

Socialist Challenge

Support free collective bargaining



Photo: DAVE EVANS (F&L)

'The Western powers should not try to sidestep the basic problem: political power is the due of the Zimbabwe people without restrictions. They must be given the necessary means: army and police.'
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WHY THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS SHOULD NOT BE BOYCOTTED!
 By Martin Meteyard page 11

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'I am the hooded man of the National Stadium'



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EDITORIAL

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

Conclave at Camp David

THREE WORRIED politicians went into secret conclave at Camp David near Washington yesterday. No one is seriously expecting a puff of white smoke announcing the culmination of the Sadat initiative by way of a joint declaration of principles setting out the terms of a future settlement on the Middle East conflict. However, the smoke signals could be black or, more likely, a murky shade of grey.

All three leaders—Sadat, Begin, and Carter—have a lot to lose from a complete breakdown of the Camp David summit. Carter, as the host, has his credibility and prestige which even without the Middle East is barely hobbling along. Begin has his reputation as the first Israeli leader to have had within his grasp the prospect of an enduring settlement with Egypt and the Arab regimes. To let this slip by would isolate Israel and further damage Begin's relations not only with the American administration but with American and Israeli public opinion.

Sadat is the one unpredictable ingredient at the summit. He has the most to lose from a total breakdown of the peace initiative which he personally launched last November. By now he must be painfully aware that he seriously miscalculated the Begin leadership's willingness to make territorial concessions.

It took around eight months for the principle of Egyptian sovereignty over Sinai to be conceded by the Israelis. The West Bank is another story. For this, in Begin's view, is the Biblical land of Judea and Samaria, and therefore an inalienable part of modern Israel. On this issue the Begin leadership has not prepared any dramatic policy changes for Camp David. Without movement on the thorny question of the West Bank, it is not possible for Sadat to call his November initiative even a qualified success. So where does that leave him?

This depends in part on Sadat's relations with the other Arab regimes and particularly with his bankers, Saudi Arabia. The Saudis—after consultation with Egypt and the American Secretary of State—reversed their former opposition to any further face-to-face negotiations with the Israelis. They have backed Sadat in his decision to attend the present summit meeting. It is therefore possible that Sadat, with Saudi support, is viewing the Camp David discussions as a platform from which to maximise the public relations gains of his November initiative by placing the blame for failure on the Israelis.

On the other hand it is likely that by curbing Sadat and egging on Begin, the Americans will be able to cobble together a few formulas that will give the summit the appearance of making progress. This is the best that the Carter administration can hope for given the position of the Begin Government, which has become an embarrassment to the Americans. For Sadat to be content with such an outcome and emerge uncompromised in the eyes of at least some of the more important Arab regimes, it will probably be necessary for the Americans to further distance themselves from the Israeli position on withdrawal from the occupied territories.

However, Carter has the Congressional elections looming up soon. Best from his point of view is the option of curbing the Egyptians, marking time, and hoping for some sort of breakthrough, such as the early demise of Begin through natural causes. He is after all rumoured to have a heart condition, liver ailments, and a number of other problems.

Such is the lineup for the Camp David conclave. Rarely has such high summitry coincided with such a low probability of success from the point of view of the parties involved.

TUC

DENIS HEALEY confidently predicted on the weekend that the TUC would reject another round of pay restraint. Confident because, as he went on to say, it wouldn't make any difference to the Government's policy or its effect on wage levels.

For the past four years the Social Contract has made the working class and the TUC the losers. Initially the union leaders accepted pay restraint in return for: inflationary measures, an end to public expenditure cuts, and lower income tax for the less well paid. They got the pay restraint but not the rest.

Last year they rejected pay cutting. But the main strikes for more, by the FBU and the power workers, were defeated — with a lot of help from the union generals on the TUC General Council. Words and resolutions are simply not enough.

The TUC this year may reject the 5 per cent wages offer, and they may demand a 35-hour week and increased public spending. But this has to be backed by supporting, encouraging and building actions to ensure that these policies are carried out.

Delegates at the TUC should be aware that motions are easily ignored by the bureaucrats. They should be ready now to ensure that a defeat like that of the firefighters must not occur again, and that all trade unionists are prepared to back up militant words with militant action — forcing the TUC leaders to fight for their fine phrases.

Support for the toolmakers would be a good start.

THE FIRST WORD

The case of the non-sectarian sectarian

SHERLOCK HOLMES was staring intently at a couple from his bay window. He began to chuckle as he slowly re-filled his pipe. 'No doubt about it', he muttered softly to himself. 'No doubt at all. They're non-sectarian sectarians. It's a new and fashionable breed.'

His old comrade-in-arms stared at the master in awe. He was speechless, but his eyes looked inquiringly.

'Elementary, my dear Watson', replied the great man. 'All you have to do is observe the halo above their heads. Then study the blank badge. It denotes a pride in not having any coherent set of ideas. The copy of the Leveller sticking out of their pockets gives the game away.'

Watson was staggered. 'My word Holmes', he stuttered. 'You're a genius'. TARIQ ALI continues the sad saga.

Don't get it wrong. We aren't about to go on a sectarian binge against the Leveller or anyone else. But the element of truth in Holmes' observation cannot be denied. Far better then to bring all our doubts into the open and discuss them.

There are tens of thousands of non-aligned militants in Britain. In different degrees, they regard themselves as revolutionary socialists. They reject evolutionary 'Euro-communism' and social democracy.

However, they are genuinely repulsed by the inability of the major currents of the far left to offer a unified and cohesive socialist alternative to Labourism.

They observe that no credible organisation exists to the left of Labour, and draw from this the mistaken conclusion that they should postpone the thought of joining a revolutionary organisation. Mistakenly, they remain aloof.

