning went on to say that, 'It is as plain as plain can be that football is not within the

Act. If the law says that it is, it is an ass and an idiot."

So we are left not at all sur or not. All we can be sure of is that Lord Denning thinks that girls shouldn't play football with boys.

As Denning said, addressing the Mansfield Law Society on 20 October last year, 'We have ways and means of getting round the law'.

# Cowley 9 - a step forward

CHARGES against Alan Thornett and other militants from British Leyland's Cowley plant [known as the 'Cowley 9'] have been referred back by No. 5 Regional Committee of the Transport and General Workers Union, reports PAT HICKEY [T & G, Rover Solihull].

In the last few months the | launch a broader campaign on mion's regional secretary,
Brian Mathers, has been
bombarded with resolutions
calling for the dropping of
was mandated to bring back charges and the recognition of Thornett as deputy convenor of the Cowley Assembly Plant.

The Regional Committee, meeting on 19 July, decided that if charges were to be brought then the Oxford District Committee was the appropriate body to do so.

This retreat is an important victory for the defence campaign. But the pressure must be kept up until the charges are officially withdrawn.

Leyland must also be forced to recognise Thornett, and the T & G made to defend this elected representative of the

It is also necessary to prepare recall conference of the defence campaign to take up the fight for those stewards who remain victimised and to

proposals on this to a future conference. And a campaign has already been started by members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party in the T & G.

The union's 1/6 branch (London Royal Docks) has launched a campaign called It's Our Union' (IOU), which asks members to resolutions to the Biennial Delegate Conference calling for the election of officials (oddly, every five years - why not

It is clear that there is a basis for a broad-based campaign in the T & G if those involved are prepared to organise an open democratic opposition. Oxford conference must be recalled as a first step in this



## Attack on 'politics' in ANL

ARE YOU worried that something has gone wrong with the Anti Nazi League?

Could it be that 'the ANL's always flimsy apolitical basis has buckled, and a horde of political extremists and crackpots have now homed in on a ready-made mass target of youth'?

That's not the 'Telegraph' or 'Mail' speaking, but the 'New Musical Express'. RICHARD CARVER

The NME has been anxious to portray itself as new wave and anti-Nazi.

But when reporter Paul Morley went to the Northern Carnival a couple of weeks ago he found it 'not a little disturbing' that he was handed SWP and Young Communist League leaflets,

And he sympathetically reports a black woman interrupting the proceedings to say: 'And I look at all you people with your banners and badges, and it makes me sick of all this advertising, 'cos I know that someone, somewhere is making money out of my black

Morley, remember, works for a magazine of the music industry, which has quite a good record of making money out of black faces.

As he well knows, somebody is trying to cash in on "anti-Nazism". And it is his

NME is owned by IPC which also owns the Daily Mirror), the largest publishing company in Britain. IPC's connection with the anti-fascist magazines caters for every fad and fancy, and its editors are smart enough to know what sells their product.

This is not to detract from the good work done by some NME journalists in the past. Holborrow, ANL's organising secretary, told Socialist Challenge:

The roots of the best rock music are to be found in oppression — the exploitation

oppression — the exploitation of black people, for example.

'RAR and the ANL have rediscovered the best expressions of this. NME has supported this in the past and this article is out of character with the general tenor of their overtage." coverage.

Rock Against Racism were rather less polite. They might also have added that RAR has its own alternative, Temporary Hoarding, which is better than NME any day of the week. Unlike IPC, RAR isn't making a cent out of its politics

and nor are the political and trade union organisations which back the ANL.

What NME can't understand is that fighting racism, fighting the Front is politics. And that' of first and the trendes who



NEW ISSUE of Temporary Hoarding out now, price 20p. Or why not subscribe? £2.00 for next ten issues from RAR, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1. And write to that address for details of bulk

cashed in later - not the other way around.

Morley's idiocies echo those sectarians on the left who argue about attracting people anti-racism through music.

Both sorts of people think that politics is something incredibly serious that nobody could possibly enjoy

And both of them are equally

# New elections

SEPTEMBER will see a new round of elections in the Engineering Section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. Two vitally important positions for the Executive Council are among those being contested, writes AUEW shop steward S. WHINDON.

The two places vacant on the seven-person EC are for the Midlands and Manchester area and the South-East. The former, Division No 4, is Bob Wright's old seat, won by Terry Duffy before he became president.

The Broad Left candidate is John Tocher, and his main opponent is right-winger Bill Jordan, the current Divisional Organiser. This is an important seat, covering British Leyland and the main centres of the car industry.

The other EC contest is a three-cornered fight between the right, the Broad Left, and British Leyland toolmakers' chairperson Roy Frazer.

chairperson Roy Frazer.

The prospects for the Broad
Left must be bleak. Since
Wright's defeat for the
presidency, an inevitable
demoralisation has set in.

The Broad Left leadership
has done nothing to counteract
this. There has been no national

meeting to assess the election defeats, nor any self-criticism on any aspects of policy.

Unless the left begins to mobilise the union membership in action — building support for issues like the 35-hour week remains the key task.

- the outcome will only be further defeats.

Of course militants should still vote and campaign for Broad Left candidates where the only alternative is the right-wing agents of collaboration.

But unless these campaigns are fought out over alternative programmes for action, the membership will become ever more cynical about the left-right split. In that situation, the right will be the only winners.

Simply indulging in the usual frenetic activity of March and September election periods is not enough, Militants should consider how a campaign around the 35-hour week can be launched during these elections to win the rank-and-file to alternative policies in action to those of Duffy and Boyd.

But the lead for such a campaign is not going to come from the Broad Left leadership. The need to build a united socialist opposition in the AUEW which can fight both inside the Broad Left and independently for such policies

# Seventh anniversary

IN THE early hours of 9 August 1971, Britain's concentration camps in Ireland were reborn. Hundreds of people were rounded up and interned. Under indefinite detention orders many were beaten

The British state had set its course for the following period: one of torture and intimidation. RONAN BRADY reports.

march called by Sinn Fein (the political wing of the Republican movement) will mark the anniversary of internment.

The theme of this march will be 'the H-Blocks': the places of imprisonment of over 350 socialist and Republican 'detainees'. A call will be made to release all prisoners taken in the war against imperialism in Ireland, North and South, The introduction of intern-

ment in 1971 was greeted by the Catholic population in a fashion customary to oppressed peoples all over the world: a massive rent and rates strike began in the oppressed areas and in four months 46 members of the army and police were killed.

The Army only found 346 men out of the 450 they were looking for, and of these 116

### Demo called for 13 **August**

were released within 48 hours. Worse still, the number of escapes, culminating in that of the 'magnificent seven' from the 'Maidstone' prison-ship, further discredited the regime.

Resistance in Ireland was coupled with mass activity over here. Over 20,000 people marched in one London demonstration.

But the terror had to be



increased, and by 1972 14 unarmed protesters had to be killed in Derry before the state staunch the mass onslaught.

A massively increased propaganda battle followed in order demoralise the antiimperialists, and from this was born the campaign of the 'Peace People'

Internment itself was phased out in 1975, but the British continue to terrorise the antiimperialist people of the North.

The effects of terror are, however, limited in holding back resistance. The 'Peace

People' have departed the scene with their Norwegian kroner.

The families of today's prisoners have formed 'Rela-Action Committees' which have centred on the plight of the political prisoners and which have mobilised mass support in the oppressed areas.

The prisoners and their fate are now the most important question for the anti-imperialist movement. This is why the demonstration on 13 August is

Assemble 2pm, Speakers Corner, for murch to Em-bankment viu Whitehall.

### **American held** at Heathrow

PADDY DEVLIN - a former leading light in the Social Democratic and Labour Party claims that Labour Home Secretary Merlyn Rees hus issued special instructions to police at Heathrow Airport.

The instructions allegedly concern the stepping up of harassment of Irish people — or those connected with the North of Ireland.

Devlin made his claim after three Northern Ireland Catholics were arrested at Heathrow

as they changed planes.

The three involved had not even intended coming to Britain, but they were still hauled out of the airport and arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The arrests were on 22 July. even days later there was confirmation when Devlin's charges, Barbaru Prior emerged from Heathrow detention centre after being held there for nearly a week.

Barbara has a history of campaigning for Irish civil rights in America.

She was on her way to the North of Ireland after flying in from America when she was seized by immigration officals. She was stripped and searched at Heathrow, then thrown into a detention centre.

The flimsy excuse was that she didn't have enough money to support berself - a total fabrication.

Barbara described the type of conditions which suspected 'illegal immigrants' have to

'They were really bad', she said. 'We were subjected to verbal abuse by the security guards and the entire compound was filthy. The food was served cold'.

After protests from MP Christopher Price, Barbara was eventually released.



# Asians unite against the Nazis

# 20 AUGUSTIS SOLIDARITY DAY

LAST SATURDAY a remarkable meeting took place in the offices of the Indian Workers Association in Southall, West London. It brought together a wide range of Asian organisations and the Anti-Nazi League. TARIQ ALI was there.

