

Socialist Challenge

Message from East End strike against racism is

'WE WANT YOU WITH US EVERY SUNDAY'



Photo: G. M. CORKINSON (Socialist Challenge)

The sit-down on Sunday that kept the fascists out of Brick Lane

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EDITORIAL

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Sunday against the Nazis

THE EVENTS which took place in Brick Lane last Sunday and Monday are remarkable on many counts. The unity in action on the Sunday kept the Nazis away from the area. The strike on Monday and the subsequent events were not a 'white left adventure', as some diehard sectarians had thought, but turned out to be a truly historic occasion. Its lessons must be learnt and spread throughout the country.

What is now a vital task is to keep Brick Lane safe on Sundays. The police had originally stated that they showed no favouritism towards the Nazis. It was simply a question of 'first come, first served'. But when anti-fascists turned up at 5.30am they were subjected to constant harassment. There were five arrests. It was only when the Bengali youths arrived that the police adopted a lower profile.

What this means is that every Sunday must become a day of action against the fascists and racists in Brick Lane. This is not an easy task. For all working people Sunday is a day off and a day to be enjoyed. But for the Asians in Brick Lane it has, on many occasions, become a day of racist attacks and terror.

The local labour movement must now demonstrate that all its anti-racist talk is not just empty chatter. Labour Party activists and trade unionists must treat Brick Lane on Sunday as an urgent priority. The Anti-Nazi League's local organiser has already stated that the ANL will be mobilising every week. This initiative must be backed by all anti-fascists in London.

What we are confronting is a gang of racist toughs who aim to secure thousands of votes in the East End by demonstrating their prowess in terrorising the ethnic minority. We have to treat this as a serious test of our strength, both politically and in terms of our capacity to organise. So the slogan for the summer in London is short and simple: **OUT EVERY SUNDAY AGAINST THE NAZIS IN BRICK LANE.**

Grunwick - the end

THE GRUNWICK strikers finally admitted defeat last Friday when they called off their industrial action as it approached its second anniversary.

It was important because of the issues involved: first, the century-old battle for the right of workers to organise a trade union; secondly, the contemporary significance of the struggle of immigrant and women workers. But perhaps its crucial importance lay in the battle between conflicting strategies put forward for winning the strike.

There is no doubt that the leadership of the union involved — APEX — wanted to win the strike, as did the leadership of the TUC. If trade union leaders cannot deliver on such a basic issue as recognition, then they lose credibility in the eyes of working people.

The reason the union leaders could not deliver at Grunwick was because of the weapons they chose. They chose impartial enquiries, the courts, and the 'sense of fair play' of the employer. They chose those weapons because a reliance on good sense, 'impartial' courts, and compromise through negotiations is in the nature of their reformist politics.

Similarly, it was in the nature of their politics that they deliberately blunted and sabotaged the alternative weapons which were on display — the weapons of mass action involving tens of thousands of workers caring little if they were in conflict with the forces and institutions of legality.

Mass picketing, continued boycotts, cutting off supplies and services could have won the strike — that is indisputable; they came very near to winning the strike. Victory was denied because the leadership of APEX and the TUC, urged on by a Labour Government, became more frightened at the prospect of direct power being exerted by their rank-and-file than they were at the possibility of George Ward winning. So they threatened and made false promises until the mass picketing was called off and the postal boycott was stopped.

Those who speak of relying on union leaders — left or right — to deliver the goods will now need to do some explaining over Grunwick. But it should also be said that those who believe that these leaders can be somehow ignored or simply vilified should also do some thinking.

Grunwick was the rank-and-file in action. It was the rebellion of the rank-and-file. In the end all the militancy, all the mass action, was not enough to get round the sabotage of the trade union leaders. In short, the bureaucracy is strong and cannot be wished or insulted away. They need to be taken on politically.

But Grunwick did show the immense possibilities of unity in action and for that, as for many other things, we all owe the strikers a tremendous debt.

Summer schedules

As from next week Socialist Challenge will revert to its summer schedule. The next five issues will consist of 12 pages, though the price will remain the same.

THE FIRST WORD

Is the racist tide beginning to turn?

REGULAR READERS of this paper will have noticed that over the last year a large number of our covers as well as inside coverage have been devoted to attacking racism, writes TARIQ ALI.

All the major initiatives on racism have come from the National Front or from bourgeois politicians. We have seen the growing attacks on black people by racist thugs. We have heard the incitements to racial hatred from Enoch Powell.

We have seen Margaret Thatcher on 'World in Action' sympathising with the 98 per cent of whites in this country who feel that they are being 'rather swamped' by 2 per cent of blacks.

DRACULA

We have seen the Dracula of Southall (otherwise known as Syd Bidwell) proudly informing the media that he not only voted for the Select Committee Report on Immigration, but was actually responsible for drafting the disgusting document.

And in response we have observed the reassurances of Merlyn Rees and Uncle Callahodge to the white population.

'Don't be alarmed,' they have said. 'We've virtually put a stop to any blacks being allowed into the country. True, there are a few dependants we let in, but we make life hell for them in our embassies abroad and at Heathrow. Soon they'll stop applying.'

All these promises, these words of comfort, are intended for the overwhelming majority of this country's population — feeling, as it is, the stresses and strains of an economic system

in crisis.

But what about the harassed and isolated black/Asian communities in this country? They are the scapegoats, the sacrificial lambs to be sacrificed on the altars of British capital.

An American journalist recently told me that he was amazed by the cowardice of Labour politicians.

'In the States we have racist politicians,' he said, 'but we have equally tough anti-racist politicians. Of course both are cynical and out to get votes. But why doesn't Labour realise that it could sew up the ethnic vote here by being bold?'

Why indeed? One reason could be that the history of black oppression and the resistance to it stretches back two centuries in the United States. In Britain it is a relatively recent phenomenon. Its origins are situated in a different phase of the development of capitalism.

FATALISM

In addition, Labour politicians (including left social-democrats) have until very recently been too frightened by the extent of racist prejudice in the country as a whole to attempt any serious fight against it. A Fabian fatalism has paralysed the labour movement.

It is certainly the case that racism seeps out of every pore of capitalist Britain. There is the racism of the state and its institutions. The police force is the major criminal in this

regard.

It is a fact that there is a great deal of sympathy for the NF in sections of the police. A wider layer are open racists. Their remarks on the Grunwick picket line, at Lewisham, and at Ladywood give the game away.

The police chiefs are aware of this and are trying to recruit Asian and West Indian policemen, but without too much success. For, as Vorster has shown, it is much more effective to get black cops to deal with black rebels.

PROVED

There is the openly admitted and acknowledged racism in employment. This has been statistically proved and documented by the important PEP report of a few years ago.

Then we have prison warders, magistrates, judges, doctors, and yes, some teachers as well. It is certainly easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than to discover an area in British social and political life where racism does not exist.

Except, of course, in the upper reaches of British society, where the advent of petrodollars and Arab capital has meant that the Hunkeys in the Mayfair hotels and Harrods are extra careful. Though even here, as Sir Richard Dobson revealed, the discussion in private clubs is as virulently racist as ever.

So the obstacle appears to be formidable. Many well-meaning social-democrats opposed to racism get so depressed and demoralised by the extent of the problem that the result is usually a self-induced political paralysis.

In contrast it has been the agitation, propaganda, and actions of revolutionary socialists that has led to a small but perceptible change in the situation. In this regard the Anti-Nazi League initiative has had a major impact.

The carnivals, the meetings, the agitation, the mobilisations to defend black people have, at last, begun to turn the tide. It is still a small beginning, but with big possibilities.

The growing mobilisation of the black community in the East End has led to the first strike against racism in British history. The decision of the Coventry busworkers to strike over police brutality and racism against a black bus driver is another important step forward.

The resolutions at numerous trade union conferences against fascism and racism, coupled with the decision by a number of unions to affiliate to the ANL, reflect a growing desire to fight back.

OK, so we shouldn't get too excited. We have a long way to go. But we can take some heart from the fact that consistent opposition to racism can lead to mobilisations of broader forces in the labour movement.

UNITY

The problems are still enormous — and not least within the black communities — but they can be overcome by unity in action and mass mobilisations.

For there is no real material basis for working class racism in Britain. It is today the accumulated ideological product of Britain's past. Unless it is eradicated there will be no socialist future.



Patrick Kodikara leads marchers off after Brick Lane sit-down on Sunday

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

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

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

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

[Delete if not applicable]

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

OUR POLICIES 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



It's carnival time

IN MANCHESTER

THE ANTI Nazi League Northern Carnival held in Manchester on Saturday was another spectacular success for the anti-fascist movement, writes MARTIN COLLINS.

Around 30,000 marched and pogoed through the same streets where only a few days before rain-soaked Labour Party canvassers had tried to sell the sorry record of the Labour Government in the Moss Side by-election.

Then Labour crawled to victory; on Saturday the anti-fascists ran and sang to victory — marchers of all ages and colours.

The National Front could only muster six storm troopers to parade under the Union Jack. The cops hauled them off for their own good.

Disgraced NF Moss Side candidate Herbert Andrew didn't show. He was probably still trying to figure out how to hang onto his job after last Friday's picket of his school, where school kids explained to their mates inside how to treat fascist teachers.

The music of Exodus, Steel Pulse, China Street, and the Buzzcocks drifted across Alexandra Park as thousands from all over the North made it clear which side they were on. The 3,000 badges against racism and immigration controls sold by Socialist Challenge supporters underlined the message.

But there is more to fighting racism than wearing a badge. The aim now is to turn the euphoria of the carnival into a strong organisation against racism and fascism — in the estates, workplaces, colleges and schools.

Already tenants in the Hulme district of Manchester have backed the organisation of black self-defence groups in the area. That's one example — the Northern ANL carnival will make it and many similar ones

easier to follow.

IN CARDIFF

LAST SATURDAY saw Cardiff's first Carnival against Racism. The organisers promised many more. GWYNETH JONES reports.

There were the usual banners — Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Unity, ANL — together with three beautifully painted large ones from miners lodges, like murals fluttering in the air. Two thousand people rallied there — mainly trade unionists, students, and a powerful contingent of Africans behind the local Anti-Apartheid banner. The number of schoolkids and punks was small.

There was a brass band leading the demonstration and by its side a 60-year-old West Indian dancing to its rhythm. A steel band followed from the rear.

There was music interspersed with slogans all along the route from the docks to Sophia Gardens through the city centre. Large numbers of bystanders applauded and cheered. There were no Nazis in sight.

At Sophia Gardens there was a rally. Neil Kinnock MP, Ben Davies from the NUM Executive, and Tariq Ali, Editor of Socialist Challenge, stressed the need for a united fightback against racism.

Kinnock and Ali also pointed out the vital necessity to build and extend the ANL in every sphere of work and activity.

There was dancing and reggae music, foodstalls, bookstalls, jumble and other amusements. General verdict: a good start, but not enough kids.

IN WALTHAM FOREST

A COUPLE of thousand people are expected at Waltham Forest Campaign Against Racism Carnival on

Sunday 23 July. Starting at 1pm in Selborne Park, E.17 (opposite Walthamstow Central Tube) its attractions will include groups such as Black Slate and Leyton Buzzard, Broadside Theatre, dancers, sideshows, food and stalls for the ANL, SWP, Socialist Unity, etc.

AND IN SOUTHALL

A CARNIVAL Against Racism is being held in Southall Park on Saturday 22 July. It is being organised by Southall Carnival Against Racism Committee, which includes Rock Against Racism, the Southall Youth Movement, the ANL, and the Indian Workers Association.

The Carnival starts at 12 noon, with entertainment ranging from reggae, punk, and Asian rock music to folk dances and theatre groups.

BUT NOT IN EDINBURGH

EDINBURGH ANL is continuing its fight against the police and local authorities to hold a Scottish Carnival Against the Nazis in Edinburgh on August 5, write PAULINE and DES TIERNEY.

The first setback in the organisation of the carnival came with the refusal of the Tory-controlled district council to allow the use of a large park in the centre of Leith, an area of high immigrant population.

Their reason, according to a spokesperson was the Tories' unwillingness to see pop music being used to attract young people to politics!

A vigorous campaign was organised in the labour movement against the ban. Leading members of the Scottish executive of the National Union of Mineworkers and the leadership of the STUC lent their weight to the campaign, and the Lothian regional council, controlled by Labour, was persuaded to allow the use of their premises in

Leith.

But the enemies of the ANL were not finished. This time the police registered their opposition, as the new route would block traffic on roads and it would by-pass a crematorium! It so happens the roads were closed earlier this month to allow the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards to parade its Chieftain Tanks, armoured cars and troop carriers around the city.

Once again ANL activities are geared for a campaign to make sure that our democratic rights to assemble and enjoy ourselves are not taken away.

NOR IN COVENTRY

'THE CARNIVAL we don't need' is how the local press in Coventry headlined its opposition to a planned anti-racist event, reports ANNA REESE from the carnival organising committee.