LEARNING

Their work is confined to self-defined areas of trade union or other political activity. With these comrades a fraternal debate and dialogue is both possible and productive. We have a lot to learn from their varied experiences.

There is, however, another category of the non-aligned, X is a typical example. S/he is hostile to any form of left organisation. S/he sneers at the bulk of the left press, mocks the activities of major left groups. X can only contribute venom and spite.

If s/he is at a meeting where a member of a left group is also present, s/he will almost always disagree with what he or she is saying.

If by some accident of fate this is not possible, s/he will speculate aloud on the theme that there must be a catch in it somewhere. It is a suspicion

that borders on paranoia.

What is bizarre is that this 'holier than thou' approach is dignified by the necessity to fight sectarianism. What it really amounts to is a virulent sectarianism towards those who belong to left groups. The aim is to make the latter feel guilty.

PECULIAR

Some do. Others react in an even more sectarian fashion. The last must be avoided. Apart from being counter-productive, it only enables X to polish his/her badge and put an extra shine on the halo.

Much of the comment on the activities of the far left groups in the Leveller has tended to encourage this peculiar sectarian strain. Instead of utilising the magazine to unite non-aligned and aligned activists by making it into a genuine forum for discussion, the Leveller is increasingly becoming an ideological focus for 'non-sectarian' sectarians.

All this is done in the name of the 'broad movement'. The only problem is that no such movement exists in this country and attempts to artificially create one are likely to fail.

It is true that there are a number of 'cultural' movements — women's liberation, gay liberation, black groups, and so on. But these continually come up against the operation of the bourgeois political system. Any genuine anti-capitalist current will sooner or later face the question of the prevailing forms of bourgeois political power.

This comprises a super-structure of governments and parties which rest on the consent of the masses, and a state apparatus which rests on armed bodies of men and women. The latter is the lynchpin of all bourgeois social relations.



It cannot be contested and defeated by even the largest 'movement'. Hence the need for a revolutionary party.

Hence the existence of the far-left groups. Hence the global contestation of bourgeois ideology, politics, and state power.

X is not interested in all these questions. 'Typical left-wing jargon. Irrelevant to real needs.' And so the dialogue of the deaf continues.

There are other forms of the disease. There is the militant who functions in a broad united front alliance. S/he is an individual not aligned to any group. Most of the people in the said alliance are in the same situation. However the largest organised force is a left-wing group, LMN.

It follows that LMN will be the dominant political influence in the alliance. That is unless all the individuals simply unite on an anti-LMN basis. This rarely happens.

So individual Y can develop an ultra-sectarian attitude towards the LMN essentially because its supporters are organised on a common political understanding of what

needs to be done. Y's irritation is understandable, but not excusable. For what it leaves out of account is the power and primacy of politics.

Socialist Challenge has not flinched in the past from making sharp criticisms of the real weaknesses of the revolutionary left in this country. It has printed many letters and articles criticising the International Marxist Group (without long or even short replies).

We state this to indicate that we are aware of the problems of the far left. That is why we find the 'non-sectarian' sectarian approach both crude and counter-productive. Its only banner is 'Against Organisation'.

It offers no political solutions, not even a glimpse of the way forward. It cannot provide the answers because it is not even sure what questions should be raised.

We certainly do not have the solution to all our problems. Nor do we claim that we are infallible and have all the answers. But we, at the very least, are certainly posing the correct questions. Of this we are sure.

OUR POLICIES

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

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

1 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.

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

Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

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

2 Our socialism will be infinitely more democratic than what exists in Britain today, with full rights for all political parties and currents that do not take up arms against the socialist state. The Stalinist models of 'socialism' in the USSR and Eastern Europe have discredited socialism in the eyes of 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 setting internal democracy as a luxury but as a vital necessity. This means the right to organise factions and tendencies.

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

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

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

[Delete if not applicable]

NAME

ADDRESS

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

HOME NEWS

Selecting our candidates

SOCIALIST UNITY selected its election candidates at meetings in Hull and Southall, West London, last week. Selection meetings are planned in other areas

this week. PAT CROSS reports from Hull and ANDY LILLEY from Southall.

Tariq Ali in Southall



SOCIALIST UNITY, Southall—known as SUS—decided last month to run a candidate and a selection meeting was held last Sunday. It was attended by 45 people, mainly local trades unionists, as well as several local observers from the Socialist Workers Party.

Two members of the New Communist Party expressed their opposition to standing candidates against Labour, and left the meeting. Tariq Ali, a leading member of the International Marxist Group and editor of Socialist Challenge, was selected as the candidate.

Oliver New from SUS had earlier explained the vital necessity of opposing Syd Bidwell. Tariq said that it was an utter disgrace that a central author of the Select Committee Report on Immigration should represent Southall.

The report was so way out that even the Labour Government—no softies on this question—was forced to reject its more controversial suggestions, such as pass laws for blacks in Britain.

A comrade from the SWP, speaking on behalf of its district committee, explained the position of his organisation.

While they were not prepared to affiliate to SUS they would call for a vote for Socialist Unity and support the campaign.

SUS activists explained that the campaign in Southall would not take place in isolation. Building campaigns such as the Anti-Nazi League, Right to Work, and against the cuts would be an integral part of our activity.

An election steering committee was elected, and two members of the SWP agreed to attend as observers.

Feeling at the end of the meeting was that this was the first important manifestation of left unity we had seen in Southall for many years. It was agreed that the position of the local Communist Party and the Indian Workers Association would be ascertained as soon as possible.

An appeal for £1,000 was launched at the meeting to help finance the campaign. All donations will be gratefully received and should be sent to the election agent.