The meeting was called through a letter sent out to a number of Asian organisations and left groups. It was signed by Sibghat Kadri, President of the Standing Conference of Pakistani Organisations (SCOPO), Vishnu Sharma, President of the Indian Workers Association, Southall, and an unnamed 'President of the Federation of Bangladeshi Organisations'.

All the signatories are well-known for their 'moderation' within their respective communities. They have long been opposed to the tactics of the more militant sections of the Asian It was this that made the contents of their letter dramatic:

For the past decade the Asian Welfare Organisations have resisted pressures in encouraging their members to join self-defence vigilante groups in the face of such attacks and in spite of considerable apathy from the supposed forces of law and order.

We now believe that the time has come when we must urge our people to look to their own defence. The leading ethnic minority groups in Britain should be supporting each other in a practical and effective sense, in the mounting of such measures as are needed for the physical defence of our

various peoples.
'In addition we are urging all Asians to join the Anti-Nazi League, which we regard as the best anti-Nazi movement in Britain so far.

Just as the National Front is being privately supported by what we believe to be a large section of so-called respectable commercial interests, we think that our own businessmen should support financially the Anti Nazi League and young Asians to enable them to form self-defence groups.'

At the meeting there were over a hundred representatives of different Asian and anti-racist organisations, including the IWA (Southall), the IWA(GB) (represented by its President, N.S. Noor), the National Association of Indian Youth, the Bangladesh Youth Front, the Asian Youth League, the SWP (Southall), the ANL, the LPYS, and the Joint Committee Against Racism (represented by Joan Lestor, Chairperson of the Labour Party).

The ultra-reformist and pro-Commission for Racial Equality current was represented by Tassaduque Ahmed, a prominent restaurant owner and managing editor of the liberal monthly The Asian. Alok Biswas and a number of activists from Brick Lane were also present.

It was clear that a section of the executive of the IWA (Southall) was opposed to any notion of self-defence.

was moved by Tariq Ali and seconded by Paul Holborrow from the ANL and Alok Biswas from the Tower Hamlets and Hackney Defence Committee. The resolution stated;

That this meeting of Asian organisations:

(a) Endorses the sentiments expressed in the Kadri/Sharma letter sent out to convene this meeting.

'(b) Pledges to mobilise support for Brick Lane and to make 20 August a day of national solidarity of all Asians with their Bengali brothers and sisters in the East End of London

'(c) Pledges to ensure that there are large Asian contingents at the next ANL carnival on 24 September which will march from Hyde Park to Brockwell Park in Brixton.

After some discussion the resolution was passed by an overwhelming

majority. Sibghat Kadri then moved an additional resolution calling on Scotland Yard to establish a special 'anti-racist squad

This was backed by Joan Lestor and Vishnu Sharma, but opposed by the LPYS, SWP, and IMG. It was passed by a small majority of five votes.

A number of speakers stressed that the fight against racism would be a long-termone, N.S. Noor, President of the IWA (GB), described events in Wolverhampton over the last few

He argued that the problem was not just that of racist policemen, but racist magistrates and Judges. And Asians were not the only victims. White anti-fascists were also hated by the police.

Noor described the arrest of David Stevens, a well-known militant in Wolverhampton, and called for him to he defended nationally.

#### CYNICAL

The meeting marks the first real attempt to unite all Asian workers against racist attacks. Whether it will esult in anything more than paper

Many of the Bengali youth were clearly cynical. They saw the meeting as an attempt by the Asian establishment to contain their revolt

That may well be true, but we have to utilise the resolutions which were passed to make sure that the opposite is the ease: that the base of these organisations is involved in all massactions against racism.

20 August: Brick Lane national demo. Assemble 9am at the corner of Brick Lane and Bethnal Green Road. Nearest tube Whitechapel/Liverpool

10 September: Local Brick Lane Carnival against the Nazis: 10am-10pm; rally against racism organised by JCAR at Trafalgar Square, 2pm.

24 September: Carnival Against the Nazis organised by the ANL and Rock Against Racism. Assemble Hyde Park Ham. March to Brockwell Park,



1. The black communities have been under attack for several years. Thes ittacks have increased in intensity ov he last year - a direct reflection of th NF offensive and the racist speeches be politicians from both major political

This year alone we have seen tw leaths in Spitalfields and one Valthamstow in the East End London. The latest phase of violence began with the pathetic showing of the elections. The bootboys chose to wres heir vengeance on the Bengalis in th

2. In the face of these attacks, the traditional response of the official leaders of the community has been t advise caution, patience and respons bility. This has been coupled wit deputations to police chiefs, con plaints to police officers assigned t community relations work', del gations to see the Home Secretary, et

The more militant sections of th community (predominantly youth have been attacked as being under th influence of "communists, atheists, an troublemakers'.

with unemployment and the uncertaintie created by the economic and social crisis, many people have found convenient to look for scapegoats Racist attacks and murders have continued.

The legal and judicial apparatu of the state has proved to be completed incapable of dealing with the daily



#### Stevens defence call

A CALL for a national defence campaign for Dave Stevens and other militants arrested in Wolverhampton on an anti-racist demonstration in March was made by IWA (GB) President N S Noor at last Saturday's meeting in Southall.

Wolverhampton Anti-Racist Committee is shortly to produce a pamphlet on the case, and is currently circulating the following petition (sponsored by the Anti Nazi League);

We, the undersigned, protest at the arrest and prosecution of Dave Stevens David Hines, Paul Marsh, Durrel Howard Freeman, on a demonstration held in Wolverhampton on 11 March against racialism. We call upon the Director of Public

Prosecutions to drop all charges.

Signatories so far (in a personal capacity) include:

G Poxton (Div. Sec., FBU)

K Wymer (JP, prospective Labour candidate for Ludlow) Lance Dunkley (Pres., W. Midlands Caribbean Assn)

S Lydon (Pres., Wolves Poly NUS) Wolves SE CLP, convenor at Cannon Industries Ltd.)

D Turner (Labour councillor, Wolves Borough Council) B Goodwin (No 7 Reg. Sec., FBU)

Bruce Young (EC member, Wolves Trades Council)

J Brotherton [Hon. Life Member, Wolves TC

S Clarke (Sec., Wolves TC) Bishan Dass (Labour councillor, S Duhra (Labour councillor, Wolves

Alan Garner (Labour councillor, Wolves BC) Cynthia Durham (Labour councillor,

Wolves BC) H Turner (POEU delegate, Wolves TC) N S Noor (National President, IWA

D Lawson (POEU rep., Hilton Rd

Depot, Wolves) B Price (AUEW/TASS deputy national EC member, W. Midlands Region) G Burnsley (Wolves CP)

G A Singh (Vice-Pres., Wolves Sikh Amar Singh (Wolves Sikh Temple)

R Singh Hayre (Pres., Wolves IWA) J E Edwards (Labour councilior) L C Taylor (JP, Labour councillor, Wolves BC)

Richard Thompson [Methodist minister, Smethwick]

Maurice Ludmer [Editor, Searchlight] Onkar Singh [Nat. Press., Sharomani Eric E. Pemberton [Sec., W. Indian Family Agency

S. Hussain | Pres., Pakistan Welfare

#### Bradford march

A COMMITTEE against Immigration Control was set up in Bradford last week after a meeting organised by the Asian Youth Movement on 25 July.

This was addressed by Marcia Singh, Tarlo Chan, Gata Aura, and a speaker from the Kashmiri Society.

The need for an ongoing campaign against immigration controls was stressed, and Armley Prison in Leeds was picketed last Saturday as a first

Inside the prison were 23 Asians held under the 1971 Immigration Act. Pickets heard speeches from leaders of the AYM and relatives of the prisoners. They stressed the bad conditions inside the jail, including racist abuse from prison warders.

This is the first step taken in this country on a practical basis to wage a fight against all immigration controls. The ANL should be behind this campaign, and it was heartening to see Leeds, Huddersfield and Dewsbury and Batley ANLs present at the picket.

If this campaign is to be at all successful there must be a national campaign organised on this question.

#### Cardiff Asian deported

MOHAMMED Sharif came to Cardiff in 1974 on a visitor's visa. He decided to stay, got a job in a bakery, and worked there till a month ago. Then he was arrested.

The Bakers Union, backed by the ANL and the local Anti-Racist Committee, delayed his reputriation. Pickets were mounted outside the prison, but to no avail.

Last Sunday Mohammed Sharif was legally repatriated on the authority of a Labour Home Secretary. He had earlier told supporters that there were at least four other workers in Cardiff prison awaiting repatriation.