The Tory council in Coventry — which shares the view of the press — is now proposing that the carnival planned by the city's Anti Nazi League and the Committee against Racism and Fascism should be held six miles from the city centre.

The opposition of the Tories has concentrated support for the carnival. Over 150 people picketed a council meeting, and the Labour group has promised its full support.

Last week a report by a community relations council officer was banned because, among other things, it accused a number of major employers in the area of having a discriminatory recruitment policy.

The list included Coventry city council. While the right turns a blind eye to racism, and is doing its best to counter anti-racist activities, a one-day strike has been called against racist assaults on bus drivers.

And the carnival will go ahead!

'They say I'm mad'

BUDDY LARRIER conducted and then drove buses for London Transport for about twelve years without much incident. Last May he went sick with a cut tendon in his right hand little finger, for which he received treatment at Lewisham Hospital as an outpatient.

One day he was leaving the hospital with his sister, who was over from Canada on a visit, when a dramatic looking row broke out between them. Someone called the police. Buddy was dragged back into the hospital, injected and he passed out. He woke up in Bexley mental hospital.

Nobody would tell him why he was there, other than that he had been detained for 28 days under section 25 of the Mental Health Act.

Buddy swears that he didn't know either of the doctors or the social worker who signed him in, although this is required by the Act.

The drugs they gave him to 'calm his nerves' made him sick. He tried to use the appeal procedure under the Act but discovered that the 28 days would be up before the appeal would be heard.

The doctors were in total control, responded to questions with anger, and only sent him back to Lewisham for further treatment as an outpatient when he threatened total rebellion.

When there he managed to persuade a doctor there to give him a sealed letter declaring him fit to drive. Unknown to him the letter also claimed he had had a 'psychiatric illness of uncertain nature — a type of religious experience'.

When the Garage Manager broke the seal and read this to him it was the first time he had heard any reason for what had happened to him.

Bexley mental hospital informed the LT doctor that he had had a 'psychotic experience', though admitting that the 'diagnosis remains uncertain'. Driving was out.

The union's full time officer made no attempt to investigate Buddy's story independently. He advised Buddy to accept LT's offer to go back conducting.

But wouldn't this be an admission of guilt? Moreover, if he was sane enough to conduct, wasn't he sane enough to drive?

Abandoned by the health service he had paid his taxes for, by the employer he had kept in business, and the union he had paid his subs to, Buddy finally accepted retirement on medical grounds last September. He was 34 years old.

He has since taken London Transport to an industrial

tribunal for paying him only a quarter of the increased pension benefit to which he claims he is entitled.

His licence to drive a bus may also be withdrawn as Buddy is still out of work. The stigma of mental hospital is more enduring than that of prison and much more insidious.

You can rob a bank and not go short on love and friendship; but could you share your life with someone who might just be a psycho? Could you ever really trust them?

A union, like a suit of armour, is only as strong as its weakest link. This is Buddy LARRIER's story, but I didn't write it for his sake; I wrote it for yours and mine.

If you understand that then you'll want to do something about it.

Buddy LARRIER was a tailor in Barbados when, at a time of acute staff shortage, LT were recruiting in the West Indies.

For months Buddy attended evening classes and was given lessons on English history and English language; he was even taught how he was supposed to behave in public! No mention of collecting fares was made until his final week.

He passed a whole battery of tests and interviews. 'They made it sound as if I was going to work in Buckingham Palace', he recalls.

During his first week as a conductor a passenger spat at him. He went driving because of the racist abuse that built up at the time of Enoch Powell's first speech on immigration in 1968. He swore never to go conducting again.

'I didn't just come here', says Buddy, 'I was brought here. They needed me. But after twelve years a doctor's report was enough for them to give me the push.'

* This article is reprinted from the Summer 1978 issue of The Platform, paper of the London Transport Rank & File Organisation.



LOOKING FORWARD

IT WAS a glorious two days for London's East End. On Sunday thousands of anti-fascists made Brick Lane a no-go area for the Nazis. On Monday there was the first ever strike in this country against racism. GEOFFREY SHERIDAN, JUDE WOODWARD and COLIN TALBOT were there.

8,000 strike against racism in the East End

SUNDAY

At 5.30am on Sunday morning the first paper sellers arrived in Brick Lane. They were not Nazis but comrades from the Socialist Workers Party.

As the minutes passed they were joined by more and more anti-fascists. Bengali youths, ANL activists, Socialist Unity supporters began to swell the ranks.

Five hours later Brick Lane was a no-go area for the National Front. The mood was militant. Spirits were high. Months of harassment and attacks were at last being answered. Everyone was united.

UNITY

Speeches were made. They all stressed the same theme. Unity is strength. This was only the beginning. We would be back every Sunday.

The Bengali speakers explained what had been happening in Brick Lane for months. They said they wanted action. They had had enough words. Words of caution,



BENGALIS and white anti-racists sitting in occupation of the Front's paper sellers' pitch in Brick Lane last Sunday. The Front were forced off the streets for the day.

words of patience, words of peace and calm. They wanted no more. And they proved that this was

what they meant. It was a victory. There was no pollution in Brick Lane on Sunday 16 July.

Towards the end of the morning the Bengalis were already discussing the strike scheduled for the next day. How successful would it be? Had they overstretched themselves? Would they get support from outside Brick Lane?

MONDAY

You can feel the excitement in the air. Brick Lane and its environs are full of young Bengali workers discussing amongst themselves. These are the pioneers.

They divide the area amongst themselves to organise pickets. One group hears that in street X a few shops are still open. They

rush in its direction. Halfway there they meet



THE two Bengalis arrested for arguing with a fascist



All the shops in the Brick Lane area closed in protest at racism on Monday.

some comrades from the other side. No need to worry. The shops are shut. Grins and loud cheers all round.

The Naz Cinema has been turned over to the organisers of the day's events — the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Defence Committee. Hundreds of workers are assembling outside it and moving inside, but slowly and only after they have ascertained what's going on.

they did anyway, and hundreds arrived at the Naz Cinema.

There were a number of white kids as well from the Tower Hamlets Girls School, who decided to join the strike after receiving leaflets from Caroline Freedman, a local IMG militant.

At the Naz Cinema information was provided as to



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

MILITANT

At the same time scores of schoolkids begin to arrive chanting militant anti-NF slogans. Demiah from Dane-ford Boys Secondary School on Bethnal Green Road tells us:

'The Headmaster refused to let us go. He threatened us. But our parents supported us and said we could take the day off to fight against racism and the NF.'

'There are hundreds of racists in our school, but the teachers do nothing about it. Some kids shout NF slogans during the break and chalk racist slogans.'

'When you complain to the Headmaster he puts all the pressure on us. Three of my friends have left the school in despair. Today there are 60 of us here. It's great!'

At Robert Montefiore there was no official permission for the school students to leave. But

the success of the strike. Adol Biswas, a Bengali militant and SWP member, announced that support was growing. Even a section of workers in Ford's had come out. Cheers, applause and slogans.

At the meeting after lunch the cinema was packed to capacity. It was an amazing occasion. The Brick Lane soviet was in session. Tariq Ali declared:

'You are making history. News of this will spread to all the ghettos in the country. In Moss Side, in Bradford, Birmingham and Wolverhampton they will hear of what happened in Brick Lane this day and they will take heart.'

ORGANISE

'But we must build on the success and organise. Organise both self-defence and in the trade unions. Fight every exploiter...'

At 5pm crowds were gathering outside the cinema. Dave Albery, the East London ANL organiser, arranged an impromptu march around the streets. It drew increasing support and arrived back in Brick Lane at 5.30.

The workers inside now poured out to swell the



THE ARRESTS led to a mass sit-down outside the Bethnal Green police station — until

'We've got NF supporters in our school. I hate them.'



L to R: Karen, Cathy, Lisa, Rosemarie

THE LOUDEST applause at the midday rally in Hackney on Black Solidarity Day was for the school students — black and white — who spoke.

And the largest contingent among the 150 or so gathered in front of the town hall were a dozen women students from Clapton School.

Three 4th Formers — Rosemarie, a West Indian, and Cathy and Karen, who are white — spoke to 'Socialist Challenge' about the experiences that led them to join the protest against racist violence and police harassment.

Rosemarie: I was chased by the National Front last week. I was going home from my boyfriend's and near London Fields someone shouted there was NF, so I had to climb over walls and things to get away.

Some of them were wearing arm bands saying NF, and they were shouting 'black bastards'. There's a few of the white boys who go around with coloured girls, so the Front were trying to get them as well.

Someone said they heard a gun go off, but I wasn't sure because I was crying and that. It's not safe for people to go out at night.

Cathy: The police do nothing about it, either. They pick people up for anything. They got my friend who's black and told him to take his hat off. He was just walking along.

They pulled his hat off and kicked him. They broke his toe and when he told them it was

broken they said 'So what, black bastard'. He came crying to us, the poor little sod.

Karen: Because we go around with black people we get called 'slag, tart, nigger lover' — we get it all the time.

I was over the lido in Victoria Park and this lifeguard went over to my friend and said 'Look at that slag there with all those niggers' — pointing at me. 'She needs a good slap'.

We go with black people because you're with them at school. It just happens. If they're born here, they're English — I think so.

Rosemarie: It's all lies about black people causing unemployment and bad housing. When they offered blacks jobs on the buses and that it was because whites wouldn't take them.

Some jobs they don't take you for because of your colour.

The racists degrade us. Some kids look at newspapers and

take up what other people say. They hear about Nazis and they copy it. It's just stupid.

Karen: We've got NF supporters in school and some of them wear badges. We get a lot from Hoxton.

Cathy: We don't talk to them much.

Karen: I hate them. In school we talk about racism in English. Rosemarie: We talk about what people do to people and why they do it.

Cathy: And about programmes they have on the telly.

Rosemarie: Teachers gave out leaflets for today, about black and white unite and fight. But we had to hide them so the deputy head wouldn't find out.

One girl was reading the leaflet and the deputy head took it away and tore it up. She said: 'Don't read that in school. Wait until you get home.'

Karen: Most of the teachers are for us coming out today. Some of them will be on the march this evening. It's a good idea to strike; to show that we've got a group to go round beating them up?

Rosemarie: If the police aren't going to do anything about the Front, then why can't we have a group to go round beating them up?

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Photo: SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

Photo: SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

WARD IN ANGER

numbers. When the march started there were 2,000 people on it.

As it was marching down Mare Street a local fascist stopped his car and shouted: 'Paki bastards. Get back to where you belong.' As three members went to argue with him they were arrested by the police. The provocateur was allowed to proceed.

Tempers rose. 'This is intolerable', shouted Alok Biswas at the police chiefs escorting the march. 'This is what we are protesting against today.'

The obscenity of the police was answered outside Bethnal Green police station. There was a mass sit-down by a demo which was now at least 3,000 strong. 'We aren't moving,' they shouted, 'till the brothers are released.'

Alok Biswas, Tariq Ali, and Dave Albery discussed with the police bosses. The police refused to release the prisoners. The march stayed put.

After half an hour the Hackney march arrived (about 200 strong) led by Patrick Kodikara. They joined the sit-down.

The police denied that the arrested brothers were in the station. Half an hour later they released them after they had been charged. One white and two Bengalis emerged.

It was a victory. No bail was needed. It was sitting on the streets.

The march proceeded to Highbury Park where more speeches



Patrick Kodikara leading the Hackney contingent

were made. It had been a great day. An important day.

An old Bengali said: 'I've waited a long time for this. We'll do it again if the racist violence doesn't stop.'

Above all, no one went away feeling that this was the end. Rather a beginning, which had to be repeated.



Two Bengalis were let out (right)



Photo: ANDREW WILKINSON (Thrupper)

Wall of silence

THE MASS media was true to form. The TV coverage showed Bengalis arguing amongst themselves. The papers underplayed the event.

The bulk of The Times report concentrated on Merlyn Rees's discussions with the Bangladesh High Commissioner! The Mirror did not mention the day's

events. Nor did the Sun and the Mail.

The Express had four tiny paragraphs on page 5 which described the police arrests as the eruption of 'racial clashes'.

The Morning Star was the only daily paper to have the story on its front page as the lead. Newline followed the rest of the dailies and led on the Heathrow 'security

measures'.

It did have a centre-spread on Brick Lane, though, and the photographs were good.

Why this wall of silence by the bourgeois media? Because the lessons must not be spread. Blacks reading about these events might decide to imitate them.

So the self-censorship of the British media operates once again. But the message will spread. Through our papers and meetings and word of mouth.

HOME NEWS

Government states its view

'35 hours - workers must pay'

THE CONFEDERATION of British Industry has an unfortunate habit of letting down its friends in the Labour Government.

The bosses have just spelt out the implications of the Government's proposals for a 35-hour week, writes GEOFFREY SHERIDAN.

The White Paper on a Phase Four pay policy, presently in draft form, makes an allowance for the 35-hour week, specifying that it should only be encouraged if it does not increase costs.