Election Agent: Andy Lilley, 10 Hamilton Road, Southall, Middlesex. Tel. 01-571 5770.

Next week: Introducing the Socialist Unity candidates in Leeds and Nottingham.



Martin Shaw in Hull

MARTIN SHAW, a member of the International Socialist Alliance, will be the Socialist Unity candidate for the Central Hull constituency in the General Election. He has been politically active in the area for six years, lectures at Hull University, and is a member of the Hull Trades Council executive committee.

The seat is presently held by Kevin McNamara, a right-wing 'Tribunite' who sat on the Select Committee on Abortion and is strongly opposed to a woman's right to choose.

McNamara recently announced that he is sending his son to the well-known Catholic public school, Ampleforth, and is attempting to get the local education authority to foot the bill on the grounds of his son's musical abilities. This is justified as an attempted

'extension of the comprehensive system'!

Ever since McNamara was elected in a by-election in 1966, he has supported the Government's economic policies.

The fact that Hull has an 11 per cent unemployment total seems to have made little impact on this illustrious MP. It will be the central issue in Socialist Unity's campaign, together with women's rights, cuts, and racism.

Hull Trades Council, which this week voted to support the Right to Work march, decided to call a public meeting during the election period, which all Labour and socialist candidates in the city will be invited to address, particularly to discuss the dole queue scandal.

Election Agent: Pat Cross, 63 Middleton Street, Hull. Tel. 442343. All help welcome.

News from nowhere

Norway's ABC trial

A LEFT WING paper in Norway, Ny Tid, published a story exactly a year ago related to CIA intervention in Norway. It proved that the Norwegian Government had enabled the CIA to build a long-range navigation system [Loran C] on Norwegian territory for military purposes. Furthermore it showed that the Norwegian people had been deliberately misled and argued that these bases made Norway a legitimate Soviet target in the event of war.

A month later the same paper [circulation 20,000] carried a story revealing how Norwegian military intelligence had trained Finnish Nazis and infiltrated them into the Soviet Union in 1953. Once again, CIA involvement was demonstrated. This information was angrily denied by the Government. It talked of 'left-wing fantasies'.

Ny Tid hit back by interviewing a former officer from Norwegian intelligence [a Scandinavian Philip Agee], who made numerous other allegations. He was promptly arrested and charged. Two Ny Tid reporters were also charged and could be sentenced to 15 years. Protests are under way [as are the trials]. We await more information from Oslo.

Stockport follies

CALLAGHAN's political adviser, one Tom McNally, was recently chosen as prospective Labour candidate for Stockport South. This was after McNally had been rejected by a number of other Labour parties.

Now it emerges that four pro-McNally delegates were not entitled to vote. Without them Jim's man would not have got the seat. So a fierce war is raging in Stockport South.

The Labour Party organisation sub-committee is investigating the matter under the direct leadership of Reg Underhill. Reg is a hack of the old order. He was a leading right-winger in the '50s and '60s and is bound to back McNally. If he does, seven of the eight ward secretaries have pledged that they will have nothing to do with him.

In fact the sectarianism displayed by warring social-democrats in inter-party rivalries has reached serious proportions. Callaghan will probably resolve the issue by announcing an election before the sub-committee reports. Which goes to show how anxious he is to get McNally in the House.

Equally 'surprising' is that Tribune, quick off the mark in attacking Trotskyist sects, is busy fanning the fires in Stockport. Geoffrey Sinclair (a pseudonym for Dick Clements) has a sectarian piece on page 29 of last week's issue. That will put him off the Honours List for a few decades.

Dirty Harry

LEE KUAN YEW is the Prime Minister of Singapore. He used to be the darling of right-wing British social democrats. They loved using the charm and eloquence of 'Harry' Lee, as he was called, to hammer the left.

Singapore is a model imperialist neo-colony. Trade unions are banned, political opponents are locked up without trial, the press is controlled, and there are innumerable other benefits for

foreign companies.

Harry Lee learned many of these dirty habits from his imperialist sponsors and probably a few from his old Gaitskellite mentors in the Campaign for Democratic Socialism in the British Labour Party.

These people would probably find some of Harry's antics over the last decade a trifle repugnant, but if so they have a curious way of making their voices heard. The young Doctor Owen has not uttered a word on the atrocities in Singapore; thus Lin Chin Siong, Dirty Harry's extremely popular rival, is still in prison. He is fed with drugs, kept in solitary confinement, and not allowed reading or written material. Amnesty International has publicised many other cases of torture.

But from Owen, Henley, and their friends we simply have a deafening silence. As for the father of 'human rights', Carter, there is a serious possibility that he believes that Singapore is the national anthem of Afghanistan.

Top secret briefcase

THE TOP people's paper carried an interesting ad early last month. The RU Trading Company of Park Lane, London W1, was advertising a micro-recording unit concealed in a briefcase. A NFN sleuth wrote and asked for details, which were promptly received. These included:

(a) Voice activated recording...

(b) When briefcase is locked it can be controlled by exterior touch. Placing the fingers on one part of briefcase to start and on another part to stop recording...

(c) The briefcase picks up quiet sounds or voice in any normal size room and because of the latest technology the microphone is totally invisible beneath the leather of the case...

Rumours that T. Benn, Esq., is currently using such a briefcase at Cabinet meetings and conferences with civil servants have been strongly denied. For the average SC reader there is at least a bit of good news: it costs only £638.00 plus VAT.

Twisted arrow of fate

A NEW book is already in production. It is entitled Margaret Thatcher: Prime Minister. Its author is Patrick Cosgrave and the publishers are Arrow. If the Tories win the book will be in the shops within a matter of days rather than weeks.