#### RAR in Leicester

ROCK Against Racism has organised over 400 gigs nationally. On 5 Augus RAR will have its first gig in Leicester the city with a large NF membership

'Pressure Shocks' will be playing a Highfields Community Centre on 1 August at 8pm. All tickets are £1.25p



Graham Turner was attacked by NF supporters who smashed his head with stones and kicked him.

lot of many black people in this

In fact, in some sections of the community (especially West Indian youth], the police rather than the fascists are identified as the main tormentors of blacks.

The racist double standards of numerous magistrates and judges have meant that black people receive tougher sentences than whites committing the

same offence. At the same time magistrates and judges have displayed a remarkable leniency towards self-confessed racists. Judge McKinnon was only the most

sensational example. The growing number of deportations are nothing else but legal repatriation. In this atmosphere it is hardly surprising that most young black people have few illusions in either the police or the courts.

4. The political arm of the state created a number of race relations bodies to combat racism. Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) is the latest in a long line.

But neither these nor the Community Relation Councils have been able to fight racism effectively.

This has led to growing demoralisation within the ranks of the racerelations bureaucracy, with a number of CRC officials moving towards more militant positions.

At this very moment a letter is circulating within the CRCs alleging

terms of employment, etc. This letter has been signed by a number of officials within the CRE.

The central contradiction confronting the CRCs and the CRE was/is the fact that there is no common ground between them and the legal/judicial wing of the state apparatus.

This makes the entire race-relations network somewhat redundant. The reason it is preserved is as a sop to the ethnic minorities and as a barrier to contain any large-scale radicalisation within the black communities.

5. In the face of the growing number of attacks the response of the labour movement has been pathetic. Both the Labour Party and the Communist Party who between them dominate the majority of trades councils in the country| have, in barness with the CRE, preached reliance on the state.

There has been no campaign within the official labour movement to defend black people. Like the proverbial ostrich, the trade union leaders have hoped that the problem will disappear of its own accord.

6. The ANL explosion has helped to reverse the situation. It has brought out tens of thousands of people on the streets. It has built broad committees and has successfully exposed the NF as a Nazi organisation.

This has had repercussions even within the trade unions. It has also on the offensive [e.g. the 'World in Action' programme on NF violence].

In recent months the ANL has made defence of black people an important priority.

7. At the same time the East End of London has seen a strike by 8,000 black workers against racial violence, and the removal of fascists from Brick Lane by mass mobilisations on a number of

These events have highlighted the importance of organising self-defence within the community. For despite the necessity of broad support from the outside, it will be the self-mobilisation of the community itself which will lay the basis for a lasting self-defence organisation.

8. The decision by SCOPO and the two IWAs to back moves towards selfdefence will give the struggle an added dimension. It will help considerably to win the communities over to the idea of self-mobilisation as a vital component of self-defence.

Self-defence as such has a dual dimension. It requires the political mobilisation of the communities and the labour movement (though the latter's involvement cannot be made a precondition).

It then follows that the community will prepare itself for any attacks and will physically defend itself against all rucist attacks. This has begun to happen in Brick Lane in London and in Moss Side in Manchester. These lessons must now be generalised.

# **Black liberation** and socialism

WHAT ARE the strategies of the different left-wing organisations in the fight against racism, and how do they link up with the overall fight for socialism? In the first of a series of articles, COLIN TALBOT this week examines the views of the Communist Party.

Lion Square in 1974 catapulted the growing anti-fascist movement into the headlines. For the past four years the small forces of the far left have rallied people against the growing menace of the National Front.

The British Communist Party, with 25,000 members and a daily newspaper, had until the success of the ANL Carnival been all but absent from these mobilisations. In those organisations where the CP has some influence, such as the National Union of Students, their members have even discouraged anti-fascist mobilisations.

Sue Slipman's attack on anti-fascists rather than the NF or the police after last year's Lewisham demo came as something of a shock to many activists.

In a new pamphlet by Dave Cook, A Knife At The Throat Of Us All, and in an article by Gideon Ben-Tovim, 'The Struggle Against Racism: Theoretical and Strategic Perspectives' in Marxism Today, the CP is attempting a theoretical rationalisation of these positions.

#### **AUTONOMOUS**

Ben-Tovim starts out with a quote from Italian revolutionary Antonio Gramsci. This is now an obligatory genuflection for Eurocommunists.

The aim is to substantiate Ben-Tovim's position that racism in modern capitalist society is 'relatively autonomous' of the needs of capitalism. It is primarily an ideological and democratic' pheno-

Ben-Tovim chooses to illustrate this idea with the example of immigration controls. He claims that they 'may not in fact have a very compelling economic

It is true that there is not necessarily a simple relationship between the economic well-being of capitalists in Britain and their need to import labour. Facts in this case, however, do speak for themselves.

In the 1950s, when there was an economic boom, the ruling class, ncluding the 'relatively autonomous' Mr Enoch Powell, thought immigra-

tion was a good thing.

In the 1970s, when there is a recession, the ruling class and their Labour hirelings think that immigration is a bad idea.

In fact, all capitalist governments in Europe are taking measures to dispense with the 15 million migrant workers in these countries.

Racism is, of course, not simply a lass question. Black shopkeepers and small capitalists suffer from its effects well as black workers.

That is why the question of a black

The death of Kevin Gately in Red Imovement, of black self-organisation, on Square in 1974 catapulted the list a crucial part of any appropriate is a crucial part of any anti-racist strategy. Neither Cook nor Ben-Tovim mention this fact.

#### ALLIANCE

But if racism is 'autonomous' from capitalist class interests, then it naturally follows that capitalists, and their political representatives, can be consistent anti-racists.

This is the basis of the CP's argument: what is needed to defeat racism is a 'broad democratic alliance'

including 'progressive' Tories, etc.
This idea has actually been put into practice in higher education. CP students have argued for alliances with progressive' Tories in their 'Unity Against Racism" campaign.

In order to consummate such an alliance, however, the CP has had to drop any policy aimed at mass mobilisations to defeat fascism. The progressive' Tories will naturally have no truck with any such orientation.

The second major strand of the CP's policy is that of relying on the state, under mass pressure, to deal with fascism and racism. They believe that the 'democratic state' in Britain can be conquered bit by bit by the working

Thus the state can be pressured to be anti-racist by 'strengthening the Race Relations Act' and anti-faseist by 'outlawing NF demonstrations'.

#### STIRRING

It is not, of course, impossible for the state to attack racists and fascists. In 1958 Mr Justice Salmon issued a stirring cry for black people to be able to 'walk the streets without fear' when sentencing nine racists to four years each for attacks on West Indians in Notting Hill.

However the same 'progressive' judges will happily sentence anti-racists to long prison terms for daring to organise to fight back. Black militants have even been sentenced under the provisions of the Race Relations Act

The truth is that the state will not deal with racism or fascism. The Race Relations Act was introduced in the late '60s because the more far sighted rulers could see what was happening in America's ghettoes.

The history of the 'race relations industry' is one of minor reforms and restrictions on overt racism, of co-option of a section of the black community into the apparatus of 'community relations' and harsh repression against black and anti-racist militants.

The other side of the coin is the racist and repressive Immigration Acts.

The CP is without doubt embedded in the 'decisive sections of the working class' as. Base Cook's pemphlet 'proudly asserts. Unfortunately it shares all the worst vices of some of these

#### IMPORT CONTROLS

It refuses to light chauvinist prejudices, Instead of a global light against the Labour Government's policies, it calls for 'selective import controls', i.e. exporting unemployment instead of fighting it.

A similar logic leads the CP to call for "democratic and non-racialist" immigration controls. In other words, it accepts the notion that immigration is one of the causes of unemployment and other social problems.

Armed with such a line, it is hardly surprising that the CP has nothing to offer black people.

It has been totally outflanked by the far left in terms of the Anti Nazi League. It has been outflanked on the right by left social-democrats, many of whom display a more dynamic brand of reformist politics than their CP allies.

Its future on the anti-racist front is, therefore, as bleak as it is in national politics as a whole.

Carnival in Southampton...

RAR group will be organised.

SOUTHAMPTON RAR/ANL holding its first Carnival on Saturday 12 August. It will start with a march from the Avenue/London Road junction at Ipm, through the City Centre to Hoglands Park. The music will start at 2pm. Over 2,000 people are expected to attend.

#### ...and in Edinburgh

BETWEEN five and ten thousand people are expected to turn up to the Anti Nazi League Carnival in Edinburgh this Saturday, reports NEIL WILLIAMSON.

The Carnival - with the Clash playing as the main attraction - takes place after the Labour-controlled Regional Council stepped in to offer a site and circumvent the Tory District

is hoped that following the gig a local | Council ban on the event.

Preparations for the Carnival which have included a weekly meeting of over 100 people - have produced a remarkable degree of cooperation inside the revolutionary left. But this is only the latest step in many months of work together.

A broad-based 'Firemen's Support Committee' led to joint work on a day-to-day basis, and the recent election of a member of the Socialist Workers Party as Trades Council secretary originates from the strength of a 'left caucus' inside the Trades Council, the second largest in Scotland.