The CBI, of course, is opposed to any cut in hours, and its confidential document on what would be involved neatly uncovers the meaning of the White Paper's proposals, to be published next Tuesday.

The bosses' document concludes: 'If the aim of the shorter working week is to create employment, then this must lead to increased labour costs unless income is shared.'

The only method of reducing these costs is to improve productivity without a compensating increase in pay. But this would reduce the scope for increased employment.'

The Government's plan, scheduled for discussion with TUC and CBI leaders this week, would reduce that scope

to zero. The Post Office engineers who are now taking industrial action to secure a 35-hour week, with no loss of pay, quite correctly see this as a vital means of defending jobs against the introduction of new technology.

The union conferences that have nailed their colours to a shorter working week also regard this as a crucial weapon in the fight to shorten the dole queues.

PROFITS

The Government's concern, however, is the preservation of profits, and it has tailored its proposals to meet this requirement.

As the CBI indicates, reducing hours while maintaining costs can only be achieved by pay cuts or higher productivity. Either way, not a single new job will be created.



Last Tuesday's march in London when 30,000 PO engineers stopped work

The proposal is intended to be a sop to the union bureaucracies; to make their lives that much easier in conveying the harsh realities of Labour's projected Phase Four in the run-up to the General Election.

Real incomes will be down again, with a pay norm predicted to be half the present 10 per cent, and a continuation of the 12-month rule.

Not that the Government is deigning to negotiate over norms or ceilings.

As with Phase Three, it aims to lay down its own limits for the public sector and threaten private-sector employers with financial penalties if they meet union demands that exceed this level.

Callaghan's packaging is familiar enough: he's holding down inflation, so smile all the way to the pawnbrokers or Thatcher will make it even worse.

Never mind that the cause of inflation lies in an economic system that regulates production according to profit, and that forcing down working class living standards is the best way of slicing Labour's vote.

Restoring those living stan-

dards means opposing all forms of wage control, not least the 12-month rule, which in many sectors prevents workers in different jobs and even grades linking their claims and hence their action.

There is one sure way of keeping pace with rising prices, and that is adding to claims the demand that any rise in the cost of living index should automatically bring an increase of the same percentage in pay.

ACTION

The fact that the Government feels forced to bow in the direction of the 35-hour week is a sign that the anger of trade unionists over the level of unemployment could well spill over into concerted action. That is why support for the Post Office engineers is vital.

The Civil and Public Services Association has called for a lobby of the Trade Union Congress on 4 September to demand 'No to any Phase Four'. Support for that lobby needs to be built now, coupled with demands for the right to work — particularly that for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay.

PO Engineers insist Shorter hours mean more jobs

THIRTY THOUSAND Post Office engineers in London stopped work in support of their demand for a 35-hour week on 11 July, reports CHRIS MULLINS of Horsham POEU.

With the union's overtime ban now entering its third week the membership remains united behind the claim.

Over 5,000 took part in a demonstration held during the one-day stoppage and marched past Congress House and the headquarters of the Post Office.

The extension of the overtime ban to a work-to-rule is now on the agenda.

DISRUPTION

Last week work-to-rule pamphlets were distributed to POEU branches — and there is no doubt that even the present action is hitting the Post Office.

Sales, repairs and installations are all suffering severe disruption.

The attitude of the Labour Government towards the principle of the 35-hour week

will be tested next week when Lord McCarthy is due to report his findings on the POEU claim to Industry Minister Eric Varley.

The White Paper on pay suggests that as long as unit costs are not increased, moves toward a 35-hour week should be encouraged.

MEMBERS

What McCarthy says on the POEU claim and how Varley reacts to McCarthy will be one indication of what these concessions to a shorter working week mean in practice.

It is the membership of the POEU rather than the union's national executive who have led the current industrial action and it will be up to them to be on the look-out for any 'compromise' by McCarthy and Varley.

The need now is to ensure that if the 35-hour week is granted it is not accompanied by any productivity deal or wage cut.

The aim of the industrial action is to create jobs — not increase the workload or cut the living standard of those who have them.



Members of the National Union of Journalists are still on strike at the Richmond Herald in Surrey to demand that no jobs are lost with the conversion of the paper into a free advertising sheet. They are shown here picketing delivery vans last Friday night.

ANTI-RACIST NEWS

Anti-racist's house attacked

DAVE STEVENS, the Wolverhampton anti-racist militant who faces a possible three years in jail, had his house attacked last Sunday night.

The attackers threw bricks through the windows of the downstairs room where Stevens was watching the television, and also through an upstairs window. The missiles missed Dave by inches.

He is in no doubt that National Front members are responsible. Last year his house was daubed with NF graffiti and he has received threatening letters.

Dave, who is treasurer of the Wolverhampton Anti-Racist Committee, was arrested on a demonstration against police harassment of black people in

the West Midlands in March.

He has been charged with breach of the peace, three counts of assault on police constables, and one of assault on an inspector leading to actual bodily harm. If found guilty he could be sent to jail for up to three years.

The Anti-Racist Committee is taking this threat very seriously. It organised a picket of the committal proceedings last week, and used the occasion to appeal for a national defence campaign. That call must be answered.

Thugs put boot in

THUGS, one of them wearing a National Front badge, attacked five people leaving a Gay Pride disco in London a fortnight ago.

Glenn Sutherland, a Socialist Challenge supporter and member of Wandsworth Anti Nazi League, ended up with a broken foot and bruised ribs. Another comrade got a boot in the balls.

Six or seven white youths in leather jackets were waiting in the tube station outside St Pancras Town Hall where the disco was held. As the comrades approached the youths said: 'Here are the bastards, let's get them.'

The comrades beat them off, but in a second attack they got Glenn to the ground and put the boot in.

Bengali call

LEICESTER Bengali Youth League has taken an important

initiative in calling for the formation of a national council of Bengali organisations. PAUL CURTIS reports.

The call was made at a cultural anti-racist event in Leicester on Sunday 2 July where, in addition to cultural events, there was also a debate on the future of Bengali organisation.

The elders of the Bengali community and representatives of the Committee for Racial Equality called for moderation. They relied on 'cleansing' existing organisations rather than attempting to build an autonomous youth movement.

The Leicester Bengali Jubo-shango (youth organisation) pointed to the lack of cohesion within the Bengali community

itself, which weakened it against racist attacks. 'Without our own unity there will be no unity of black and white.'

'Prisoner of Race' SAEED RAHMAN is one of eight 'prisoners of race' currently facing deportation in Leeds jail.

He first came to Britain in 1967 as a political refugee from Pakistan. He went back to Pakistan in 1969, but returned to this country as a student in 1971.

Apart from two short visits to Pakistan since then — one to see his mother who was seriously ill with tuberculosis — he has been in Britain ever since.

Rahman applied for UK

citizenship in 1973. He had to wait for four years until he was granted an interview. A second interview was arranged for 14 June this year.

He arrived at Hull for the interview with Home Office officials and was immediately arrested and charged with being an illegal immigrant. Rahman has been in jail ever since and is now facing deportation.

Rahman, who owns a house in Bradford, is a textile worker, an active trade unionist, and a voluntary social worker.

Saeed Rahman has been in the UK for nine of the past 11 years. Now, say Labour's racist immigration laws, he must go. * Saeed Rahman is the first subject of the 'Prisoners of Race' column. If any reader can supply details of other prisoners of race, please send them to Socialist Challenge.

EUROCOMMUNISM — A DISCUSSION

There has been a growing discussion on the left as a whole about the meaning and limits of 'Eurocommunism'. New Left Books have now published an important contribution to this debate: 'From Stalinism to Eurocommunism', by Ernest Mandel (NLB, £2.95).

'Socialist Challenge' asked for comments on the issues raised in the book from representatives of four different currents on the left — Eric Heffer,

Labour MP and a member of the Labour Party NEC; Bob Rowthorn, a member of the Economic Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain; Alex Callinicos, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and editor of 'Socialist Review'; and Tariq Ali, member of the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group and editor of this newspaper. Their contributions are printed below.

A new phenomenon

MANDEL'S BOOK is of great importance. One does not have to accept his analysis totally, and only the ungracious and dishonest would brush it aside without consideration.

Eurocommunism is an entirely new phenomenon. Whilst its origins can be traced to the Popular Front days of the 1930s, it is fundamentally different from the Popular Front because it has an entirely new element in it, i.e. the element of criticism and the distancing of Communist parties from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It has, therefore, both negative and positive sides: a point stressed by Mandel. On the one hand it contains policies of accommodation to the bourgeoisie which can be as bad, if not worse, than right-wing social-democracy.

On the other hand it hesitatingly, but positively, develops a critique of Soviet society which can only strengthen the fight for socialism amongst the workers in the advanced capitalist countries in particular.

The reality is that when the October 1917 Russian Revolution took place, it was universally supported by socialist workers (including British Labour Party workers) throughout the entire world.

IMPOSSIBLE

Slowly, and often reluctantly (a reluctance still prevalent among some militant workers), they recognised that the revolution had deteriorated and that it was not creating the genuine socialist society that they had hoped for. Mandel argues that this is because socialism in one country is impossible anyway; a view I totally accept.

The repressive regime in the Soviet Union has undoubtedly acted as a brake to socialism in the advanced Western capitalist countries.

FREEDOM

Workers who have formed their own trade unions, who have created their own political parties, who have fought for and obtained their freedom to speak, to organise, to demonstrate, to participate in parliamentary elections, etc., have, despite their initial sympathy and support for the Russian revolution, reacted badly to the one-party bureaucratic regime in the Communist-controlled countries. This has undoubtedly had its effect on the position of the Communist parties.

The move away from uncritical support for the Soviet Union and adherence to the CPSU by the Eurocommunist parties is undoubtedly a concession (correct in my view) to the mass of the European working class.

Where I would differ from Mandel is partly in his analysis, but also in his conclusion, that 'Eurocommunism is but a way station. For real

communists there is no other road than Leninism, the road of the Fourth International'.

Let me at once say that, although I have never been a Trotskyist, I have a great deal of sympathy with the views of Trotsky.

Having just read Leopold Trepper's book *The Great Game*, and the reference of Trepper to the Trotskyists in Russia during the Stalinist purges in the Thirties (a reference quoted by Mandel), it is clear that from within the Communist Party the Trotskyists were the most courageous and clear in their opposition to Stalinism.

Ernest Mandel says little or nothing of the opposition to Stalinism by non-CP groups. Yet that opposition did exist. They were not, by any means, all defenders of capitalism. That is why I think it is too simple to brush aside the argument that the seeds of Stalinism were not set in the Leninist concepts.

For example, Mandel, in arguing against the French CP's Elieinstein, who he believes is drifting towards the ideological position of regarding Lenin and the Bolsheviks as 'primarily responsible' for Stalinism, says that Stalinism is not the legitimate offspring of Leninism.

'No, a thousand times no', he says, because in order to establish his dictatorship, Stalin had to destroy the party of Lenin physically. That of course is true, but although it is true, it does not invalidate the argument that the seeds of Stalinism were there, because of the democratic centralist organisation of the party.

It was none other than Trotsky, in his polemics with Lenin at the time of the creation of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, and the splits between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, who clearly pointed out the dangers inherent in that type of centralised organisation.

Rosa Luxemburg also, particularly in her pamphlet on the Russian Revolution, made it very clear that the Bolsheviks were drifting towards the dictatorship, not of the proletariat, but first of the party, and then of the Central Committee, and then of the strong men within the Central Committee.

Socialist democracy means not just the right to disagree. That, I accept, exists within the Fourth International, but it actually demands genuine control by the rank-and-file who affect the decisions of the party by actions from below, as much as those policies coming down from the top.

This is, of course, one of the basic weaknesses of the Eurocommunist parties. Despite the movement away from acceptance of Soviet leadership, despite the criticisms of the East European regimes, despite the protest about dissidents, etc., the internal structure of the Communist parties remains basically the same. The leadership, through centralised control, determines policy.

However, there are hopeful signs that this may be beginning to break up as the present discussion in the French Communist Party, following the defeat of the left in the French elections, has shown.

Even so, the debates in the main are conducted outside the party press, and the party leadership tends to



Eric Heffer

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Star wars in the CPGB

IN LAST week's 'Socialist Challenge', Mike Prior argued that there was no real democracy in the Communist Party. For the next three Tuesdays, the rest of the left will be able to decide whether Prior is right or wrong.

The Communist Party is examined in three lengthy programmes by Granada TV, the first of which goes out on ITV at 10.30pm on 25 July. The result is fascinating. The programmes should be compulsory viewing for all readers of this newspaper.

The CP leadership agreed that Granada could film any inner-party discussion preceding the last party congress. The Eurocommunists no doubt helped to implement this decision by going out of their way to ensure that the TV cameras were present at some important confrontations.

The technique of the producer is to avoid virtually any commentary at all. The different strands of the CP speak for themselves. What emerges is the contradictions of a party undergoing different pressures.

The link with the USSR is graphically demonstrated by the arrival of a top-ranking CPSU Politburo member for the Congress: a move which compels the party leadership to remove critical references to the Soviet Union from a previously agreed statement.