And if they lose? We have a suggestion: given the poverty stricken condition of Socialist Challenge we are constantly appealing for scrap paper of all sorts. We would be quite happy to use discarded copies in the toilets at Upper Street for no extra cost...

Press Council blues

THE PRESS Council has written to us in connection with our story 'Popes against the Nazis?' (17 August). Apparently a complaint has been received from one Catherine Jones of Ashton-under-Lyme, Tameside. In the article we pointed out that Pope Paul VI was once in charge of the Vatican department which supplied papers to Nazis fleeing to South America.

SOCIALIST UNITY EXTENDED STEERING COMMITTEE

9 September, 11 am

St Matthews's Church Hall, Brixton Hill, London SW2. [Brixton tube]

All SU supporters welcome

SOCIALIST UNITY IN EAST LONDON

Selection meeting to choose a candidate for Bethnal Green and Bow

Saturday, 9 September, 7-9 pm

All SU supporters welcome

Details: Tel. 01-247-2717

Chrysler takeover

The internationalism which impresses no-one

THE SWISS city of Geneva was the unlikely location on 30 August for a ringing declaration of trade union solidarity, reports GEOFF BELL.

The declaration followed a meeting to discuss the proposed takeover of Chrysler by Peugeot-Citroen.

It threatened 'international solidarity action' up to and including industrial action if guarantees over the future of jobs are not forthcoming from the Peugeot-Citroen management.

The following day the management made clear its attitude. Referring specifically to Britain, Jean-Paul Parayre, chairperson of the company, said he could offer no 'absolute guarantee' on employment.

He added that the maintenance of all jobs at Chrysler UK was dependent on 'certain considerations of productivity'.

At first sight this contemptuous dismissal of the union declaration seems to be inviting

trouble from the British, French, Spanish, American and Australian trade union leaders who were at the Geneva meeting.

But when the make-up of the personnel at Geneva is considered, Parayre's attitude is understandable.

Representing Britain were: Terry Duffy, president-elect of the Engineering Union; Clive Jenkins of the white-collar union ASTMS; Granville Hawley, national secretary of the Transport Union; Basil White of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, and John Wood of the Metal Mechanics.

The ability of these gentlemen to summon up international working class solidarity is, to put it kindly, questionable.

Jenkins is one of Britain's

leading advocates of import control. At its last conference, the TGWU called for the introduction of such controls. And at its last national committee meeting, the AUEW did the same.

For the Iron and Steel Confederation the banning of steel imports from this country is about the only policy it has on offer for solving the massive crisis in the steel industry.

If last week's Geneva declaration seems a break from this 'British workers first and damn the rest' tradition, then it is a rather superficial break.

The meeting in Switzerland was dominated by union representatives from Britain and Spain, and it is these two countries — especially Britain — where job security in the proposed car giant is most fragile.

Herman Rebhan, general secretary of the International Metalworkers Federation — who convened the meeting,

spelt this out when he said:

'We are concerned that the workers at the British and Spanish plants will... be turned into hewers of wood and drawers of water.'

The workers at the French plants will be unlikely to be sympathetic to this approach.

Given the history of the leadership of the British trade union movement on international solidarity they could hardly be blamed for assuming that the new found promotion for such solidarity is based on the same, narrow chauvinistic concerns which, for instance, have led a number of British unions to demand controls on the import of Japanese cars.

In short, international solidarity is a great thing as long as it saves British jobs.

Even if French union leaders were sympathetic to calls for solidarity with British workers, they will have difficulty in turning such sympathy into

action.

Only ten per cent of the workers at Peugeot-Citroen are unionised, and in the past Citroen management has used physical violence to smash unionisation.

This does not mean that international solidarity among the workers in the new car giant is not possible or desirable. But the approach taken by the union leaderships will not encourage such solidarity.

The best way is to establish links between the actual workers in the various countries. Specifically, links between the shop stewards in Britain and their equivalents elsewhere; between the rank and file in all the countries concerned.

Once established, such links could prepare plans for strike action in one country if jobs were threatened elsewhere.

At the moment the establishment of such rank and file international solidarity is far



Boss JEAN-PAUL PARAYRE

off; certainly the trade union leaderships will do nothing to encourage it.

Nevertheless the building of such links will achieve something Terry Duffy and his friends at Geneva have shown no intention of doing — building a real campaign to save jobs at the largest car-multinational to enter the big league.

Our newspaper

Rising to meet the Challenge

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE supporters will be called upon to put lots of energy into increasing the paper's sales in the autumn months.

The paper's National Policy Committee, at its second meeting last weekend, discussed ways in which both subscriptions and sales could be dramatically increased, writes DODIE WEPPLER.

A pre-condition for the success of Socialist Challenge's sales drive, the National Policy Committee considered, is the regular functioning of supporters' groups in every town.

Problems the groups have met, as well as the successes they have achieved, will be discussed in a series of regional meetings planned to be held during the next three weeks.

Organisers of Socialist Challenge Groups in the London area are being invited to a

meeting on Monday, 11 September. Meetings in other regions will be announced next week.

These meetings will discuss activity for the autumn, and draw up targets for the sales drive. The NPC will be asking groups to join in three national sales days during the election period. On these three days, to be promoted in the paper, every supporter will be called on to take part in mass sales.

If you live in a town where

there are presently no paper sellers, write now to our distribution office and we will arrange for a small bundle of papers to be posted to you for the sales days — on a sale or return basis.

If you live where there are sellers, but you have never offered your help in selling, we will be announcing where supporters will be meeting so that the areas to be covered in the sales can be allocated.

NEW SUBS

Part of the sales drive — by which we hope to increase sales by 50 per cent, and keep them there! — will be a major effort to win new subscriptions.