Experience has shown that working collaboration between the major groups of the far left - the SWP and the International Marxist Group - acts as a magnet for non-aligned socialists.

"The Carnival has built up massive amounts of energy and creativity among people never really involved in politics before', says Pauline Tierney, a Socialist Challenge supporter and

member of the Carnival Steering Committee.

'The cooperation between left groups has been a major factor in encouraging this enthusiasm. The question is how to deepen the political instincts of this new audience for revolutionary ideas. The general election offers us an opportunity to do

Socialist Challenge supporters in Edinburgh have sent a letter to the local SWP asking for talks about joint work in the election; everything from joint election rallies to a united candidate is up for discussion.

Says Pauline: 'Together we have proved ourselves a credible and scrious force over the last few months in different activities. But we have to go beyond these separate campaigns."

'A joint revolutionary election campaign - supported by the SWP and the IMG - could have a real impact in Edinburgh politics as a



SHEILA PEACOCK is secretary of Tottenham Labour Party and agent for Norman Atkinson MP. The bruising on her upper arms and back was caused when police grabbed her as she was handing out anti-racist leaflets. She was thrown into a police car and charged with obstruction.

HAD BEEN wandering around all day, checking out various secretarial agencies, and I finally checking out went into this agency where a guy was sitting in the corner flipping through a book with pictures of women in it. They were giving me a sob story about there not being many temporary secretarial jobs around, and one of the girls who answered the phone said: 'Park Lane Escort Agency'. So I said: 'Would I be able to do escort work? Put me down for that as well."

When I got home the phone rang. The guy who'd been in the agency had apparently told the girls he liked me and wanted to take me out to dinner. It made me feel a bit safer because I'd actually seen him and he wasn't as bad as I expected.

I mean, I'd always thought of escort work as having to entertain some horribly greasy fat piggy guy with a cigar, ready to grope you

I went out with him, and we just talked all night. He was an architect, about 40 or so, and he was looking for a young pretty girl to take to his office party so nobody would think he was just a sour old bean.

He'd been married a couple of times and was recently divorced. He said he hadn't got round to meeting new people because he'd immersed himself in his work, instead. So I dressed up and went to the party and made out I was his friend. I got £4 and the agency collected £12.

The agency told me the second guy I met was a friend — well he was a presty regular customer — and they said he was completely trustworthy. He was the nicest guy I met, a sort of old-style gentleman. He was 60, I guess, a director of a stockbroking firm or something, with a vomit-coloured Alfa Romeo.

I was freshly into women's liberation at that stage so I found it difficult not to talk about it. I just nagged him a lot about women's lib, and he seemed to enjoy it.

#### PIECES OF MEAT

Then there were two young boys who took me and another girl out. I was usually on my own, so it was nice to have another woman to talk to someone to pull faces at. But it was very sad that these two young boys should have to go to an escort agency to get some girls. I think they were Pakistani, but said they were Persian, which they thought was more socially

When I was getting fed up with escort work I went down to a night club in Mayfair, which had about 25 girls working as hostesses. I'd seen an ad in a newspaper — no experience necessary — and at this stage I was thinking of writing an article about

my experiences.

I thought, well, I've got to get something out of all this degradation, to I figured I'd better find out about hostessing too. I went along and the guy asked me if I wanted to start that night. So I said okay, and sat down with the girls.

There you really feel like meat. We were all sitting at tables around the bar and the customers came in and eyed you up and down and then they would select which piece of meat they wanted to sit with.

You get a fiver to sit at a table with a guy and you must drink two bottles of champagne at around £8 a bottle. If you only drink one you're not really a good hostess. We had to fleece the guys for as much money as we could get. Then most of the girls go case as they call it - going all the way. It just doesn't pay otherwise, because you're lucky to get one customer a night.

'All the money was for him and all the pleasure was for him and everybody should fall at his feet because he had lots of money. It made me sick...'

Charming a man and flattering his ego was something S, a feminist, had been trained to do. Working as an escort and hostess tested that training to its limit.



# At work To the lonely the rich,

Nearly all the girls went case. The going price was £25. They said to me: you get chosen tonight and you sit with a guy and you don't want to go case, because it's your first night and you might feel funny about it, then try and sell him to one of us.

This is what they do. If you've got your period or you just don't fancy the guy, you pass him on. Of course, I didn't get chosen, and I couldn't face it again after the first night.

Then came Super Pig, who really put me off. He was just as I'd imagined escort customers would be. He was short and fat and greasy. And he was a merchant banker, with a fat

The other escorts had taken me to The other escorts had taken me to fairly nice places but hadn't sort of overdone it. This guy was throwing money around like mad. I was repulsed by it: his total self-indulgence. All the money was for him and all the pleasure was for him and every body should fall at his feet. because he had lots of money. It made me sick. I went out with him several

I was becoming more and more demoralised by the whole thing. I could see that I wasn't getting much out of it anyway and that I was being used more than I was using them. I was getting my £4 out of Super Pig he was spending £100 on the evening and it used to break my heart because I'd think: 'My God, can't we go and have a hamburger and give me

Super Pig propositioned me the first night — he said he desperately first night — he said he desperately wanted to go to bed with me and he would pay me anything I wanted.

Anything I wanted I could have. And

I thought about it quite seriously, Rationally in my mind I didn't think it

The girls at the club were saying: 'These guys are so drunk and the drunker they are the better it is for you because you get it over quicker." I got all the tips and inside information from the guls at the club. You must always get paid first, and you must try and get the guy as drunk as possible.

I thought about it very seriously for a few minutes with this banker. But I just couldn't do it. I don't know why, whether it was just because of his attitude, that he just felt he could buy me, and because he was such a nasty, arrogant man. So I said No, and I cried, It sort of threw him a bit.

#### SELLING MYSELF

I was losing all value for myself with this escort work. I felt I was really selling myself and I'd gotten into women's liberation so I really was very aware how horrible it all

Not just the degrading bit of being bought and sold, but being a little meat body and a little painted doll for this guy, and trying to please him and flattering him all the time, boosting his ego — doing all the old tricks you'd been taught all your life which were now so much against my grain.

When I got into women's liberation I just wanted to be me and I wanted people to see me as a person and not as a sex object, so it was really difficult that way. It was also difficult going

I then started to get some secretarial work. The temp jobs began coming in. And then secretarial became terrible too. I was working for a firm of property developers — land speculators — and I thought: 'God, they're my enemies. I'm working for my enemies again!'

I had a friend who was working in a Japanese club and she was making good money at it so I thought I'd try that for a while because she said it was above board.

It wasn't like the English clubs where you don't get enough custom so you have to go case to make up the money Japanese businessmen always go out to night clubs and always get a hostess to sit at their table, and they just talk and they're quite happy with that. So I worked there for a while,

The guys were mostly Japanese and they were quite easy to handle, but whenever an Englishman came into the club I used to try and hide because the first Englishman I sat with was just murder. He was so rude. He flipped my nipple as he was talking to me. I had a glass of champagne in my hand and I got such a shock that I jumped and the champagne went all

over the very pleasant Japanese gentleman I had on my other side. I was so pissed off, I went into the ladies and that's when the girls came in and saw me crying. They said: 'A customer? Don't worry. Just wait here until you feel better.' If a customer was obnoxious I used to go off to the ladies for 20 minutes.

Hostessing was okay to a certain extent and I worked there for two months. With escort work you're on your own the whole time. You feel | a good subject, do let us know.

very isolated and there's no one to talk to about it. I didn't know anyone else in the agency. But with hostessing you're with a group of women and meet them every night. You can laugh and joke about the customers, and tip each other off about them. But every night I was drinking as much champagne as possible, because

it was so boring and so unpleasant to be sitting with someone you didn't know, didn't like, and didn't really want to know. You soon found out where his head was at and it was nowhere near where your head was at. So you just keep drinking more and more champagne, and the next morning you would wake up feeling terrible, really depressed and lethargic.

I felt that it wasn't doing my physical health any good, and it wasn't much good either because I was fairly alienated from my group and I couldn't go to my meetings. So I finally gave up hostessing.

'You didn't sleep with any of your customers? You went for the merchant banker in the end?'

Yeh, I still find it difficult to talk about, It's still incredibly painful to think that I did it. I didn't do it when he first propositioned me. I waited, because I couldn't do it that night. But I thought I should do it because he had all that money.

I thought: 'Please give me some so that I can use it for the movement. It's not much of a big sacrifice.' At that stage I hadn't really ever had an orgasm. I used to fuck a lot and I thought well, I fuck enough anyway and I don't get much pleasure out of it so I might as well fuck for money.

It was really so horrible, and it made me feel so bad. And afterwards I felt, well, it's not going to help me any doing this. I'll never be able to make it sexually. In the last year I finally did manage to have an orgasm. That all came about through being in women's liberation, through getting to know my own body, manurbation, and through loving other women, just finding out how beautiful conts

The funny part is that after all the advice from the hostessing girls I was too polite to ask Super Pig for the money in advance, and I assumed he would be gentleman enough to give it to me afterwards, when I explained what I needed it for.