This leads to a clash with the Eurocommunists, who are spear-headed by Martin Jacques. In the end the undemocratic structures ensure that the Eurocommunists are

outwitted. 'Why', asks Irene Brennan in a memorable aside, 'all this discussion about inner-party democracy rather than cuts in social expenditure?'

The stars of the show are without doubt Bert Ramelson and Irene Brennan. Both are obviously experienced in the art of manipulation; both are irritated by persistent opposition, but both win out against their respective opponents.

It will be easy for members of the far left to smirk while all this is going on, but we have our Irene Brennans and Bert Ramelsons as well, a fact worth remembering.

More to the point, our versions would probably have been opposed to the filming in the first place, as Sid French and his supporters were in the CP! **Socialist Challenge** readers watching the programme would be well advised to re-read Mike Prior's article before they sit and watch some gripping television.



Irene Brennan in action in the conference arrangements committee

Continued over

pretend that the discussion is not taking place.

Ernest Mandel is absolutely right in stressing that Eurocommunism has both a positive and a negative side to it. I would not go so far as to say, however, as he does, that 'the doctrine of Eurocommunism is a doctrine of demobilisation and defeat of the European proletariat on the eve of the great pre-revolutionary explosions that are now looming. ... It must be vigorously fought if the breakthrough of the socialist revolution in West Europe is to be assured.'

Whilst accepting that some of the political positions of the Italian Communist Party in particular are well to the right of the British Labour Party, the development of Eurocommunism creates enormous possibilities for the European working class movement.

The splits which developed as the result of the First World War and the rise of the Third International can now be overcome. It does, of course, require the rejection on the part of the Socialist and social-democratic parties of right-wing social-democratic views.

It also means that the Communist parties, by becoming independent of the Soviet Union, can ultimately merge with the Socialist parties; and Marxism, based on its true democratic and revolutionary aspects, can again become the accepted philosophy of the labour and socialist movement.

I therefore see things rather differently to Mandel. Obviously this arises owing to my non-Fourth International position, and also because I recognise, despite the weaknesses, etc., the very positive possibilities that Eurocommunism creates.

I welcome this discussion, and I regret that space prevents me from developing my ideas at length, but whether Eurocommunism is approved or not, serious socialists cannot ignore it.

Getting the question right

'FROM STALINISM to Eurocommunism' is an impressive attempt to locate 'Eurocommunism' in the grand sweep of modern history, and to analyse its theoretical and practical significance. It contains many profound insights into the dynamics of class struggle and some telling criticisms of Western Communist parties.

Unfortunately, it suffers from several major defects. It is, as the cover notes say, 'written in the polemical tradition of Trotsky' and, like all polemical writing, it aims to destroy an opponent, in this case Eurocommunism, rather than provide an accurate or balanced picture.

And running through it there is a utopian thread which prevents Mandel from coming to grips with some of the most difficult problems facing our movement. Even so, this is an important book which deserves to be taken seriously.

Lack of space prevents me from considering the many questions raised by Mandel and I shall confine myself to some brief comments on two subjects: democracy and gradualism.

Mandel gives an extensive and fair description of how Eurocommunist views on democracy have developed. But his explanation of why these changes have occurred is crude beyond belief.

Why did Togliatti suggest that Stalinism had objective roots in Soviet society? Why has Carrillo attacked the Soviet bureaucracy so bitterly? Why have the Eurocommunist parties laid increasing stress on democracy and pluralism?

PAINFUL

According to Mandel, this 'growing criticism of the Soviet bureaucracy is a concession primarily to the West European working class... to the anti-bureaucratic components of the average consciousness of the combative layers of workers'. Or, in plain English, Stalinism is no longer popular, so in their normal cynical way Communist parties are abandoning it.

I find it incredible that a person of Mandel's intelligence can really believe

this. He completely ignores the long and painful self-criticism which is taking place as Communists come to terms with their own heritage of ideas and practice.

He implies that their leaders are motivated entirely by electoral considerations, and that, should the occasion arise, they would be quite happy to return to their old position of slavish support for everything Soviet. This is not only insulting; it is also stupid.

Of course, there are opportunists at every level in Western Communist parties, but they are not the moving force behind the new line. It is crystal clear that Carrillo, Berlinguer, and the others really mean what they say when they criticise the Soviet Union and stress the importance of democracy. And they are only the tip of the iceberg.

At every level in Communist parties there is intense debate on the question of democracy. What we are witnessing is an historic shift in consciousness and not a cynical electoral manoeuvre.

Let us now consider the question of gradualism. Most Eurocommunist parties conceive the transition to socialism as a long drawn-out affair in which the working class gradually gets



Bob Rowthorn

the upper hand.

Naturally, this is not a smooth process and is accompanied by periods of conflict and great tension, but there is no precise moment in which the bourgeoisie is actually overthrown. Rather, the enemy is slowly beaten back and dislodged from one position of strength after another.

HEAD-ON

Mandel thinks this is all very defeatist. In his view the left should mobilise its forces and build up to a head-on collision with the bourgeoisie.

In Western countries, he argues, the working class is the overwhelming majority of the population and 'could disintegrate and progressively paralyse the military repressive apparatus' if united 'under the leadership of a revolutionary party'.

This raises two questions. Is he correct in describing the overwhelming majority of the population as workers? And, if he is correct, does it follow that they can be united through a policy of

head-on collision?

Contrary to what Mandel says, some Communist parties, like the British, agree with his definition of a worker as anyone compelled to sell their labour power, and thus accept his view that workers form the overwhelming majority. But this does not solve the problem of unity.

DIVISIONS

There are deep divisions within what Mandel calls the working class, and a policy of direct confrontation, such as he advocates, may well exacerbate these divisions. Moreover, the millions of votes received by Conservative and Centre parties throughout Europe indicate massive support for the bourgeoisie from white collar workers and other sections of the population.

Mandel chides Amendola for saying that the majority of the Italian people are not convinced that the transition to socialism is necessary. But what on earth does he think the enormous votes cast for the Christian Democrats, the fascist MSI, and other right-wing parties signify?

And does he really believe their support would just fade away if the left provoked a head-on collision with the bourgeoisie? Does he not recognise the still immense power of reactionary forces in Italy, France, and other European countries?

The trouble is that Mandel never takes the right seriously and seems incapable of seeing that it enjoys considerable reserves of active and potential support. A policy of confrontation leads inevitably to conflict and economic dislocation.

In such a situation there is no guarantee that the left will win new supporters. On the contrary, waverers and sympathisers, including many trade unionists, may swing over to the right in response to what they see as the disruptive tactics of the left.

And, even if the left does win new adherents in the process of confrontation, the right will not stand idly by as its own support ebbs away. It

EUROCOMMUNISM - A

Right - wing policies

THE MAIN issue raised by the development of Eurocommunism is that of the nature of the transition to socialism. Can the capitalist state be gradually transformed into an instrument of working class power?

Are the institutions and mechanisms of bourgeois democracy [parliament, universal suffrage, the independence of the judiciary] an essential bulwark against the development of Stalinism within a workers state?

Ernest Mandel addresses himself to these questions. Much of what he says is simply the reiteration of the classical principles of revolutionary Marxism — that socialist revolution requires the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus.

However, Mandel goes further than this. He argues that Eurocommunism, despite the avowedly reformist strategy which it involves, is a positive development.

The Western European Communist parties, in criticising the 'socialist' countries and in stressing the democratic character of the transition to socialism in their own countries, are responding 'to the anti-bureaucratic components of the average consciousness of the combative layers of the workers.'

DEMOCRACY

In other words, workers in Western Europe have decisively rejected Stalinism. If revolutionaries are to succeed in challenging the Communist parties' hold over workers, then we have to show that the revolutionary road to socialism involves greater democracy than either the bureaucratic dictatorships of the East or the parliamentary democracies of the West. So far so good.

Mandel distinguishes between democratic rights (freedom of speech, assembly, etc.) and bourgeois democratic institutions (e.g. parliament, etc.)

He argues that socialist democracy based upon workers councils would involve the extension of the former, while bourgeois parliamentary democracy of the sort espoused by the Eurocommunists rests on their limitation because it involves the exclusion of the masses from active participation in political life.

AMBIGUOUS

Now, as it stands, this distinction is absolutely valid. It is an important point to insist on at a time when the Spanish and Italian CPs are supporting repressive 'anti-terrorist laws' in the name of 'democracy'.

However, Mandel is either ambiguous or silent on two crucial questions.

First of all, he leaves open the question of whether parliamentary institutions are compatible with the existence of a workers state: 'We can calmly discuss whether or not an assembly elected by universal suffrage is necessary, alongside a congress of workers councils, in the framework of a socialist democracy.'

However, the experience of the revolutionary process in a number of countries — Russia 1917-18, Germany 1918-19, Portugal 1974-75 — shows that the co-existence of organs of workers power (soviets, workers councils, etc.) and parliamentary institutions represents only a temporary and extremely fragile compromise between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

socialist REVIEW



Alex Callinicos

In each of those cases, reaction did not operate openly, because of the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, but concealed itself behind the parties and institutions of bourgeois democracy.

In Germany in 1919 and Portugal in 1975 it was social-democratic politicians acting in the name of parliament and universal suffrage who provided the ideological and political focus for the counter-revolution.

The only way open to revolutionaries in such a situation is the long, patient process described by Rosa Luxemburg in her speech to the first congress of the German Communist Party in 1918, of proving to the masses in practice that the solution to both their material problems and political aspirations lies through taking power, which inevitably involves a frontal assault on the institutions of the capitalist state, including parliament.

Mandel's response, by contrast, is a dangerous concession to the left wing of Eurocommunism — those like



Carrillo and 'La Pasionaria' (left) at Spanish CP congress

comité central du parti communiste 10 novembre 1977



new 'open doors' policy of French CP last November

will provoke a showdown and act whilst it still enjoys a considerable following in the armed forces and the population at large.

This is the lesson of innumerable military coups from one end of the world to the other. Mandel's policy of head-on collision is not a recipe for revolution, but for suicide or defeat.

The blunt truth is that he underestimates both the intelligence and strength of the bourgeoisie. He asks what the left should do when it is overwhelmingly powerful. But this is not the important question.

What we want to know is what the left should do when it faces an enemy as

strong as itself? Italian Communists have proposed the 'historical compromise' and most other parties have proposed some variant of the French programme for 'advanced democracy'.

They may not have the right answer, but at least they have asked the right question.

DISCUSSION

Fernando Claudin and Nicos Poulantzas who wish to see the 'articulation of representative and direct democracy'. It threatens to build an unstable class equilibrium into the very structure of the workers state.

As such, it is reminiscent of the strategy of centrists like Karl Kautsky and Max Adler who, during the revolutionary wave in Central and Eastern Europe following the First World War, sought to 'combine' parliament and soviets.

RESTRICTIONS

Second, Mandel is nowhere clear that any foreseeable socialist revolution in Western Europe will undoubtedly involve restrictions of the democratic rights of, and the use of state repression against, open counter-revolutionaries.

Socialist democracy does not mean that we fight with our hands tied behind our backs.

In these respects, Mandel appears to make certain concessions to the Eurocommunists. These are signs of a more general tendency in his book to adapt to Eurocommunism.

Thus he welcomes Santiago Carrillo's book 'Eurocommunism and the State' as a 'genuinely sensational event', even defending it against Moscow's attacks. Why? Because certain of Carrillo's theses on the USSR converge with the traditional analyses of orthodox Trotskyism.

Carrillo even rejects the theory of socialism in one country. Mandel hails this as 'a formidable historical vindication of Trotsky and Trotskyism', and criticises Carrillo for not drawing the 'logical conclusion' of this rejection — the necessity of world revolution.

But the precise function of Carrillo's critique of Stalinism was to vindicate the right-wing policies of the Spanish Communist Party, not revolutionary socialism. Socialism in one country is impossible, he argues, therefore we have no choice but to collaborate with the multinationals in Spain.

Carrillo's book is a critique of

Stalinism from the right, which is far closer to classical social-democracy than Marxism.

There are a variety of other points in Mandel's book that I could question. Space prevents me from dealing with his continued insistence that the USSR is a workers state — degenerated, bureaucratic, but still a workers state.

This theory has now surely outlived any usefulness it ever had. It bears no relation to reality — the documents by Soviet workers now reaching the West paint a very different picture to

Mandel's one of an economy free of unemployment and inflation.

His theory of the Soviet Union amounts to little more than a reiteration of received dogma — a matter more of religious observance than scientific analysis.

All these weaknesses mean that, despite its undoubted merits, Mandel's book is not 'the...systematic and comprehensive critique' of Eurocommunism which we are promised in the blurb on its cover.



French CP's sectarian turn in relation to Union of the Left has led to big discussion in the ranks

Tariq Ali Ideas from the past

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)



EUROCOMMUNISM is a delayed birth, the outcome of the mounting contradictions which have exploded the Stalinist monolith. These contradictions were always inherent in the growth of the Stalinist family after the Second World War.