The National Policy Com-

mittee felt that each supporters' group should aim to win at least 10 new subscribers to the paper. Larger groups should be able to do much better than that.

If we can achieve the £2,500 fund drive target in the autumn; secure the £450 in bankers' orders that we are aiming at, and increase our sales and domestic subscriptions by 50 per cent, the paper will be on the way to consider expansion and improvements.

Of course, to meet these goals we need a good quality paper. Much of the NPC meeting was devoted to discussing how our standard can be maintained and weaknesses ironed out. Proposals for coverage of the General Election were put to the meeting by Tariq Ali.

He said there should be maximum local reporting during the election, and to help achieve this a correspondents' school is to be held.

The NPC also agreed that a follow-up from the Socialist Challenge Trade Union conference was both necessary and desirable.

Socialist Voice and Big Flame will be approached to sponsor the school and be involved in the planning.

The NPC considered that a conference next January to assess the situation following the General Election should be supplemented by one-day schools on industrial and union topics. Suggestions for topics will be welcomed.

To prepare the conference, a Socialist Challenge Trade

Union bulletin will be published.

Socialist Challenge Correspondents' School

Do you fancy becoming an on-the-spot journalist for Socialist Challenge? Why not get delegated from your local supporters' group to attend our correspondents' school?

The editorial team of the paper will explain what they think is needed for a serious yet lively presentation of polemic, news and analysis...and hear your views.

Saturday 23 September, 11am-6pm, London. [Location to be announced next week.] Pooled fare, to be paid by supporters' groups sending delegates.

Import controls Don't put your shirt on them

THE REACTIONARY nature of demands for import controls, usually coming from trade union bureaucrats and the Communist Party, has just been revealed again.

For some time now an unholy alliance of union officials and clothing manufacturers has been pressing the Labour Government to restrict imports of cheap clothing.

As a result of this pressure the EEC has imposed a quota on the quantities of clothing from outside the EEC that companies can import.

The result is that as from 1979 shirt prices will rise by 25 per cent, anoraks by 25-30 per cent, and knitwear products by 15-20 per cent. Tesco's say that

cheap clothes will rise the most, while British Home Stores is planning for an average rise of 10-20 per cent.

The retail outlets will use this opportunity to make extra profits, no doubt. But nonetheless import quotas are a real factor in producing a price rise in a basic working class need — clothing.

Not only do import controls hit fellow workers in other countries through simply transferring unemployment abroad. At the end of the day they hit the British working class as well through price rises.

Import controls thus cannot form any part of a socialist alternative to the crisis.



Members of the paper's staff on the stall at Carnival 1

Photo: G. M. COOKSON [Socialist Challenge]

HOMENEWS

For free collective bargaining

Support the toolroom workers!

THE POLITICAL importance of the strike of the 32 toolroom workers at Leyland was amply illustrated on Tuesday by the following comment:

'Last weekend Mr Michael Edwardes expressed doubts about the motives of the "tiny minority" of his labour force to whom he attributed responsibility for Leyland's record of disruption.

'But in the case of the toolroom men at least, there is no mystery.

'They are skilled men who studied to achieve their skills, and now they find their differentials destroyed. They have lost confidence in the willingness of the AUEW to represent their interests.' THERESA CONNOR reads the entrails.

The remarks are from an editorial in the right wing Daily Telegraph, which obviously sees the disgraceful treatment of the toolroom workers by the leadership of the Engineering Union as a way of discrediting the Labour Government/TUC alliance in the eyes of trade unionists.

Suddenly the fight of 32 workers at SU Carburettors for implementation of wage parity agreed as far back as 1974 has become a potential vote winner for the Tories!

Yet on Tuesday, the same day the Telegraph published its editorial, the TUC overwhelmingly passed a motion calling for an immediate return to free collective bargaining and oppo-

sition to government interference in pay negotiations.

The hands of Terry Duffy and Hugh Scanlon, incoming and outgoing presidents of the AUEW, were raised high in support of that motion, just as they had been held up when they confirmed that the toolmakers would be thrown out of the union for daring to strike.

Over the weekend, the AUEW leadership sought to postpone the confrontation with the toolmakers for a few days by saying they would give the strikers 'one last chance' and summoned them to a meeting with the union's district committee.

But the threat to expel the

toolroom workers remains, despite the TUC's — and the AUEW's — paper motion of support for free collective bargaining. Apparently free collective bargaining ends at the gates of British Leyland's SU Carburettors plant.

Fortunately, the championing of the strikers' case has not been left to the Daily Telegraph. The socialist case for the toolroom workers has been explained in a leaflet distributed nationally by Charter, the paper of rank and file engineering workers.

DISREPUTE

The leaflet explains: 'If there ever was a case of bringing our union into disrepute, then this must be it. If the executive committee is allowed to get away with its expulsion threat, then what happens at SU Carburettors today will become common practice tomorrow.

The leaflet continues: 'Employers everywhere will be queuing up for Duffy's favours at the first sign of "problems". For the sake of our union, AUEW members everywhere must do all they can to stop the EC carrying out its threat.

'If the Leyland toolmakers come out in support of the 32 SU men, then every engineering

worker in the country should be out with them.'

The strikers have also received the backing of their toolroom shop stewards throughout Leyland, who have pledged immediate strike action if the expulsions are carried out.

SCABS

Most significant of all, on Monday the white-collar union ASTMS gave its support.

ASTMS members at Leyland have received official instructions not to do work normally carried out by the strikers and not to supervise or assist any scabs who are brought in to replace the toolroom workers.

Such support needs to be spread to all workers in Leyland and extended to sympathetic strike action if the toolroom workers are booted out by Duffy and Co.

Support now for the toolroom strikers means supporting the right to strike; the right of those workers to pursue their claim for a justified increase, free of the shackles of any 'social contract'.