The next night he stood me up. I never heard from him again. I lost out all round. I was trying to be nice about it, which you can't do.

The problem about escorting and hostessing is that it's women who are taught to be beautiful objects and are conditioned all their life to please men, to catch a man to look after you and pay all your bills and dress you as this beautiful object.

And that's the type of woman who can fall into this trap, because this is what comes easy to me. The thing I'm most skilled at is charming a man and flattering his ego. And I can do that

I don't regret having worked as an escort and hostess. I'd looked upon it as an experience, and rationally I kept saying, well, why shouldn't I.

But emotionally I found it very

This contribution by S is taken from a conversation with GEOFFREY SHERIDAN, in April 1973. Socialists [and others] At Work is a regular feature. If you know someone— perhaps yourself—who would make

Sp per word. Display \$2 per column inch. Deadline: 3pm Saturday before publication. Payment in advance.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION badges, red on white available from J Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 50, London Ni 2XP. Cost: 15p each plus 7 p p6p, or 11p each for orders of 10 or more.

HELP Socialist Challenge, Greenwich Lewisham supporters are organising a jumble sale! If you have any jumble to be collected ring Jo on 359 8371 or drop it into the paper's offices at 32879 Upper St.

UNITED TROOPS Out Movement Forum - Instant and the coming general election. Decussion and debate to be followed by planning activity. Open to all supporters of the maximum to get Britan out of treats. London WC2, Holborn tube, Fri 4 Aug. PICKET GARNERS: Main pickets every day, noon to Spriand 5.30 to 11 pm at 399 Oxford St. London Will opp. Self-ridges: 245 Oxford St. (Oxford Circus), 30-41 haymarket; 36 Willforme St. (Leissaler St.), Mass picket was St. (Leissaler St.). picket every Saturday at noon, 369
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WHO OWNS women's bodies?
Meeting to plan internations: Day of Action on a woman's right to contraception and abortion, no loreed sterilisation. Mon 14 Aug at 7.30pm.
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FROM immigration Control to Induced Repatriation' by A Sivanandan Race and Class perspiret No 5 Available from all progressive bookshops or from The Institute of Race Retactors, 247 Pentonsille Rd, London N1, Price 20p plus 10p pkp.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST Toncency. Public Dayschool, "Interna-tional am and the Dictatorship of the Protetariot" St Matthews Church Hall, Briston Hill, SW2, Saturday & August 10am-Spm Creche facilities available, social in evening, Registration at 9,30am, 51 or 755 for non-eamers. All welcome to attend welcome to attend.

### Our trade union conference—an assessment

THE FIRST Socialist Challenge Trade Union Conference took place in Birmingham on 1 July. PAT HICKEY, a member of the paper's National Policy Committee and one of the organisers of the conference, here outlines an initial balance-sheet which will discussed along with other contributions at the next meeting of the NPC on 2 September.

The conference was called to discuss how the left could be rebuilt in the unions, to provide a political alternative to the class collaboration of the trade union leaders. The past three years have seen the right win major successes, but with no effective response emerging from the left.

The conference attracted more than 260 militants from all the major unions. Although only 30 per cent were from the manual unions, it showed that Socialist Challenge is reaching a growing audience of militants who are seeking an answer to the problems of organising against

It attracted militants with recent experience of struggle on key issues: union recognition (Sandersons), hours (Post Office Engineering Union), and the cuts (Emergency Bed Service branch of the Confederation of Health Service Employees). It is clear that a solid basis exists for building a wider audience in the unions for the paper and its policies.

The discussion showed wide measure of agreement on the need to build a broad-based opposition in the unions to the policies of the trade union leaders. Speakers pointed to the failure of the Broad Left to wage a serious fight against the bureaucracy.

The policy of relying on left bureaucrats to lead a struggle is clearly inadequate. These leaders will move only when independent activity from the base threatens their position.

At the same time it is necessary to avoid the errors of Rank and File, which sees only the need to present an organisational alternative, and fails to adopt the policies needed to break workers from their illusions in the bureaucracy.

A number of speakers explained the successes which had been achieved in building such oppositions in the Civil and Public Services Association, POEU, and National Union of Teachers. A central point made was that these oppositions were built by allowing full participation of all those prepared to struggle, and by allowing tendencies full democratic rights.

Such oppositions were not hamstrung by endless internal

bickering - an argument used by some of the left. On the contrary, democracy helped the struggle by creating a solid basis for united action. This was one clear message from the conference which supporters must carry back to their unions and workplaces.

However the conference did not take up the problems of how to fight for such oppositions clearly enough. The central task for revolutionaries today is to unify the vanguard in a fight for united action with the base of the Communist Party and left social-democracy, on class struggle policies.

The tactics and strategy of this task were not dealt with. How do we fight in Rank and File and Broad Left groups for united campaigns on, for example, the 35-hour week? How do we organise to support such struggles as the Fire Brigades Union strike? How do we give left oppositions a permanent structure?

It is clear that we must build another conference later in the year to give a clear orientation to our work. It will be necessary also to set clear projects for comrades and to discuss the tactics of such projects.

To pave the way for this we should prepare a trade union bulletin for Socialist Challenge supporters which will contain some of the features from the conference and comrades' assessment of it and how the next one should be organised.

In the meantime we have three priorities. We must fight first to build the lobby of the TUC on 4 September by getting delegations; second, to build the National Abortion Campa in trade union conference in November; and third, to build ANL groups in the workplace and the

This will provide us with common experience to discuss at the next conference.

### ocommunism

I WONDER if Bob Rowthorn would have written such a bland and uncritical defence of Eurocommunism had he realised that his article would follow immediately upon Mike Prior's totally accurate picture of the complete political benkruptcy of the British Communist Party.

How can a policy that bases itself on a wide extension of democratic rights be taken seriously when the organisation that issues it is subjected to cynical manipulation by the small group that constitutes its leadership, and the membership are denied the most fundamental rights compatible with a Marxist political party?

Eurocommunists make no attempt to answer fundamental criticisms of their strategy and instead reply with futuristic hypotheses of the possible disaster ahead if their policies are not

No-one would deny the strength of the right and their grip on sections of the working class. The trouble is that the Eurocommunists never take the right seriously, they never consider the possibility that by choosing to fight within the ruling class's own legalistic framework it is they who

may lead the working class to disaster. How can the problems posed by Mike Prior be solved? In the internal context of the CP I do not think that they can. The self perpetuating leadership of King Street would rather see the membership decimated than give up control.

My own personal solution, January this year, was to leave the CP after twenty years and in June apply for membership of the International Marxist Group, It would be presumptuous of me to suggest this action to the many genuine Eurocommunists for whose abilities as Marxists and whose commitment to socialism I have a great respect; their commitment has been far greater than mine over the last few years.

From the Eurocommunists I would ask: re-examine the evidence on which you base your conclusions; I think you have been unduly selective, you have reached judgement in advance of the facts; evidence that has not suited your case has been rejected unexamined (a fault not peculiar to Eurocommunists).

Even outside the Trotskyist tradition, Marxists such as Miliband and Claudin, among others, have made many telling points that you

have not answered. From the left? I think Tariq Ali is absolutely correct, there must be a dialogue. If the genuine Eurocommunists wish to get out of the ghetto it will be foolish to rebuild the wall from our side.

B.A. FRENCH [Southwater]



I HAVE been extremely interested in the attempts of Yuri Larin to get his father - Nikolai Bukharin - cleared of all the charges on which he was convicted in 1938. Such an effort must surely claim the support of all revolutionary Marxists.

However, does this mean that revolutionary Marxists should, either implicitly or explicitly, absolve Bukharin of responsibility for his support of Stalin's policies and regime, both before and after the defeat of the Right Opposition in 1928-29?

I think not. Bukharin bore a heavy responsibility, from the mid-Twenties on, in helping to create the monster that eventually devoured him. In this respect the final judgement upon Bukharin has yet to be made:

This brings me to another aspect. 1 do not think it is a coincidence that a campaign is being run in the West to rehabilitate Bukharin, and not all the victims of Stalin's frame-ups.

Who, above all, were these infamous Moscow trials aimed at? None other than Leon Trotsky, who continually figured as the most prominent defendant, even if only in absentia.

Trotsky, almost alone of the leaders of the October revolution, maintained un actual political struggle against Stalinism. Bukharin, on the other hand, has left no living political legacy.

Therefore, I would suggest, it is much easier for those with 'liberal consciences' to support a demand for Bukharin's rehabilitation, since this can be done without either an acknowledgement of, or association with, an existing revolutionary movement (with all its faults).