'Socialism in one country' inevitably becomes an awkward concept when there is more than one such country in existence. Ernest Mandel's recently published collection of essays is the first major critique of Eurocommunism from the viewpoint of classical Marxism.

It is necessary to indicate that a number of these essays previously appeared in the fortnightly journal of the Fourth International, *Inprecor* (now merged with the weekly *Intercontinental Press*). They were an immediate response to important conjunctural developments.

As such the tone is deliberately polemical — and polemics, as the French CP is discovering in the pages of *Le Monde*, are a necessary part of an overall involvement in politics.

Some essays, such as 'The Strategy of Eurocommunism', were written specially for this collection, although I think *New Left Books* were mistaken not to include the interview with Mandel on revolutionary strategy which was published in *New Left Review* 100.

CLASH

The two events which give Eurocommunism its specific character are related to important recent experiences of the international working class movement. The impact of Prague 1968 and Chile 1973 on the members of the Communist parties throughout the world should in no way be underestimated.

Both events, in their different ways, demonstrated that a transition to socialist democracy (the only acceptable form of the proletarian dictatorship) was not possible without a frontal clash: on the one hand with the bourgeois state and its armed bodies of men, and on the other with the Soviet bureaucracy.

The cumulative impact of both events explains the duality of Eurocommunism. Mandel is quite correct to stress this characteristic. The break with the Soviet Union, however partial and uneven, is a step in the right direction.

To pretend that it is merely an elaborate manoeuvre to hoodwink the masses (the view, incidentally, of Henry Kissinger and the CIA) is to accept the conspiracy theory of politics. Everything becomes a plot which has to be exposed. And no marks for guessing which current on the British far left would win hands down to expose such 'plots'.

CRIME

The answer given by the ideologues of Eurocommunism to Prague was to say that the action of the Warsaw Pact countries was indefensible, even a crime, and had to be opposed. There were, of course, differing degrees of opposition; but the very fact that no Communist Party of any significance in Western Europe (with the exception of the Portuguese) supported the invasion imparted a certain dynamic to the direction in which these parties were moving.

The reaction to Chile by the Italian and Spanish CPs was the other side of the coin (and no one disputes that it is the same coin). They moved rapidly to the right, codified a number of ambiguous positions, and drew the wrong lessons.

The point which Mandel quite correctly stresses is that these supposedly new ideas are anything but new. They have a past in the workers movement and that past is the

degeneration of German social-democracy.

Eurocommunism, he argues, is moving in the same direction. It is, moreover, utilising the same arguments. So despite all the gloss and the use of Gramsci to cover up their tracks, the reality can be seen in the politics of the Spanish and Italian Communist parties.

LOGIC

What is new in Eurocommunism is the growing distance from the Soviet Union. But it should be noted that even here its main ideologues shrink back from the logic of their positions.

Neither Berlinguer nor Carrillo extend the freedoms which they promise to their own working classes to the masses in Eastern Europe. They are for pluralism in the West (though not yet inside their own parties), but not in the East.

That is because if they followed their positions through they would be accused (and not without justification) of fomenting splits and divisions inside the East European parties. A complete break with the Soviet Union would then become unavoidable.

Such a break would pose new problems in the heartlands of Eurocommunism, for there would be a growing pressure to merge with left social-democracy.

What is important to understand about Eurocommunism is that it has created a disequilibrium within the Communist Parties. It is, as such, a transitional phenomenon, and left currents are already emerging (Sacristan in Spain, Althusser in France, Fauvet in Britain) which are challenging the party leaderships.

DIALOGUE

It is here that the book is at its weakest. For Mandel is not just engaged in writing polemical essays. He is a central leader of the Fourth International.

Two of the FI's most powerful sections exist in Spain and France. What orientation should these comrades adopt towards the currents emerging within the CPs?

There are two options: the first is to regard them as hostile competitors and immediately erect barriers. The second is to engage in a dialogue and attempt a genuine political clarification.

This is not simply an abstract point. For the dynamic of Eurocommunism is bound to lead to a number of splits in the Communist parties over the coming years. To win these over to the positions of revolutionary Marxism would be an immense gain for the working class.

I doubt if Ernest Mandel would be opposed to such a prospect, which is why its absence is somewhat perplexing in a collection of essays basically intended for socialist and communist militants.

We apologise to readers for holding over Peter Sedgwick's review of Tariq Ali's book, 1968 And After. This will now appear in next week's issue.

OPEN FORUM

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



Day One

Friday 15 September

Registration 9.15AM - 9.45AM
Plenary Session:

Bourgeois Democracy and Socialist Revolution 10AM - 1.15PM

Presentations: Nicos Poulantzas
Norman Geras

Workshops 2PM - 5PM
Socialist Democracy
Gramsci and Eurocommunism
The National Question
Marxism in Britain

Day Two

Saturday 16 September

Plenary Session:
The English Bourgeois Revolution 10AM-1PM
Presentation: Perry Anderson
Workshops 2PM - 5PM
The Labour Party



The Communist Party
The Origins of Racism
The British Ruling Class

Day Three

Sunday 17 September

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

Plenary Session:
Debate on Eurocommunism 2PM - 5PM

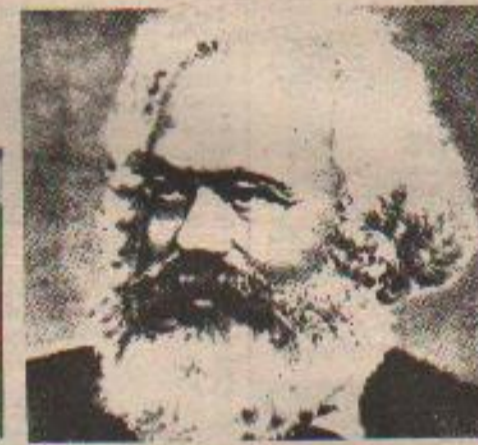
Ernest Mandel, Eric Heffer, Bob Rowthorn in addition to the other symposium speakers have been invited to participate in this session.
Venue: London (Full details next week).

Creche provided.

Cost: £4 for all three days if you pay before 1 September.
£5 for all three days if you pay after 1 September.
Any single session £1.

Make Cheques and Postal Orders out to 'Socialist Challenge'.
Fill in the form below:

Name.....
Address.....



WHAT'S LEFT

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

A TORY VICTORY in the General Election will be a defeat for the British labour movement. But every working class vote that goes to Labour on the basis of support for its record will be an ideological and political defeat for the working class and for socialism. Socialists must combine political preparation for a fightback against right wing Labour policies with a drive between now and the General Election to keep the Tories out. Come to the Socialists For a Labour Victory conference in London on 15 July. Details from SCLV c/o 182 Upper St, London N1.

PICKET BARNERS: Main pickets every day, noon to 3pm and 5.30 to 11 pm at 399 Oxford St., London W1 (opp. Selfridges); 243 Oxford St. (Oxford Circus); 40-41 Haymarket, 55 Whitechapel St. (Leicester Sq.); Mass picket every Saturday at noon, 399 Oxford St. Donations urgently needed as strike pay is only 10s. All donations to General Strike Fund, c/o TGWU, Rm 54, 12-13 Henrietta St., London WC2R 1J 24C1056.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION badges, red on white available from J Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Cost: 15p each plus 2p p&p, or 11p each for orders of 10 or more.

SPITALFIELDS: Socialist Unity supporters and Socialist Challenge Sunday in Brick Lane. Meet at the Nazrul Restaurant at 10.30am.

'FIGHT RACISM' badges and T-shirts (badges black on white, shirts black on red) available for all anti-racists. Show where you stand during the long hot summer. Order yours now. Badges, 15p each plus 2p p&p, or 11p each for orders of ten or more. T-shirts, £2 each plus 15p p&p. From J. Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

CAMPAIGN Against Immigration Controls — the Tory and Select Committee proposals make it important to begin a campaign against the 87 and 7s Acts. Meeting 24 July 7.30, Roebuck, Tottenham Court Rd., London.
HONDA CD 175 for sale. Great for commo: 1974, 19000 miles. Helmet and clothing included. £160. 527 6292.

LOCAL Festival of Racial Harmony organised by Kilburn and Queens Park ANL. Sun 23 July, 1.30-5pm or later, in Kilburn Grange Park, London NW6. Snacks, food, games and music from Steel's Skin, Day and the Morons, Zozomos, Trotter's Gate and others.

WEST HAMPSTEAD: Campaign against Racism public meeting. What's Racism about Britain's Immigration Laws? Friday 26 July, 8.00pm, Quex Rd Methodist Church Hall, Quex Rd, London NW6.
WANTED: workshop or small office. Further information and offers to Box 91, 182 Upper St, London N1.

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Tendency, internationalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dayschool on 5 August 1978 to discuss the next step for revolutionaries and the political struggles of the working class against the Labour Government on such vital issues as the Social Contract and British imperialism in Ireland. Speakers: Frank Richards and Mary Masters. For details write to: BM, RCT, 14, London WC1X 6XX. Registration £1, non-earners 75p.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST Tendency Public Meeting to launch Revolutionary Communist Papers No 3: The Recession: Capitalist offensive and the working class. Speakers: Mike Freeman and Kate Marshall. Thurs 20 July 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Roc Lion Square, Haringey Tube, Adm: 51p.

SOCIALIST Feminist seeks off in communal household in London. Anne 340 7154.

ROCK Against Racism gig in aid of ANL. Misty, Change, The Idols, plus disc. Sat 29 July, 8pm till late, White Horse pub, Church Rd, Harewood, London NW10. £1.60 (school kids and unemployed with card 50p).

NOTTINGHAM Anti Nazi League Carnival, 22 July. Starts 11.00, Market Square, 12.30 march to the Forest Recreation Ground for rock and punk bands, street theatre, beer. Socialist Unity letter applies etc. Continuing 11.4.30.

HELP Socialist Challenge. Greenwich Lewisham supporters are organising a jumble sale if you have any jumble to be collected ring 0 on 329 6371 or drop it into the paper's office at 328/9 Upper St.



Free All Irish Political Prisoners'. New badge in green, black and white. 15p plus 7p p&p or 11p each for orders of ten or more. Available from J Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.



WORKERS POWER No 6. OUT NOW The Left and the Labour Government, the Anti-Nazi League, Revolutionary Unity, Lenin and Luxemburg — From Social Democracy to Communism. 50p from 1A Canterbury Green, SE4 5JA, or all left bookshops.

HOME NEWS

Bilston steel closure threat Plan needed to save jobs

BILSTON STEEL leapt into the headlines at the end of June when the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation conference issued a national strike call over its threatened closure.

The management letter which provoked this unaccustomed militancy has now been withdrawn, but the steel bosses have not changed their plans to close the plant. BRUCE YOUNG, an executive member of Wolverhampton Trades Council, argues that a long and difficult struggle lies ahead of both local and national importance. He writes in a personal capacity.

The Bilston works, located near Wolverhampton in the Black Country, presently employs a workforce of 2,400 producing carbon steels. It is a small plant, but its closure would have a tremendous impact both locally and nationally.

DISASTER

Locally, the closure would be disastrous. The Bilston Works Action Committee calculates that unemployment in Wolverhampton and Bilston, both heavily dependent on steel products, would be pushed well into double figures — at least 12½ per cent.

After 15 company closures in recent years, with the direct loss of 7,000 jobs, and at least 5,000 others lost through cutbacks, there is now growing determination to take a stand and fight.

The Trades Council, together with the Works Action Committee, is calling for a day of action on 11 September, with a work stoppage from 8am to 2pm, to begin a fight back against the closure of Bilston Steel and the spiral of closures and redundancies in the whole area.

Bilston is important nationally as well, particularly because it is the first of the plants threatened by the British Steel Corporation which was not earmarked for closure in the 1975 Beswick Report. Its closure would be a precedent for many others, so it is vital to build a national campaign around the struggle of the Bilston workers.

PROBLEMS

Their struggle raises problems which socialists must not only give answers to, but also learn from in order to develop our programme and ensure that it can provide a practical guide to action.

Consultation and participation, in exchange for union acceptance of redundancies, have been part of BSC's long-standing strategy, and the Corporation has found a willing partner in the leadership of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.

Neither the ISTC nor the TUC did anything whatsoever in support of Bilston until the issue was forced into the open

at the ISTC conference last month, and then what the Confederation leadership so strongly objected to was that the closure was being proposed without proper consultation!

In fact, Bill Sims, the general secretary of ISTC, had been informed of the Bilston closure by the steel bosses at least a month before the conference.