It can also answer the likes of the Daily Telegraph by showing that the best way the TUC and Labour can win an election is to fight for the rights of their rank and file.



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

AFTER a meeting at the Naz Cinema in Brick Lane on Saturday, where Right to Work marchers heard angry speeches, there was music from CRISIS and then the march to Brixton was on. It was joined till then by the Campaign Against Youth Unemployment.

Then RTW was on its own all the way to Brighton, where the latest TUC in years was assembling to get a lot of soft talk from TUC leaders and Callaghan.

There they began to put the heat on the TUC and won a lot of sympathy from several delegates, especially those from Liverpool and Tyneside.

IN BRIEF

Tory fury

SIX council workers on strike in Basingstoke, Hampshire, savoured the hospitality of the local nick last Friday after being arrested for trying to stop scab contractors from doing their work.

The confrontation was between the strikers and 80 cops. But behind the police is a Tory council that is determined to smash direct labour organisation in Basingstoke.

The strike, now in its fifth week, is the result of the secret engagement by the local council of private contractors for housing repairs, breaking union agreements. The maintenance section immediately called a strike and were soon joined by all sections of the manual labour force.

Over 30 hours of negotiations have since produced nothing, while scabs are being employed to sweep the town centre. The council announced

last week that contractors were to be brought in to shift rubbish dumps that have formed on the estates.

When the cowboys arrived at the dumps on Friday, so did a protection squad of 80 police and 150 strikers. Strikers were kicked and pushed around, and when strike committee secretary Peter Dransfield complained to the police, he was arrested for using obscene language.

In the struggle that followed, five other council workers were thrown into police vans. Four were charged with obstruction and one with assault. At this point the contractors reconsidered their position and stopped work. A battle had been won.

But the council has not given in. They have the support of the Tory Party nationally, which is only too keen to turn council work over to private enterprise.

Money and messages of support to: Pete Dransfield, Old Raven House, Hook, or Basingstoke, Hants.

More equal

TIME OUT, the London news and culture magazine, has not appeared for the last two weeks due to an industrial dispute with the joint NUJ, NGA and SOGAT chapel, reports SYLVIA BLISS.

The unions at Time Out have successfully maintained an equal-pay-for-all policy so that all staff — from switch-board operators to journalists — receive the same salary of £4,800. The only agreed exceptions are seven jobs, designated as management posts under the house agreement.

If Time Out management gets its way, the number of exempted posts will be upped to eight. Mandy Merck, copy

editor on the magazine, says: 'Parity has been the mainstay of chapel unity.

'We've known for years that the magazine's owner is determined to change the old "egalitarian hippy system" that we operate.

'We are equally determined to defend our agreement.'

The last two issues of the weekly magazine were lost as the chapel called mandatory meetings on the two most important production days. Management has now threatened to stop pay if the magazine does not appear this week.

It justifies its obstinacy on the grounds that high pay is needed to attract the 'right calibre' person to the new job. The staff say they all need to be well paid, not just a privileged few.

Prosecution of SPUC Election law threatens campaigns

PHYLLIS BOWMAN, director of the anti-abortion Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, is facing prosecution for distributing leaflets during a recent by-election.

JUDE WOODWARD untangles the election laws.

SPUC distributed leaflets detailing the views on abortion of all the candidates in the election at Ilford North, which was won by the Tory Vivian Bendall.

35,000 leaflets were handed out, encouraging voters to support those candidates who opposed abortion — to make your vote count for those who cannot vote.

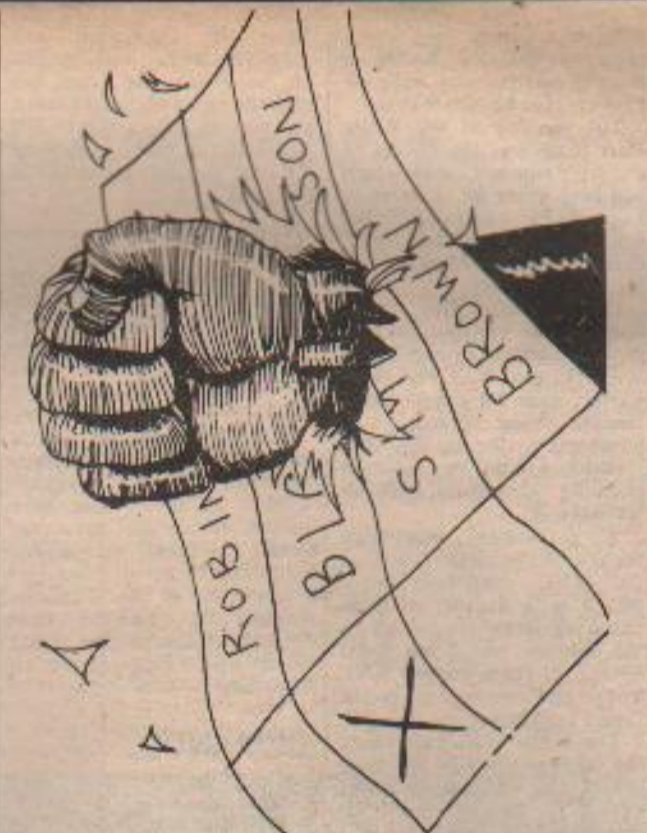
The society then produced a circular to their members on elections, claiming a large measure of responsibility for the Tory victory in Ilford North.

The Representation of the People Act, which specifies election procedures, makes it

illegal for independent groups to put out propaganda supporting particular candidates which might affect the outcome of the election.

It also seeks to prevent candidates using 'front' organisations to circumvent the limitation on election expenditure.