If such bodies as the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation are so concerned for justice, I would suggest that they widen their campaign to include all who were tried and condemned by Stalin's frame-ups (and also the countless others who were never even given a trial). If truth is indivisible, then let justice be also indivisible

Bulcharin's trial and execution was part and parcel of Stalin's conscious effort to wipe out the living traditions of Bolshevism and the October revolution. Therefore, it must be

clearly understood that when one demands the rehabilitation of all the defendants, and those imprisoned or executed without trial, one is essentially demanding the acknowledgement of a bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet regime, of which the Moscow trials were only (1) the 'finishing touches'.

For the rehabilitation of Bukharin? Emphatically yes, but as a part of the general rehabilitation of all the leaders

Trotsky, and of the revolution they

#### KENTARBUCK [Hove]

Our temporary reduction to 12 pages means that there may be a delay of several weeks before some letters appear. Please note that the length of letters printed will normally be kept down to 400 words in order to encourage as wide a range of contributions as possible. All letters of October, including may be cut at the Editor's discretion,

# Bookmarx club

So far the Bookmark Club has brought its members Harry McShana. Victor Sorge, Alexandra Kollantai. Tony Cliff and Frank Hardy—some of the best socialist writers of their time. Now we bring you a new Workers. Handbook, a novel of a socialist future and an authology of feminist art, among others.

HOW IT WORKS: You send £4.50 for a quarter year's membership. For this you get the two books in List A below, plus one other list of your choice. If you want a third or fourth selection, send £2.50 extra for each one. For the £4.50 you'll get books worth roughly £7 iretail prices are shown in brackets).

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LIST A
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McMullen (2.2.25).
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tagewords.
Ecotopie. By Ernest Callenbach
(6.1.20)
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UST 8
CLASS, RACE AND WORKER
IN SURGENCY, by James
Gescwhonder (£3.50)
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took offit the fractioning story of the League of
Resolutionary Back Workers formed in Defrict's
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LIST C.
REVOLT ON THE CLYDE, by Willy Callscher (C2.75);
42.75
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WOMEN ARTISTS by Karen Petersen 8 JJ Wilson (E3.95).
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or Stee 278-298, manual, or with or Steve (228 4287 evening), or write to Manchaster SS Centre, 14

PRESTON Socialist Challenge public meeting: 'No Phose 4, for 35 hours now' — speaker Pat Hickey (British Leyland, Rover Sotihult), Thursday 31 August, 7.45pm at Windsor Castle

PRESTON Socialist Challenge sup-porters can be contacted by ringing Preston 64518.

LIVERPOOL Speke Socialist Chal-lenge Group meets were Wednesday at Nosh's Ark pub, Speke, 8pm. SOUTH MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge group modes every other Thursday at the Albert Inn off Wilmstow Bd neig self Socialist Challenge between 11.30am and 1pm at Mass Side shopping centre or Longsight Warker, Dickenson Rd. SALFORD Socialist Challenge supcorters can be contacted at the Manchester Social at Challenge offices, Tel 081-235-2352 at by writing to Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre, o'o 14 Piccadiny, Manchester with a view to ferming a Selford

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ters and papers every Saturday Inventes St market in Camden To from 11am 3pm, son as every Sacunday 12-3 on the Gamera picket at

the Octor Circle District.

HELP SOCIALIST CHALLENGE.

Greeneich and Lewistern supporters
are organising a jumble sale. If you have any jumble to be consciented into an 359 657 or crop if into the paper's offices at 12872 Upper St.

HULL Socialist Challenge supporters needlets of jumble for a she soon. We can arrange collection. Offers of jumble to Annette 443243. Have a plear-out and help build the paper. HUDDERSFIELD Socialist Challenge Group meets nest on Thursday 3 August, 8pm at Friendly & Trades Club, Northumberland St. 1000, station). Discussion on Youth and Unemployment.

Unemployment'.
HUDDERSFIELD Socialist Challenge swes regularly Saturdays 11am-1pm in the Prazia. VORK Socialist Challenge is on as a at the York Community deckshop, 73 Walingsia or from sellers on Thursdays (12:30 f.45) is York University Vanorugh College, Setundays (11.75-3:30) at Coraly Street.
VORK Socialist Challenge group produces a regular local news bulletin. Any enquiries about the group or the bulletin to SC, ore 43 Grossenur Terrace, York.

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CARDIFF Socialist Challenge Forum: Workers contro and workers participation, Friday 11 August, 7 30pm, at the Four Elma pub, Cliffon St. (off Newbort Road).

# Post-mortem on Peruvian

election Interview with

**Ricardo Letts** 

RICHARD CARVER interviews RICARDO LETTS, the left-wing Peruvian newspaper editor, just before his return to Peru from exile in Europe.

recovering from his surprise at

being allowed back into Peru.

Letts, an editor of the Lima
left-wing weekly Marka, was
one of the 13 oppositionists
deported to Argentina at the
end of May. He was subsequently released and fled

When I met him in London, the day before his return to Lima, he was still puzzled at the readiness of the regime to pay hir return air fare. After all, as he pointed out, hadn't they just gone to all that trouble to get rid of him?

Letts had been exiled twice before. Expulsion is something of a political tradition in Peru, he explained. But this time was not the usual

#### UNIFORM

Along with hundreds of other leftists he was picked up on 18 May, just before the planned general strike against price rises. With seven other left leaders from Lima be was taken to a military airport where they were joined by five others, including two admirals, former members of the junta.

'The admirals were in full dress uniform and very, very naive', Letts explained. 'They thought that when they got to Argentina they would talk to Massera (an admiral and member of Videla's junta) and Massera would fix things up.

#### BARRICADE

'When they first told us we were going to Buenos Aires the admirals' reaction was: "Boys, it's a chance to see the World Cup". And these people used to be members of the government!

Letts and the others were less enthusiastic when they were told their destination. They tried to barricade themselves in a room and resist being put on the plane. According to

another member of the group, Letts, along with Hugo Bianco, was one of the ones who fought

#### ARCHIVES

In Argentina Letts was convinced they were going to be killed any moment: "It can't have been that the Peruvian government would have gone to all this trouble so that two weeks later I would be sat in this office in London. No, they were planning something else.

He recounted how, Buenos Aires, he got to look at his police file. 'This was when they were taking us from the dungeons to the ninth floor. It was quite accidental. I asked an old clerk what all these archives

'He says, "Ah, we've got everybody here." "You haven't got me", 1

'He says, "Of course, we must have. Where are you from?" "Peru."

"Ah, Peru, Peru... here we

are."
"OK, so you've got Peru, but you haven't got me."
"Ah yes, here we are."

'And so I got to look at my file!'

#### INFANTILE

In the elections Marka called for a vote for either of the far left slates, though Letts himself was a candidate of the Democratic Popular Union (UDP). Why had unity with the other far left front, FOCEP, not been possible?

'The short answer: sectarianism. Sectarianism, infantile

Letts argues that FOCEP had greater responsibility for the split than the UDP. Originally the two were united in one front but split over the question of whether it was possible to ally with the 'radical



Peruvian peasants at a demonstration

Letts maintains that the difference was a small one: "We and Blanco's party had already signed a joint programme. All we were asking was that anyone who agreed to the programme

What he leaves out is the crucial question of freedom of propaganda for each party within the electoral alliance.

Letts explained that the FOCEP parties had previously allied with the PSR, the party of the left officers, during, for example, the strikes in February. What was 50 different now?

I pointed out that there was a difference between agreeing a joint programme and taking

'Ah', Letts replied, 'But there is action and action. No-one believes that the agreement we have made today will be the one that puts us in power eventually. And so does t have to be so strict, so exact,

But surely there is fundamental difference strategy at stake. Will the Peruvian revolution be a simple overthrow of the military or will it signal the seizure of power by the working class?

Letts confirmed the difference between us: 'We are for popular democracy. What the masses want in Peru is unity. And they hate the leaders of FOCEP and UDP for not having achieved unity.'

So is unity possible?
"I would like very much that they dissolve into one front. When Blanco was asked this besaid yes, but we must take into account the power relations that have appeared in the election results.

'He has said the same thing about the relationship between the parties within FOCEP. And Blanco has something like have only 100,000. I think that he has made a very wrong

Letts thinks the regime has a good chance of stabilising itself. The early days of the Constituent Assembly have shown that the military can govern with the support of the majority right-wing bloc.

The Assembly, of course, has no legislative powers, and Letts is worried that the left will become marginalised discussing constitutional issues.

He is anxious to dispel any idea that the masses are on the verge of seizing power perhaps an over-reaction to the euphoria he has encountered in Europe: 'Many people say this is the moment for confrontation with the government, for the struggle for power. And that all forces must be put into popular cause. I think that is a ery negative attitude.

He is equally anxious to downplay the success of the Trotskyists in the election: 'The high vote comes from the less conscious sectors of the left.'