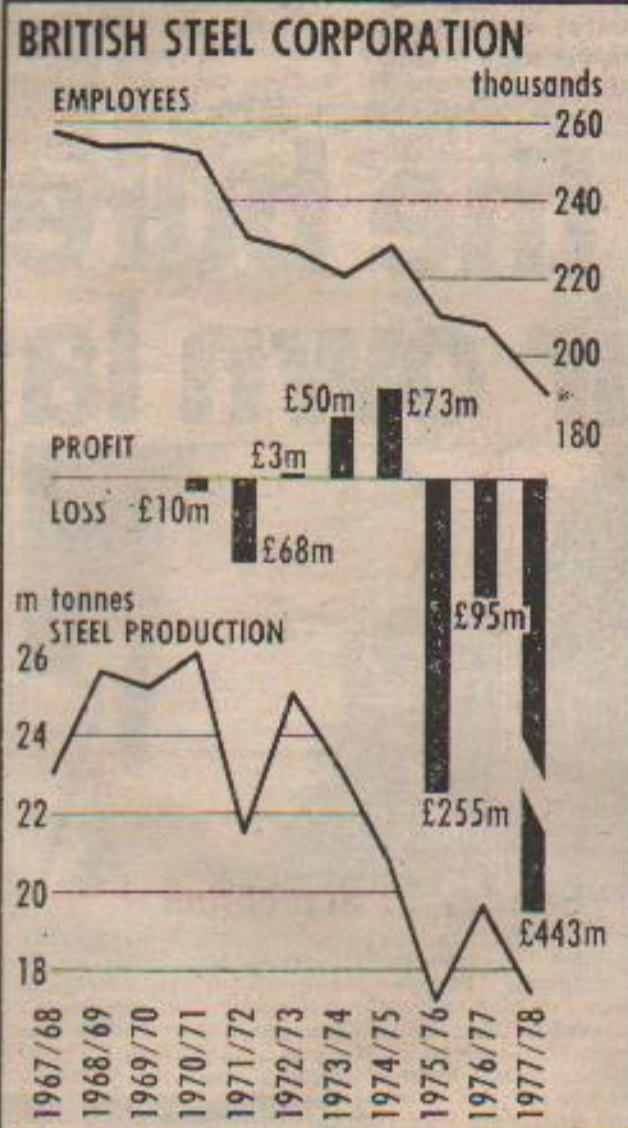
As the *Financial Times* so delicately put it on 1 July: '(BSC) clearly feels that Mr Sims has been unreasonably slow to respond to its invitation to talk about Bilston and even somewhat disingenuous in calling down a storm a month after the proposals were put before him.'

TARGET

It is hardly astounding that the ISTC was singled out in a recently leaked Tory Party document as a particularly soft target in any confrontation. No doubt Eric Varley, Secretary of State for Industry, has this in mind with his present offer of six trade union seats on the Corporation's main board.

It needs to be strongly argued that trade unions should fight for consultation only to protect the interests of their members, instead of as a trade-off for concessions which contradict their members' interests.

The Steel Corporation was proposing to close Bilston by



next March, and the union leadership has in no way committed itself to oppose this. The problem for the TUC Steel Committee is that it does not have a clear policy on steel because it has no plan whatsoever for the future of the industry.

NATIONAL

This being so, a central demand must be that they produce such a plan in the immediate future, and that no agreement is made with BSC until this plan is produced, discussed and agreed upon by the workforce.

More generally, what socialists have to stress are two inseparable points.

First, that the struggle which the Bilston workers face shows the absolute need for an intervention at national level, in the ISTC and TUC. Secondly, that it is utopian to rely on the union bureaucracies to produce the proposals that are needed if they are left to their own devices.

What is needed — no matter how difficult it may be to achieve it — is to combine rank-and-file initiatives with interventions at national level.

The Bilston struggle raises a series of questions about the way nationalised enterprises are (mis)managed and the issue of workers control.

For instance, the Action Committee's research indicates that if Bilston closes most of the orders will be transferred not to other BSC plants, but to the private sector.

Nationalisation in steel, as elsewhere, has from the start been subordinated to private industry. BSC's top managers, who were brought in from private industry, brought the ideas of private industry with them.

The ISTC conference's demand for the resignation of Sir Charles Villiers, chairman of the Steel Corporation, and of BSC's West Midlands supremo Pennington is very important.

CONTROL

It should be taken up within the broader framework of a demand for the nationalisation of private steel and the re-organisation of BSC under workers control.

Bilston's fate illustrates the irrationality and inefficiency of the present management pattern, even in capitalist terms.

The Action Committee has calculated, for example, that the £13m investment it is calling for at Bilston would cost less than the expenses the government would have to meet in the event of closure.

And the closure of the blast furnace Elizabeth, which took place at the end of last year, is a perfect illustration of BSC's economic skulduggery, since the whole purpose of this manoeuvre was to push Bilston artificially into the red.

ECONOMY

The Bilston issue makes it clear that the problem can be solved only at national level, and that it requires an alternative national plan for steel, which — given the specific nature of the product — implies an alternative plan for the whole economy.

It is the overall logic of capitalism which forces BSC to act in the way it does, even in the kind of 'local' irrationalities which mark its policies in Bilston.

The field is open to socialists to produce their own alternative plan, and win an attentive audience among steel workers and others.

Socialist conference for Labour victory



Ted Knight addressing Saturday's meeting

THE FIRST conference of the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory was attended on Saturday by 200 people from some 80 constituency Labour Parties, reports JON DUVEEN from Hackney North CLP.

The conference committed itself to a programme which includes the repeal of the '68 and '71 Immigration Acts, for black self-defence, troops out of Ireland, and support for the National Abortion Campaign trade union conference.

A successful resolution from Socialist Challenge supporters called for the need to organise support from all those who want to see the return of a Labour government, including

those outside the party; and to use canvassing as a way of building local campaigns on issues such as the cuts and anti-racism.

It also demanded accountability of Labour candidates, through re-selection and regular local meetings.

A recall conference of the campaign is to be held after the General Election. Details of SCLV, c/o 182 Upper Street, London N1.

* Roy Hiscock, whose letter on black self-defence was published last week, is secretary of the Haggerston Ward of Hackney South CLP, not constituency secretary as reported.

Bosses' understanding with union on Thornett

THE REGIONAL Committee of the Transport and General Workers Union has been meeting to consider the so-called 'charges' against Alan Thornett and eight other stewards at British Leyland's Cowley plant.

But new evidence has clearly established that the campaign by management against recognising Thornett as a senior steward was conducted in consultation with the leadership of the TGWU.

The information is contained in a letter dated 7 April 1978 written by Leyland management to G Hawley, National Secretary of the TGWU/Vehicle Building and Automotive Group.

In this letter the company's director of personnel and administration writes:

'It was our clear understanding, as I recorded in my letter to Moss Evans dated 5 June 1974 concerning Mr A. Thornett, that the TGWU was no longer questioning that Mr Thornett would not under any circumstances be granted facilities to act as a senior steward, deputy senior steward or in any similar capacity at Cowley Assembly Plant.'

This letter proves beyond any doubt that as early as 1974 the leadership of the TGWU was attempting with management to deny Cowley workers the right to determine their own representatives.

Bus driver sacked for Gay badge

LANCASHIRE bus driver Mary Winter has been sacked for wearing a 'Lesbian Liberation' badge.

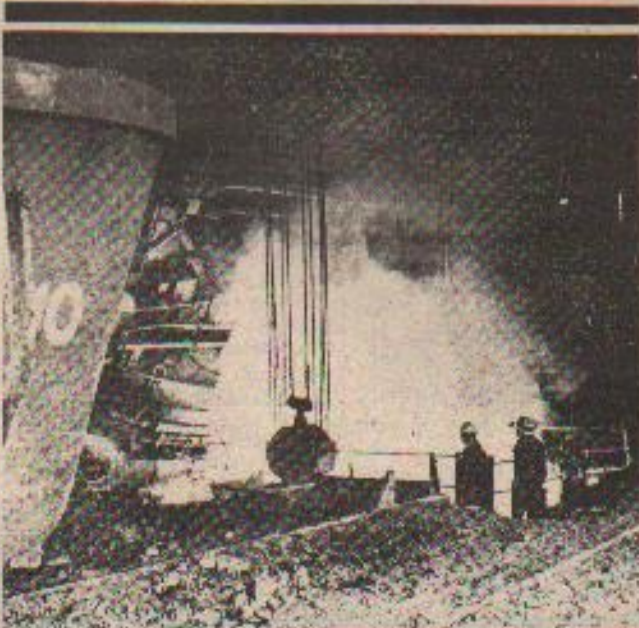
Burnley and Pendle Joint Transport superintendent David Greenwood told her to remove the badge because it was 'causing offence to passengers'. But Mary refused unless other badges worn by busworkers — one reading 'Give me a French Kiss' — were also removed. On 27 June she was given three weeks notice.

Transport and General Workers Union branch and

shop officials have refused to back their victimised member. According to Mary her shop steward argued that 'lesbian' is 'an obscene word'.

But Mary has been backed by the local women's movement, and on 8 July a 40-strong picket of Burnley bus station was held.

Mary's supporters are appealing for all the help they can get. They can be contacted c/o Mary Winter, 23 Mason Street, Colne, Lancs. As Mary says, 'I am being discriminated against because of my sexuality'.



INTERNATIONAL

LAST week's sentences on Soviet oppositionists accused of espionage were predictable — but no less scandalous for that. It is a strange sort of socialism which has to use the courts to silence dissenting voices, particularly when all those voices are demanding is that the 'socialist' state implement its own international agreements. For that reason alone it is important that Western socialists defend these

oppositionists regardless of their political views.

On this page we look at what exactly those views are; we report on a campaign to rehabilitate one of the victims of a former Moscow trial, 40 years ago; and we examine the case of the East European oppositionist whom the Western press is not so anxious to defend.

Watching the bureaucrats break their own laws

THE Moscow Monitoring Group was formed in May 1976 after the Soviet party leadership had published the text of the Helsinki Accords, signed by all European states (except Albania) and the USA and Canada at the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Co-operation in 1975. OLIVER MACDONALD reports.

These Accords included a limited range of civil rights: freedom of information, freedom of travel, freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom of religious expression etc.

Many socialists in the West regard the human rights activists as 'intellectuals' dealing with 'intellectuals' problems.

But the Helsinki activists could better be described as groups of ex-political prisoners, long since cut off from the mainstream of the Soviet intelligentsia, which has gone into political hibernation after the heavy repression of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

PRISONERS

The constituency of support for the monitoring groups came largely from outside the intelligentsia: from the political prisoners in the camps, from the overwhelmingly working class religious minorities, and from such ethnic minorities as the Crimean Tartars.

The monitoring groups received support from such quarters because the Soviet government had signed the Helsinki Accords.

Many people felt that the Soviet authorities might be



ALEXANDER GINZBURG



ANATOLI SHCHARANSKY

open to pressure because of their signature of the agreements.

The general appeals to abstract moral principles issued by the intellectual dissidents in earlier phases of the civil rights movement must have lacked credibility among the masses.

But an international treaty signed by the government carried a lot more weight in their eyes.

Socialists in the West should not deride attempts to struggle for the implementation of legal agreements.

The same approach has been adopted by Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia. In conditions of severe repression every possible mechanism for open legal struggle must be used.

PRESSURE

Where the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group differed from Charter 77 was in its method of struggle.

While Charter 77 has sought to mobilise mass support inside Czechoslovakia through a petition campaign against the government, the Helsinki Group has oriented to mobilising the imperialist powers to put pressure on the Soviet government from outside.

It has thus told its supporters in the USSR that they should trust not in their own capacities to struggle collectively for the implementation of the Helsinki Accords, but in the capacity of Washington to do the job for them.

The group's work has consisted of painstakingly collecting information by travelling throughout the USSR, and then sending it to Western embassies in Moscow.

Such an approach was just what the US administration wanted. It enabled President Carter to present himself as the hero of the human rights

movement in the USSR and to use the Monitoring Group's appeals as an ideological weapon in US imperialism's attempt to refurbish its international image in the post-Vietnam, post-Watergate

era. This approach will not open up the kind of mass movements and divisions within the Soviet bureaucracy that are necessary in the struggle for democratic and working class rights.

The bureaucracy has had little domestic difficulty in jailing Shcharansky and Ginzburg as people who sought to link up with imperialism against the Soviet Union.

But those wishing to understand the Helsinki activists should not forget some other facts.

At the end of 1976 Roy Medvedev and Valentin Turchin appealed to the Western socialist movement to intervene with the Soviet authorities.

The appeal fell on deaf ears and people like Orlov, Shcharansky and Ginzburg were arrested. In spring 1977 Pyotr Grigorenko appealed to

the Western Communist parties for support. The only paper to publish the appeal was Socialist Challenge.

At the instigation of the Moscow Helsinki Group 85 intellectuals in Moscow appealed to the Renault workers in France for help. The pro-Communist trade union apparatus in Renault blocked the attempts of revolutionary Marxists in the plants to raise the issue.

Ukrainian human rights activists appealed to the Canadian Communist Party. No response came.

And meanwhile the siren voices of Radio Liberty and the Voice of America droned on.

Little wonder that people like Shcharansky, Grigorenko and Ginzburg should have become disoriented and have turned away from the forces struggling for a better future for humanity.