In 1976, an anti-fascist election campaign was successfully prosecuted under the same section of the Act, Section 63. A further case against an anti-fascist is pending. So, too, is a case against the Manchester Federation of Building Employers, which called for votes against candidates that were in favour of nationalisation.



A lawyer dealing with the defence of one of these cases considers that the terms of Section 63 are very broad. It is possible, he believes, that a prosecution could be successfully brought for political propaganda distributed outside an election period.

Such a use of the Act holds enormous implications for all independent political forces and campaigns on the left. It presents a threat to the Anti Nazi League, whose main aim is to make propaganda against NF candidates, particularly during elections.

It will make it very difficult for the National Abortion Campaign to bring abortion to people's attention without

being in breach of electoral law.

Phyllis Bowman and her reactionary crew in SPUC shouldn't be allowed to get away with putting out their sexist muck during an election or at any other time.

But the way to stop them is not by using laws that can be employed just as well against the left.

We should oppose the prosecution of SPUC, and make sure our propaganda shows up the reactionaries for what they are.

Anyone wishing to help counter SPUC's offensive during the election should contact NAC, at 30 Camden Road, London NW1. Tel. 01-485 4903.

No time for complacency

THERE'S JUST over a fortnight to go before Carnival 2 gets on the road. The maximum possible mobilisation is vital to ensure its success, writes COLIN TALBOT.

The announcement of an October general election could affect the success of Carnival 2 scheduled for 24 September. It is up to ANL activists and supporters to ensure that this is not the case. For a successful carnival is absolutely vital to ensure that the racists and the fascists are on the run during the elections.

It is easy to become complacent because of the declining vote of the NF. However that is only one side of the coin. Racist attacks are still occurring regularly in different parts of the country. The racists are going to get maximum publicity in local papers, radio and possibly television. This means that we must organise to ensure the largest possible turnout.

The platform at the Carnival indicates that the ANL Steering Committee see the necessity for

involving the broad labour movement. But the point needs to be made that the ability of the labour movement to mobilise its base in the struggle against racism is somewhat limited. The evidence stares us in the face.

The bulk of people who attend will come because of the skillful expertise of Rock Against Racism and the dynamism of the ANL itself.

Therefore it is important to try and deepen the politics of those who attend. An idea which is currently being discussed by the Carnival committee is that of a large marquee under which political debates and discussions on a number of themes can take place. This will only be a small part of the Carnival, but it could provide an important and



useful service.

For there is a danger that the only politics available at Hyde Park will be those of left social-democracy. The failure to include Paul Foot on the platform is, in our opinion, a serious error. It makes it all the more vital that some politics is allowed at Brixton.



'Oxford Fights Racism and Fascism' — part of the exhibition staged by the Uhuru Collective [a small radical cafe and shop collective in East Oxford] at the Carnival against Racism on Bank Holiday Monday. The Carnival was enjoyed by large numbers of people, from young to old, and has given anti-racist activity in the area a real

boost. This exhibition comprising historical material showing the links between the NF and fascism, as well as contemporary photos, press cuttings and leaflets is available on loan free of charge from John Clark, Uhuru, 35 Cowley Rd, Oxford.

Anti-black propaganda from Bradford's Tories

ENOCH POWELL commented in a recent speech that, 'in the future, in one particular town, one in every three babies will be black, and that's enough reason to stop immigration and start repatriation'.

Powell's comment followed the publication of an official report by the Tory Council in Bradford. The local WOMEN AGAINST RACISM & FASCISM group explain.

In May a report on 'District Trends' called 'Met Plan' was produced for Bradford Council by its corporate planning team. It is a statistical survey of population, housing, unemployment, etc. It was produced by the Tory Council to try to claim extra money from central government.

Behind misleading titles like Leisure, Prosperity, and Personal Development, a frightening picture of bad housing, high unemployment and bleak prospects is built up.

Nowhere does the report recognise the Council's contribution to this situation. Cuts in services, the building of fewer council houses, and the lack of opposition to the movement of industry are seen as 'trends' and not as savage political policies.

There is no analysis of the downward economic spiral that Bradford is in. There is, however, a very detailed breakdown of 'white' and 'non-white' figures.

Only one conclusion can be drawn from this kind of comparison. The Council is saying that Bradford needs more money because Bradford

has a higher number of black people than other towns and because black people cause problems.

The way in which the report uses race adds fuel and gives credence to the present hysterical climate created by racist politicians. It has been welcomed by these politicians as 'facing facts'.

The truth is that it ignores the real problems facing inner cities and divides black and white working people fighting them.

One of the trends reported is the high level of unemployment amongst young black people. What the report fails to acknowledge is that many of these young people are unemployed because they refuse to be pushed into the low paid, dirty jobs with unsocial hours that their parents were originally brought here to do.

In the report Bradford's problems are analysed solely in terms of 'white' and 'non-white' figures. We condemn this report as racist propaganda thinly disguised as value-free statistics. For further information contact us c/o The Women's Centre, 266 Lamb Lane, Manningham, Bradford 8.

No hiding place

ANTI NAZI LEAGUE supporters from Exeter, North Cornwall, and Camborne picketed a pub in the Cornish town of Bodmin during a meeting addressed by National Front leader Martin Webster.

The meeting at the White Hart Hotel was the climax of the NF's summer camp which had been going on in secret at Lancorta Farm just outside the town. It was part of the Front's continuing pre-election drive in the West Country.

Despite only five hours notice of the meeting, over 30 ANL supporters rushed to the town. Many of them were from Exeter, over 60 miles away. Despite being heavily outnumbered by the NF the ANL supporters kept up vigorous chanting throughout most of the meeting.