You can call them what you like, I suggested, but you still have to explain why the left in general and the Trotskyists in particular have made such

Letts ascribes it largely to the 'symbolic' appeal of peasant leader Hugo Blanco: 'Rouge in Paris says they have elected the Trotskyists to Parliament. That is nonsense. Less than half of one per cent consciously voted Trotskylst. They were voting for Blanco.

We broke off there. Ricardo Letts was off to Peru in the morning and he had last minute arrangements to make.

But I still felt that my last question was unanswered.

### Chile 'moderate' bites the dust

THE Chilean junta enters its most critical stage yet with the sacking of air force chief Gustavo Leigh.

Leigh, who passes for a moderate in Chilean terms, made the serious mistake of telling an Italian paper that 'Chileans have an ancient tradition of freedom and democracy.'

Leigh has been the junta member most worried by the damaging effect of revelations of military complicity in the murder of Socialist Minister Orlando Letelier in Washington in 1976.

A long time rival of Pinochet, Leigh had dectared his belief that there should be elections in five years time. Whether he was serious is hardly important. What does matter is that the increasingly militant mass movement can claim its first victim from within the ruling clique.

Any suspicions that Leigh was a genuine friend of the Chilean masses are dispelled by the fact that it was be who was trying to get back the four Rolls Royce aircraft engines still lying idle in East Kilbride. AUEW and TGWU workers

have refused to return them to Chile since the coup. This has sent the Tory press apoplectic with charges of 'theft' — a sad sign of what happens to your grey matter as soon as you believe that property is more important than people.

Now a Scottish court has ruled that the engines should be handed buck, and the government has given an export

But pieces of paper are one thing. They still have to move IN A curious incident at last year's Frankfurt book fair a mysterious South African named Degager tried to steal a manuscript from the stall of British publisher Juliun Friedmann, writes RICHARD CARVER.

The incident received little publicity at the time - this paper was one of only a couple to mention it encouraging that the book got a more reasonable share of column inches when it came out

last week. It is called The Nuclear Axis, Zdenek Cervenka and Barbara Rogers, and even a quick glance shows why the South Africans were worried. The book documents in detail the nuclear collaboration between West Germany and South Africa.

The disappearance of hundreds of documents from the South African embassy in Boon has furnished evidence of this co-operation, centred on the provision of West Germany's jet nozzle uranium enrichment technique to South Africa.

The South Africans are now

# The book the racists tried

able to test a nuclear bomb with obvious implications for African politics. On past evidence there is unlikely to be any limit to the mindless destruction by the apartheid regime to stop a black seizure of power.

Equally significant is the fact that this provides the where-withal for the West Germans to rearm themselves. Post-war treaties forbade West Germany to develop nuclear weaponry on its own soil.

The book hints that even in the early 1950s the other imperialist powers realised that escape clause.

Its membership of the URENCO 'Troika' with Britain and the Netherlands has allowed it to grow into a top nuclear power, capable of selling other countries the nuclear fuel cycle. In return they could provide West Germany with nuclear weapons in times of need.

Britain's membership URENCO makes it complicit in these developments. More specifically, the government contract for uranium from South African-occupied Namibia has been an important factor in developing the

apartheid regime's supply of raw uranium

As we have commented before, former Prime Minister Harold Wilson claims that Namibian uranium is decisive factor in British politics.

The fat spider may be gett eccentric in old age. But presumably he



Nuclear Axis Zdenek Cervenka and Barbara. Rosers (Julian Friedmann

### NTERNATIONAL

# **Zimbabwe**

# e news that fits

YOUR foreign editor eagerly picked up his copy of the 'Daily Express' on Monday, anxious to read news of the latest massacre in Mozambique: the eyewitness accounts by journalists flown out to the scene by Ian Smith's army; the interviews with the survivors; the horrific pictures.

What's this? The Express doesn't seem to have men-tioned it. Nor has the Mirror.

The Sun mercifully isn't with us this morning and the Mail has tucked it away on an inside page ('Blacks support new Mozambique raid').

#### BLOODBATH

Some papers give it more prominence: the Telegraph even leads on it. 'Britain told of 'bloodbath' fear'

But don't get your hopes up. The 'bloodbath' in question had nothing to do with the hundreds of Rhodesian troops and fighter planes.

danger was

'Guerillas were said to have killed nine black civilians and to have raped two black women

at gunpoint' Said by whom? Why, by the government which launched the raid on Mozambique, of course.

Since this time we don't have the benefit of the backs filing their reports from over the Mozambique border, we can only guess what has happened.

When Rhodesian troops attacked civilians at Chimoio, Mozambique, last November, they killed 1200.

Just as important is what this raid tells us about the state of the Smith regime and its 'internal settlement' with

Unusually the regime has released information of the

invasion before its completion — an indication that it wanted to get the maximum publicity for this great military victory over unarmed civilians.

For that is about the only sort of victory Smith's forces are Winning at the moment.

On one side Smith is losing

white support. In a recent Salisbury by-election the government candidate's poll dropped from 70 to 49 per cent.

#### ILLUSION

Even more to the point, there have been reports of fighting between guerillas and govern-ment troops in Salisbury itself

Not so long ago Smith was trying to tell us the guerillas commanded no support whatsoever - an illusion which is still being faithfully fostered by his Fleet Street fan club

exception, the Times recently printed an eyewitness account from Zimbabwe (written in Britain, so it avoids the censorship), which shows the extent of black nationalist control over the country.

In large areas of the country there is a dual administration, with all movements being vetted by the guerillas. More than half the whites in

the armed forces are now mercenaries who would not owe allegiance to a future puppet black government and plane seats out of the country are booked up right until 'independence' in December.

This is far from the conventional picture of these plucky English types, stoically resisting the tiny threat of the marxist terrorists'

Rhodesia is a regime built on violence and terror. Small wonder that its last response in the face of final defeat should be still more crueky.



SCENE of the Kassinga massacre when South African troops invaded Namibia. Another event the British press forgot to

# **Portugal** e crunch is nea

A MONTH ago Freitas do Amaral, the President of the Centre Democrats [CDS], declared with great conviction that politics would be calm this summer. At the same time Mario Soares repeated how he was confident that the Socialist-CDS coalition could govern until 1980.

JORGE BENCAO in Lisbon fills in the background to the governmental crisis in Portugal.

A massive demonstration of farm workers dissatisfied with the government's policy was enough to open a serious crisis leading to the fall of the government formed January.

The crisis started two weeks ago when the CDS presented the government with a five point ultimatum, of which the main point was to demand the dismissal of Agriculture Minister Luis Saias, accused of co-operation with the Communist Party over agrarian reform.

The roots of this turn are obvious. A week before the ultimatum, the Social Democratic Party (PSD) held its congress, where Sa Carneiro regained the presidency of the party, putting the Sousa Franco group into a minority. This

group is in a majority in Parliament and favours a more flexible attitude towards the government.

At the same time the leaderships of the three large bosses federations in industry, commerce and agri-culture launched a campaign against the government, accusing it of total incomgovernment, petence.

#### MASSIVE

At a conference of industrialists the three federations assembled 15000 people in a massive demonstration against the Soares cabinet.

As for the CDS, which led these federations, it was losing its political influence day by day: many members left it for the PSD, which was harder

against 'concessions to the

To recoup this influence and to respond to the agricultural workers assembled at Rio Maior, the CDS tried a political manoeuvre to try and make the Socialist Party (PS) give it

Two weeks later the outcome was very different: this move provoked a terrible reaction at the base of the PS and even in its national secretariat, divided between those who wanted to negotiate with the CDS and maintain the government and those who wanted the removal of the CDS, the fall of the government and elections.

The fall of the government, a result of the pressurising manneuvres from the PS and CDS was in the interests of the

bourgeoisie as a whole. The final communique of the PS meeting reflected this situation: it declared war on the development of the forces of the right — whom it had allowed into the government it blamed the CDS for the crisis and even went as far as to criticise the President of the Republic, unthinkable under

the normal political practice of

In effect, the Communist Party has become the firmest

supporter of the government, explicitly accepting its austerity proposals for the first time and miting all workers struggles as r as possible.

In July, it even called on the teachers not to strike, even though it was called by a CP-led union - a unique development since July 1974.

But even this conciliatory attitude was not enough to avoid a crisis which will have serious consequences and which will create a situation in which everything is fluid. Probably the IMF will cut its

credits. Speculation and economic sabotage will get worse and, above all, any sort of agreement between the PS and CDS is now very difficult (the PS accuses the latter of being the motor of the far right) or between the PS and PSD (accused of having chosen an 'irresponsible' for leader).

Even the elections raise enormous problems: there is currently no electoral law, no

currently no electoral law, no census, and the Parliament months at the latest, will only last a year at the most, because the 1980 elections can't be put back.

Having failed manoeuvre to set up an open coalition government with the right, the PS is retreating at full steam to launch itself into an electoral battle which will probably confirm it as the first party in terms of votes, but will not allow it to win back the abstentions caused by demoralisation, austerity and its



MARIO SOARES

# rag bloodbath

IRAQ is currently going through one of its traditional political feuds. Whenever divisions appear in the Baath Party the blood begins to flow.