Bahro The man they never saw

THE sentence — eight years — was identical to Alexander Ginzburg's. The only difference was the lack of ballyhoo around the case of Rudolf Bahro, the East German sentenced for spying in a case as ludicrous as that of the Soviet oppositionists.

The Daily Telegraph, the National Association for Freedom, Jimmy Carter — none of these are interested in taking up Bahro's case because he is a Marxist.

That is, unlike many of the Soviet dissidents, he does not want to see the restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe — quite the reverse.

For the same reason these right-wing defenders of 'free-

dom' will not lift a finger to defend the Soviet Trade Union Association.

Defence of trade union rights, defence of the freedom for Marxist dissent do not quite ring true for the cold war ideologues.

Imperialism is happy enough to use the fate of Soviet oppositionists for its own propaganda purposes. But, paradoxically, there is no mainstream Western politician prepared to risk a real political challenge to the Eastern bureaucracies.

That is why we must uncover their pretension to stand for defence of democratic rights in Eastern Europe.

And that can only be done if

we place no political preconditions for defence of such rights.

Nevertheless, defence of Bahro is a priority at the moment, if only because we are the only defence he has.

Copies of the Open Letter to East German party boss Erich Honecker, demanding Bahro's release, are still available from Bahro Defence, c/o Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Protests should also be sent to: Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, 34 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8QB; with copies to: Bahro Defence Committee, c/o Minnerup, 14 Folkestone Road, Copnor, Portsmouth, Hants.

A victim of the Moscow trials 40 years on

THE CAMPAIGN for the rehabilitation of Bolshevik leader Nikolai Bukharin is winning worldwide support.

As we reported last week, Bukharin's son, Yuri Larin, has written an open letter to the general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Enrico Berlinguer, to enlist his backing.

This followed a definitive refusal to rehabilitate Bukharin from the Central Control Commission of the Soviet Communist Party.

LEADER

Bukharin was a leader of the Russian Revolution and one of the central theoreticians of the Bolshevik, later Communist, Party. He was executed by Stalin in 1938 after the trial of the 'Right-Trotskyist Bloc'.

Like many of the Moscow Trial defendants Bukharin 'confessed' to the ridiculous charges against him. It was widely believed at the time that this was in exchange for the life of his wife, A.M. Larina, and their baby son.

Larina and her son have spent the best part of two decades campaigning for Bukharin's rehabilitation and restoration to party member-



ship. In his letter to Berlinguer, Larin explains the importance of this campaign: 'In a country where the greater part of the population have been brought up on the mendacious "Short Course" there are many who still consider my father as a traitor and hireling of Hitler although in reality the truth is that he was an outstanding fighter against fascism and in his last years he devoted all his energies to the exposure of fascism and to warnings against the growing fascist threat.'

'Leaving home for the last time for the Plenum of February/March 1937 (from which he never returned) my father said to my mother "don't become embittered; there are sad errors in history. I want my son to grow up as a Bolshevik".'

'He looked on the events which had occurred as tragic but transient; he believed in the

ultimate victory of the forces of socialism...'

'Not long before his death Nikolai Ivanovich wrote a letter "to the future generation of leaders of the Party" in which he appealed to them "to unravel the monstrous tangle of crimes".'

'My mother learnt the text of this letter by heart in the dark days and after her rehabilitation she passed it on to the Central Committee of the Party.'

'The letter ended with the words: "Know, comrades, that on the banner which you will carry in your victorious march towards communism there is a drop of my blood."'

Labour movement figures and academics throughout the world have signed the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation's appeal for Bukharin's rehabilitation.

They include Louis Althusser

from the French Communist Party and Paolo Spriano from the Italian. It was Spriano who, in a recent newspaper interview, also called for the rehabilitation of Trotsky.

Other signatories include Czechoslovak dissidents Eduard Goldstucker and Jiri Pelikan, Simone de Beauvoir, Noam Chomsky, Andreas Papandreu, the leader of the PASOK party in Greece, Fernando Claudin, formerly of the Spanish Communist Party, Ernest Mandel from the Fourth International, and Joseph Hansen from the US Socialist Workers Party.

British signatories include a number of Labour MPs (Buchan, Edge, Flannery, Heffer, Lester, Madden, Maynard, Newens, Wise), Stuart Holland, Trevor Griffiths, Tom Stoppard, Moshe Lewin, and Monty Johnstone from the Communist Party.

INTERNATIONAL

Franco's police live on

Death in the Afternoon

FRANCO may be dead, but his police live on. And last week they went on the rampage through the Basque country. First they attacked a Basque nationalist protest during the festival of San Fermin in Pamplona, killing German Rodriguez, a young Trotskyist.

When the Basque workers movement responded in anger police went on the rampage again, shooting their way through San Sebastian, and killing another.

Here we pay tribute to German Rodriguez and print an eyewitness account of his murder. And we look at how the protest movement has spread since German's death.

MORE than 30,000 turned out for the funeral of German Rodriguez on 10 July. The whole of Pamplona had come to a standstill, in defiance of the armed police who still hovered around the scene of their crime, always threatening to attack again.

BARRICADES

The barricades which had been thrown up throughout the town after the killing had been taken down. But they were soon to spread throughout the Basque provinces, along with the strike movement.

Workers blocked the main Irun-Madrid motorway at several points. All the major factories in the other three Basque provinces came out in

the course of last week — from the San Sebastian industrial belt to the West bank of the Nervion in the industrial heartland of Vizcaya.

The scenes in Pamplona were re-enacted in San Sebastian the next day when police shot 19-year-old Antonio Barangarin. The factories closed and barricades went up throughout the town.

Demonstrators assembled, only to face another violent police charge from two directions. The two sides fought inch by inch through the city's old quarter.

Later in the evening the armed police drove through the town firing at any house which displayed the Basque flag or a black flag of mourning.

The press would like to give

the impression that Navarre, of which Pamplona is the provincial capital, is Spain's 'Ulster' — divided between factions which are pro- or anti-Basque.

But the Basque sentiment was clearly uppermost last week. As well as the general strike, there was the reaction of the organisers of the festival of San Fermin.

This festival, popularised by Hemingway, is one of Spain's biggest tourist attractions. Instead of being confined to an arena the bulls run down the streets.

Like so many times in recent years the festival was chosen as the occasion for a protest against government refusal to recognise Basque self-determination and its continued detention of Basque political prisoners.

FESTIVAL

This time the festival organisers called off the festival in response to the police murder. They said that the festival would only resume with the sacking of the civil governor, the removal of the police forces from the town, and the release of demonstrators arrested during the

festival.

Frightened by the popular reaction to this brutality, the government was forced to give way to the first demand. The head of the Pamplona police chief, Avila, a known fascist, was thrown in for good measure.

SACKING

But one of the demands of the Basque workers' movement has not yet been met: the sacking of the Interior Minister Rodolfo Martin Villa. This was not for want of militancy by the workers, but because of the failure of their leaders to take up this demand.

Martin Villa put a motion to the Cortes (parliament) the day after German Rodriguez's funeral. This rather pompous statement of the moral rectitude of the police was seen as a vote of confidence in Martin Villa and the right-wing government.

All but one deputy, a Socialist, voted for. The far left deputies were not in the Cortes, since they saw being on the barricades as rather more important.

The one dissident, Julio Garcia, can hardly have expected the storm he caused.



Head of the funeral procession for German Rodriguez

He pointed out that he was simply following his party's line, formulated after one of their own deputies had been beaten up by police.

Sensing which way the wind was blowing, other Socialist

deputies rushed to proclaim their solidarity with Garcia (though a bit late to make any difference). No such doubts afflicted the Communist Party, which remained solidly behind the government.

A comrade dies

THIS is an eyewitness account of the death of German Rodriguez, by another comrade of the Revolutionary Communist League.

It was quarter past nine. After the police charge into the bull-ring, several thousand of us set off towards the Civil Governor's building.

German was very uptight, very angry. In the bull-ring he had seen a child with its head split open by a rubber bullet.

We arrived at the place where the Civil Governor's building was.

They started to fire at us with rubber bullets and tear-gas grenades. We took cover behind a corrugated iron fence. They opened fire with their pistols, without people knowing exactly what was going on.

They gradually managed to drive us back. The wounded began to fall.

When we arrived at the Cortes of Navarra, we

managed at last to push back the cops. It was 10 o'clock in the evening.

We continued to advance. As we arrived in Roncevaux Avenue the 'grises' [armed police] got back in their jeeps and buses. The demonstrators followed them, jumping for joy.

But suddenly they stopped in Roncevaux Avenue and got out again. They fired, this time only with their carbines. I even think I heard several bursts of

fire from Cetmes [a Spanish assault rifle].

They fired like this for several minutes, at demonstrators who hid behind cars.

German was more than 100 metres away from the 'grises' when a bullet hit him in the forehead. He immediately lost consciousness.

We stopped a car to take him to hospital. He didn't breathe any more. 'Garin' died before he reached hospital.

German Rodriguez

GERMAN Rodriguez Sainz, known to his comrades as 'Garin', was a member of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Spanish section of the Fourth International.

He had been in the party and its predecessors since 1931. He played a prominent part in the fusion between the LCR and ETA (VI), the revolutionary wing of the Basque nationalist movement.

German was an active

member of the Workers Commissions and was best known as a central leader of the Pamplona general strike in 1973. He spent two and a half years in jail for his part in that struggle.

More recently he was responsible for the LCR's youth work in Navarre. His comrades are agreed that German's death was not just a political blow, but a grave loss for all those who knew him.

The case of Dalila Zeghar

An everyday story of Arab women

THE tragic story of Dalila Zeghar, an Algerian woman who has been kidnapped by her reactionary brother, is experienced by thousands of Arab women, writes MUNA AL-KHALIL.

She was drugged and taken from Montreal, Canada, and is now in captivity at one of her brother's properties in Eulma, Algeria.

WISHES

Her crime was to marry, against her brother's wishes, a man she had met at the University of Algiers, Denis Maschino, who is non-Moslem and non-Arab.

They had to go to Paris to get married, and then move to Canada after being terrorised by friends of her brother, Massoud Zeghar. Zeghar then brought a \$300,000 house in Montreal and moved the rest of the family over.

Two and a half years later, now apparently reconciled and only two months before Dalila would be granted Canadian nationality, she was invited over to dinner on 24 April.

Denis tried to phone the next morning after Dalila had not returned. There was no answer and the house was found locked up.

Dalila had been drugged and then taken to the airport where her brother's personal VC8 took her and the rest of the family to Algeria.

Massoud Zeghar had got another passport for Dalila with a Canadian tourist visa stamped on it, although she had been living in Canada for two and a half years.

In 'socialist' Algeria, women are subject to the most profoundly reactionary laws. They cannot work, study or choose their own husbands without the consent of either father, brother or husband.

A Moslem woman may not marry a non-Moslem, although a Moslem man may marry a non-Moslem woman. In Dalila's case, this law was simply used as an excuse to nullify the marriage.

To avoid this problem, Denis Maschino twice applied to convert to Islam. Twice his applications were rejected.

POLICE

Massoud Zeghar is a newly made millionaire who is involved in property, gas, petrol and supplying weapons to the Algerian army. He is a close friend to President Boumedienne and David Rockefeller and has links with

the Algerian secret police.

Denis Maschino's background presents a very different picture. His father, Maurice Maschino, is a well known French militant who fought with the Algerians during their war of independence against the French. He is writing a book which criticises the Algerian government.

Adela M'Rabat, his step-mother, is a well known militant of the Algerian Liberation Movement. She has written a book on the oppression of women in Algeria.

FORCIBLY

Dalila Zeghar has now been forcibly married to a Moslem. She is not the first woman to be forced into a marriage against her wishes.

The fate of women all over the Arab world is determined by the close links between the state and religion, which both define and enforce the family structure.

Other examples of women's oppression are numerous. Crimes of 'honour' in the Middle East often pass unchallenged. A woman could be killed if she is suspected of meeting a man.

The veil, forced and financially arranged marriages,

and seclusion are only a few aspects of women's suffering.

Countries like Algeria, which claim to be socialist, highlight the separation, isolation and suppression of women and indicate more clearly the class nature of these governments.

In France a group of

Algerian women, with other Arab women, mobilised a demonstration of 300 people to protest the imprisonment of Dalila, and to demand her immediate release.

In London there are a number of Arab women who are starting to organise

themselves. They wish to get other Arab women involved and aware of the issues they are faced with.

If you want to get in touch with this group you can do so by contacting Socialist Challenge.



SEVENTY-three women political prisoners are on hunger strike at Qasr prison in Tehran, Iran. The strike began when police assaulted some of the women.

Treatment of women prisoners in Iran is particularly bad. Secret police and guards take particular pleasure in sadistic treatment of women. Rape is a frequent method of torture.

Our picture shows a picket outside the Iranian embassy in London last Saturday in solidarity with the hunger strikers. Some 70 people turned up.

IRELAND

Socialist Challenge helps nail the killers Yellow Card defied again

THE KILLING of 16-year-old John Boyle by British soldiers at Dunloy, County Antrim, on 11 July has produced a storm of protest in the North of Ireland, reports GEOFF BELL.

Much of the protest is based on charges that once again the Army have ignored their own regulations on when to open fire, printed in the 'Yellow Card' given to soldiers serving in Ireland.

It was three weeks ago that Socialist Challenge printed the Yellow Card and revealed how the Army was continually ignoring its own rules.

It is this publication which has allowed attention to be drawn to the way soldiers again defied the Yellow Card when they shot Boyle.

When Socialist Challenge printed the card only the Daily Mirror reported this challenge to the Official Secrets Act. But in Ireland wide coverage was given to the exposure.

The Socialist Challenge story

was reported on the front pages of the Irish press, republished in Republican newspapers, and a member of the paper's staff was interviewed on Irish radio.

Even the Irish Embassy has ordered a copy of the Socialist Challenge carrying the story.

PUBLICITY

It was this publicity which helped to fire the anger over the killing of Boyle. The young man was shot while standing over a grave in which firearms had been hidden.

Boyle himself had reported the finding of these arms to the British Army.

The British offered two explanations. First, they insisted that Boyle was one of three men who had been attempting to recover the guns.

Then they changed their story, saying that Boyle had been handling an Armalite rifle when shot. The mysterious other two men disappeared in this version.

With such a history of deception, few in the North now are prepared to accept the

Army's second version.

Even the Guardian has now reprinted the relevant section of the Yellow Card and suggested that Boyle's killers ignored the rules. The card was also quoted in Parliament last Thursday by the SDLP MP for West Belfast, Gerry Fitt.

RESIGN

Such pressure has forced Northern Ireland Secretary Roy Mason to promise a public enquiry into Boyle's killing. But the SDLP spokesperson on

law and order, Michael Canavan, has called for the resignation of Mason.

Mason's resignation would certainly be some compensation for the friends and relatives of John Boyle, but defiance of the Yellow Card has not been restricted to Mason's reign in Ireland.

There is only one way to ensure there are no more John Boyles — the 'resignation' from Ireland of the British Army.

What did you do in the war, daddy?

'British Soldiers Speak Out on Ireland' is the title of an excellent new pamphlet produced by Information on Ireland. At 30p and with 32 pages packed with information and graphics, it is superb agitational material. The quotes below give the flavour.

Might is still right. To the Army, the solution of the Irish problem is the same as it always was. It is identical to the approach we adopted in Cyprus and employed again in Aden.

For despite all our protests to the contrary, the war we are fighting in the North is essentially a colonial one. Successive army commanders and Secretaries of State have refused to admit this.

And yet, the comparison with De Gaulle's Algeria is still too clear: we have settlers, natives and now, of course, the Army. Sadly, the campaign in the North is also becoming increasingly more racist in character, the longer it goes on.

The soldiers of the world's most vaunted democracy are unable to accept that anyone exercising his constitutional rights to disagree can be anything but at best an object of suspicion or, most likely, a subversive.

— serving British officer, January 1977.

Part of my duties consisted of being at the Reception Centres at Holywood and Curwood barracks.

Here I saw many young men brought in by the Army, frightened and bewildered, and as far as I could see, their only crime being that they were males aged between 15 and 50,

lived in a certain area, and were of a certain religion.

I saw a lot of injustice and discrimination, but I was unable to do anything about it. I could only help where it wasn't noticed and eventually, as a submission to my feelings, I went absent to Dublin for several days and returned on my own accord.

I was posted immediately to England to finish my remaining year there and I have waited over a year to be where I am now — on a platform for the removal of troops from Ireland!

— from a speech by an ex-soldier in Fulham Town Hall, London, October 1974.

If only the British public, especially the parents of soldiers serving over the water, realised that their sons do terrorise the local people.

They do shoot innocent people. They do smash up homes at 4 o'clock in the morning, simply because they are bored with the foot patrol, or they just want to pass the time.

And, last but not least, they do terrorise the Catholic community because they are methodically brainwashed with propaganda of all types before they do their four-month tour of duty over there, into

believing that all Catholics are Provos.

— W Sellick, formerly of the Royal Greenjackets, August 1976.

One of the most vivid things I remember about Northern Ireland was a chat I had with a couple of other black soldiers who had just returned from a house search.

They had felt so ashamed and disgusted with the whole thing in Ireland that they felt like leaving their rifles in the house they had just smashed up.

They had gone to this house, burst down the front door, ripped up all the mattresses on beds, ripped up all the floorboards, smashed the cistern in the toilet, flooded the bathroom and after this all they had found was a knife, a catapult and a rubber bullet that was fired through the front window by a soldier.

This is the sort of thing that goes on all the time, and no black person, no working class person, should be part of it.

— Lloyd Hayes, former black soldier, May 1977.

The pamphlet, British Soldiers Speak Out on Ireland, is available for 30p at The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1, or from the publishers, c/o 1 North End Rd, London W14. Add 10p for package and posting.



Kojak in Ireland

WITH RECENT exposures reducing the image of the British Army in the North of Ireland to rock bottom, Southern Television has set out to reconstruct the image of good old British Tommy — always in the firing line, but bravely battling on, keeping the rules of the game even when adversaries don't.

The first episode of its new series, 'Spearhead', went out on Tuesday. JAN TAYLOR, who served in the Royal Signals from 1961-70, went to the press showing.

Spearhead is not a documentary or even a semi-documentary, therefore the facts of real life don't have to be faced.

What the producers have done is to create images, distorted images that bear little resemblance to the real

situation. They have de-politicised the imperialist presence in Ireland and the struggle against it.

The first episode concerned a stake-out by troops of an isolated farmhouse in South Antrim. A young Irish woman is suspected of being a carrier of bombs for Frank the bomber.

That is all we ever get to know of them. The woman speaks, but only to British soldiers. She is aggressive and sullen; hardly surprising when troops are ransacking her home.

She has no name, and there is no explanation of a relationship between her and Frank.

ISOLATED

Not only is there no relationship between Frank and the woman, but they have no relationship with the rest of the community. This is symbolised by the isolated farmhouse.

Frank never speaks, we glimpse him once, and what little we get to know about him comes only through the mouths of his pursuers.

On the other hand, the British are shown as individuals,

each with his own name and personal identity.

They relate to one another (or attempt to, the quality of acting is about one notch above Crossroads), and one even has his wife with him to give the inevitable romantic flavour.

IMAGES

All the personnel of a typical Army barrack room are there: the loudmouth Cockney, the aggressive bully, the quiet one, and even a black soldier.

So the images are created, the Brits are the real people, the bombers are superficial, devoid of any personality.

The situation is non-political, the bombers could be bank robbers and the troops ordinary policemen. Just like in Kojak or Dixon of Dock Green.

In reality the reverse is nearer the truth. Army training in general, and infantry training in particular, is designed to produce a soldier who is dependent on orders from his 'superiors', who doesn't question these orders, who is deprived of his individuality and becomes one of the squad. The Irish man or woman



planting bombs is part of a mass anti-imperialist movement, not isolated from the nationalist community but part of that community.

Yet why they risk their lives to plant bombs is a question Spearhead never answers — indeed the question is never asked.

It would be tempting to

dismiss the series as hokum. Unfortunately many working class people in this country will watch and be left with the impression that 'their boys in uniform' are doing a thankless task dealing with 'psychopathic killers'.

It is an impression that must be countered at every opportunity.

Socialist Challenge

Ginzburg answers his accusers

'Nationality?'—'Prisoner!'

THE SCENE was reminiscent of the 1930s. They marched Alexander Ginzburg into the court and asked him: 'Nationality?' 'Prisoner!'

When another of the accused, Viktor Piatkus, denounced the farce he was carried out of the court. The present day bureaucrats have nothing to learn from Stalin.

And the verdict, of course, was guilty. Could there ever have been a shadow of a doubt?

LUDICROUS

The whole affair had been so ludicrous as to provoke denunciations from every side.

Not just the conventional cold warriors, but also the French, Italian and Spanish Communist Parties have attacked the new Moscow trials.

The ostensible crime was espionage. Alongside the three well-known oppositionists, Shcharansky, Ginzburg and Piatkus, they hauled up Anatoly Filatov — a man who may well have been a real spy — just to give the proceedings a gloss of reality.

It may be that the dissidents did, unwittingly, receive CIA money.

But that is just a sad reflection on the bureaucrats' style of 'socialism'.

For their real crime was to monitor the performance of the Soviet government in sticking to the Helsinki Accords.

In other words, it is a punishable offence to demand that the regime sticks to its own laws.

In any real socialist democracy the CIA would not have a toe-hold, because there would be no such thing as 'dissidence'.

Anyone would have the right to criticise and to organise their political party.

That is why Socialist Challenge defends Shcharansky, Ginzburg and their colleagues regardless of our enormous political differences with them, and regardless of the fact that they have become a rallying point for all the most reactionary elements in the West.

The only way to undermine these reactionaries is to show that we defend democratic rights consistently — unlike them.

MODEL

And by making no discrimination in our defence of freedom of expression we hold up a model of socialism far superior to Stalinism.

* Turn to page 12 for details on the Helsinki monitoring groups and the campaigns to release Bahro and rehabilitate Bukharin.



"Am I to take it, then, that the HUMAN RIGHT to tell the TRUTH currently applies only to AMERICANS talking about RUSSIA?"



BRITAIN'S dissidents? During a picket of the Royal Tournament by the United Troops Out Movement and the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, an ex-soldier bought a pamphlet written by ex-soldiers.

The man wasn't sympathetic to the picket, but police immediately stopped and searched him and the woman accompanying him.

OUR FUND DRIVE

A FURTHER £222.29 brings our fund drive total to over £500 in the space of two weeks. This is a great start to the summer but must be maintained if our target of £2,500 is to be reached.

A large part of this week's money came from the proceeds of the Brent Socialist Challenge Group barbecue. £80 was raised in a single evening.

While there was no roast pig or duck with orange sauce, beefburgers and sausages were provided in abundance. Swilled down with keg bitter or wine, the evening went off well.

So well, in fact, that just as the disco was about to finish with an old favourite, 'The

laughing policeman', who should arrive but the old Bill themselves. They were not so amused — the neighbours had complained about the noise.

The moral of the story. Next time do not be so loud and get in some real ale!

However, the real lesson of this episode for our supporters nationwide is — why aren't you doing the same? OK, so it needs some effort, but think of the rewards!

Our friends in Japan followed last week's gift of a calculator with a few cheques. One was from a Japanese reader, employed very badly, in Tokyo, by a British firm. The money was sent to help change

things at this end.

The Japanese supporters also sent a packet of stamps. Here is a good idea for all our foreign readers and subscribers. Why not cut the stamps off your letters and send them to us?

We can assure you that stamps from the Americas, Australasia, Africa, and Japan can be profitably sold for Socialist Challenge.

The campaign for regular donations via bankers orders is also steaming ahead. In June we had £107.50 from this source. In July we are expecting a total of £183.33, and in August £222.83.

Our goal has to be to double that August figure. We will not

be satisfied until each month we receive £425 in bankers orders.

This week our thanks to:

Brig K Law	10.00
DSmith	1.00
Cardiff readers	5.00
H Richards	5.00
W Krisper	2.00
D Hines	10.00
Friends of Space	8.00
P Shafee	1.00
A Arblaster	5.00
'Legalise dope'	20.00
P Mackney	1.00
D Boyle	2.00
Brent SCG barbecue	80.00
Anon, Japan	4.00
Yoko	5.57
C Pitts	10.00
D Bell	5.00

T Boushier	5.00
F Mulhern	5.00
H Davies	5.00
S Goffe	1.00
Anon	10.00
Raffle of old ISJ	2.00
Transport worker	3.00
T Wild	1.00
S Pinder	2.50
R Purdie	3.22
A Lilley	10.00

Next week: The amazing story of the Hackney jumble sale!

Still in need

OUR APPEAL for equipment has brought useful results. The New Statesman's new editor has furnished his editorial staff

with electric typewriters, and two of their old — but excellently functioning — manual machines have been donated to Socialist Challenge.

Thanks also to the comrades who have brought in stencils, envelopes, and sufficient scrap paper for us to type on this side of the revolution.

We still badly need office materials — everything you'd expect an efficient newspaper to have: typewriter ribbons, adhesive tape, pens, envelopes, folders — the works. Transportation can be arranged!

Summer sub - £2

Want to be sure of Socialist Challenge for the summer?

sure of receiving Socialist Challenge every week during the summer. At that time it may be difficult to obtain the paper

There are two easy ways to be

regularly because our sellers or you may be on holiday.

Firstly, take out a special cheap subscription, £2 for 3 months — fill in the form on this page.

Secondly, place an order with your local branch of W.

H. Smith, through a procedure called 'Customers Special Order'. This is operative through most branches of Smiths. However, as they have no branches in Scotland it only applies to our English and Welsh readers.

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Domestic: 6 months, £5. 12 months, £10

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Address _____

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

Complete and return to:

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