The recent attack on the Iraqi Ambassador in Britain is clearly part of some internecine struggle which is being masterminded in Baghdad. A few months ago 21 Communists were executed on charges of planning 'a per-

fidious seizure of power' The charge is absurd. The Iraqi Communist Party has been a loyal ally of the Baathist regime for many years.

After the bloody massacres of communists in the 1958-60 period the CP made its peace with the Baath, while a dissident faction known as the High Command' split away and remained in opposition.

The Iruqi Banthists have always been strong on rhetoric and weak in actions. In 1971 when Hussein of Jordan butchered the Palestinians the Iraqi troops stationed in Jordan remained passive and were later withdrawn.

Iraq has recently been 'militant' in attacking Sadat and his peace overtures, but its own political line is determined

largely by internal considera-tions and by its old rivalry with the Syrian Baath.

The new purges and executions of Communists could well indicate a move away from the USSR [one of the regime's main international backers] and towards Iran, the main relay of imperialism in the

The Iraqi CP newspaper Al Shaab has denied charges levelled against the CP and has reaffirmed its 'constant efforts to strengthen and broaden its alliance with the Banth Party.'

Whether this will be sufficient to stop the butchery the extremely unlikely.

is extremely unlikely.

### Intercontinental Press combined with HIDIPCOF

THE working class deputies in Peru are already turning the Constituent Assembly into a tribune for the struggle of the masses, reports special correspondent Fred Murphy in the latest issue of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor IVol. 16, No.

Murphy has been sent out to file on-the-spot coverage week by week for the journal. Nowhere else will you be able to follow in such detail the attempts of the far left parties to build on their stunning election advance; their fight to unify the workers organisations in a common struggle to end their exploitation and oppresston.

To follow this struggle means subscribing now. The cost is very reasonable: £9 for one year 48 issues], £5 for six months [24 issues], or £2.50 for an introductory offer of 10 issues.

Write now to Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, PO Box 50, London NI 2XP. Cheques/ POs should be made out to Intercontinental Press.



ERNEST MANDEL, a leader of the Fourth International, speaking in West Berlin in defence of imprisoned East German Marxist Rudolf Bahro. This was the first time in several years Mundel had been allowed into West Germany. The decision to let him in caused outrage in some conservative quarters.

# Socialist Challenge

# Union officials ditch Lucas workers' plan

MIKE COOLEY, former president of the Engineering Union's white-collar section and a leading militant at Lucas Aerospace, is threatened with the sack because of his campaigning activities on the corporate plan drawn up by Lucas workers.

Officals of his union, AUEW [TASS] - dominated by the Communist Party - say that Cooley will be on his own. GEOFFREY SHERIDAN reports.

surprisingly, management of Lucas Aerospace has never had any love for the corporate plan, drawn up by its workforce through the combine shop stewards committee.

The plan challenges much that capitalism stands for. It puts forward a wide range of products designed to meet human needs instead of the inhuman drive for profit.

With the announcement, earlier this year, of the pro-jected closure of four Lucas Aerospace plants and 2,000 redundancies, the products that have been devised - specially tailored to the skills and equipment available at Lucas - are needed more than ever.

#### **ENTHUSIASM**

Not surprisingly, the idea of the corporate plan has been received with considerable enthusiasm in the labour movement. Among those who about is Mike Cooley. Cooley is chairperson of the TASS committee at the Willesden factory in NW London where he works. He is also chairperson of the TASS membership throughout Lucas Aerospace, and editor of the combine committee's news-

#### **OPPOSED**

On 5 July, the company's personnel director wrote to Ken Gill, general secretary of TASS and a member of the Communist Party, detailing the time Cooley had sought for activities not concerned with his activities as a corresponding

'Corresponding member' is TASS's term for workplace union representatives. Cooley's time off was concerned with the corporate plan. It averaged 41/1 days a month, for which his pay had been stopped.

The personnel director, Alan Whitney, made it clear that he opposed to Cooley's

# **Exclusive** Cooley faces

activities - paid or unpaid although the company provides union representatives with full

Whitney's letter added: 'I shall be pleased if this matter could be referred to the national exectutive as a formal protest in the hope that Mr Cooley can be advised.

'Obviously, if he should persist in taking time off to deal with matters which are outside his approved trade union activities, then the company will have to take whatever appropriate action

#### APPROACH

There are two words with which any self-respecting trade union would immediately reply to such an approach from management. The polite for-mulation is 'Get stuffed'.

Not so the Ken Gills of this



MIKE COOLEY

signed a statement urging Industry Ministry Eric Varley to persuade Lucas management world or the rest of the Broad Lefts on the TASS leadership. Last week the executive to stop its victimisation. referred the matter to sub-committee which is due So the company has appealed

to meet as we go to press.

When Lucas Aerospace management first threatened Mike Cooley, six weeks ago, stewards from every site told them that any victimisation would lead to industrial action. Forty Labour MPs have

directly to the union bureaucracy for support, unilaterally defining TASS policy in the process. Management says the corporate plan has nothing to do with the union.

TASS evidently agrees. Ken

Gill has said that the plan is against the policy of the

And now two full-time officals — Chris Dark in London, and Charlie Lomas in Birmingham - have told TASS meetings: 'If Cooley is sacked for working on the plan, he will not be supported by the union."

That's the measure of the Broad Left's enthusiasm for one of the most far-sighted ideas to come from the labour movement, and of its defence for the best-known socialist in

Militants will not stand by, even if the CP leadership does Next week: How the Govern-ment and union leaders are ditching the Lucas Acrospuce

SPANISH police have broken up the 'Red Holidays' in the Basque country, arresting and

deporting some 100 people.

The holiday is organised by the youth organisations of the Fourth International in France and Spain. The organiser of the FI's youth work in Pampiona was shot dead by

police a few weeks ago.

A British purty which had been plunning to join the holiday at the beginning of August has cancelled its trip.



THE POP art boom of the '60s brought Allen Jones much acclaim for his paintings of women's legs in high heels and close-fitting stockings; his images drawn from sadistic pornography; and fibre glass statues, such as that of a nude woman kneeling on all fours with her back supporting a coffee table.

Jones continues to produce work of this exhilarating intensity, which the Institute of Contemporary Art in London is now displaying. The gallery presumably shares the artist's view of his work, and has produced a revolting poster of a plastic looking woman with large upturned breasts.

Allen Jones becomes extremely indignant if you suggest that the appeal of his paintings is manifestly what it I while we get ripped off."

is. He insists that it's about the 'exploration of spatial ambiguity'

Among those who sharply disagree with him are a group of women who call themselves the Fruit Pies. On 27 July they invaded the ICA, demanding to know why the gallery had decided to give Jones an exhibition. Outside they mounted the picket illustrated here.

The Fruit Pies say: 'We think we've got more exciting ideas than Mr Jones and that we, the real thing, have much more to say than the boring cliches he produces. What does he know about women? He goes no further than Soho for his inspiration - it's no wonder you feel you've seen it all , before... and he gets richer

OUR Under Review editor writes: You've probably seen these quiz shows on the telly where some geezer comes on and says double your money, guess who you're married to, when did Mario Lanza's voice break, and - bang they haven't won this week's star prize.

Well, folks, there's this other show that's called Beat the Reepa courtesy Firesign Theatre which goes like this: contestants are injected with a mystery disease and they've got 20 seconds to guess what it is from the symptoms.

It starts off easy with things

Address \_\_

like chicken pox, jaundice, and cancer. Then it gets harder, so as the time is up and the contestant has collapsed with these huge swellings under his/her arms and groin, the compere says: 'Sorry, you had bubonic plague,'
Well, I was thinking this

might be a fund-raising idea for Socialist Challenge Groups...

Our Medical Correspondent feverishly adds; This is outrageous. It's very dangerous. Don't even think about t. Don't do it, okay.

Our Mafia Connection suggests: Well, it's alright by

You'll have gathered from this nonsense that with R Sisson's departure and with D Weppier stretched out under the sun some place, the dummies in the editorial office

haven't got a clue about raising

I've got a suggestion — two in fact. The first is why don't you write a piece for this column and I will make sure it gets in.

The second is this. When you're abroad where the liquor is cheap get a bottle or two and when you're back here drink it. Then go out with the empty

bottle and when you see someone who looks rich, sneak up behind and

The Editor writes: I take no responsibility for any of the above, PC and DPP please

We need money, and that's a fact. Thank to Arie Luiten from Amsterdam who dropped in a bottle of Jonge Bokma Dutch gin that we'll raffle (you could do this with the duty frees) and also to all those with bankers' orders which brought in £187.83 for July.

Keep the cash coming in.

Domestic: 6 months, £5. 12 months, £10 Abroad: Per annum -- Airmail, £16.50. Surface, £10 Domestic special offer: Three months, £2

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