A particularly heartening feature of the picket was that the ANL supporters were joined by a number of local youth regulars of the pub where the meeting was being held. Several of them bought ANL badges and expressed interest in future activities.

The White Hart pub where the meeting was held has been used on at least one previous occasion for major NF meetings. Moves are now afoot to persuade local draymen, members of the TGWU, to boycott beer supplies if NF meetings are held there again.

The events in Bodmin are part of a major campaign by the fascists to establish themselves in Devon and Cornwall. In the coming election they will fight at least 6 of the 14 constituencies in the two counties, including the marginal constituency of Plymouth Devonport currently represented by Dr David Owen.

The prompt action of the ANL supporters in getting to Bodmin and the response of the youth there shows that even in the most rural areas there is now no hiding place for the Nazi National Front.

No plugs for NF thugs

'NO PLUGS for NF thugs!' and 'Nazis off TV' are the slogans on leaflets and badges now available in the campaign to stop any sympathetic coverage of the National Front during the General Election, writes GEOFFREY SHERIDAN.

While life will be difficult for most NF candidates and supporters at the hustings and on the streets, the Front has made no secret of the fact that it is putting up over 300 candidates in order to capture TV time and column inches in the press.

'CUSTOM'

In fact, there is no legal obligation on the TV companies to provide party political broadcasts, but no doubt 'custom and practice' will incline the TV bosses to put Martin Webster on our screens.

Some have already said as much. The Anti Nazi League and the Campaign Against Racism in the Media have joined forces to encourage media workers to decide otherwise.

There is to be a public meeting in London next Tuesday, followed by a picket of the BBC's headquarters on Thursday.

DEMANDS

The demands of the campaign include:

- *No uncritical national or local coverage of NF statements and activities
- *Full support for candidates



BADGES, in four colours, price 20p from ANL, PO Box 151, London WC2. Reduction on bulk orders. Leaflets from the same address.

who refuse to appear with the Front in constituencies

*Full support for technicians and journalists who refuse to be used by the Nazis

Local ANL and anti-racist groups can help by distributing the leaflets and badges, and by contacting local newspaper, radio, and TV workers to discuss the issue.

Public meeting on Tuesday 12 September, 7.30pm at Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London NW1. Speakers: Jonathan Dimbleby, David Edgar, Peter Hain, Tom Litterick MP. Plus anti-NF film.

NO PLUGS FOR NF THUGS!

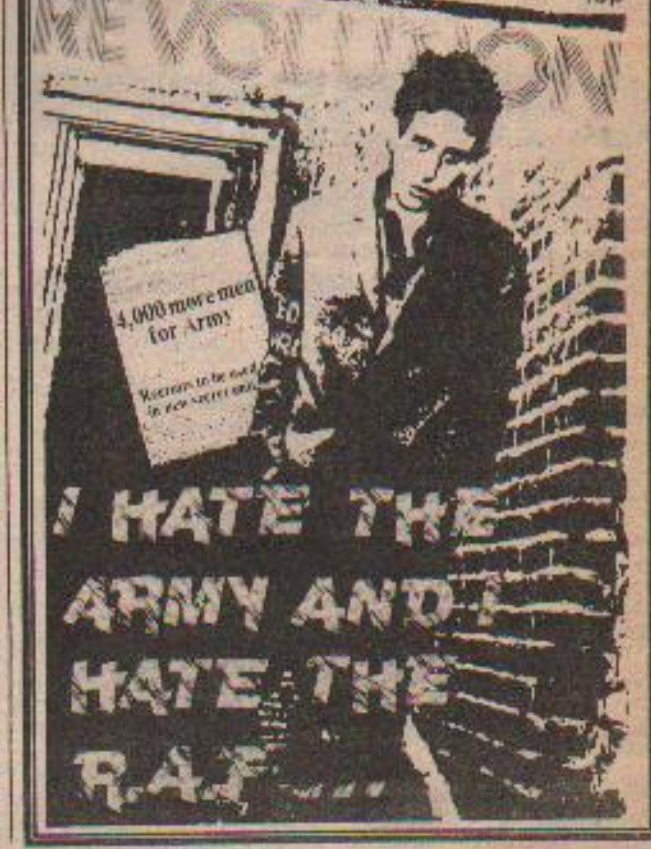
Mass picket of BBC HQ

Thursday, 14 September, 4.30-6.30pm, Broadcasting House, Portland Place, London W1. (Nearest tube: Oxford Circus).

Advert

COMING SOON

INSIDE: SHAM 69 - ANGER ON THE ROAD - RAR - SKAN 10p



What the NEB is up to

'THE National Enterprise Board? We all knew from the start it was just another piece of state capitalism.' That would probably be the reaction of most readers of 'Socialist Challenge'.

Dismissal of the NEB is in one sense absolutely right. But that cannot be the end of the story, as HILARY WAINWRIGHT explains.

In actual fact, the NEB is becoming increasingly central to the Government's attempts to modernise British capital. 'What to do about the NEB' will be a problem faced by numerous shop stewards committees in the manufacturing sector over the coming months, particularly if Labour wins the election.

What is more, many trade unionists still have lingering illusions about the NEB. They feel that NEB control or involvement could mean a real improvement in job security and working conditions.

In the absence of a clear alternative they put some faith in the Government's commitment that the 'NEB will be an instrument for direct intervention to provide jobs in regions of high unemployment'; as well as in the fact that three leading trade unionists, Hugh Scanlon, David Bassett, and Harry Urwin, are on its board.

It was with these hopes that shop stewards at Tress Engineering, a subsidiary of the Fairey Group on Tyneside, along with stewards throughout the combine, lobbied, campaigned and even threatened industrial action to get the NEB to take control when the Fairey Group was declared bankrupt in October 1977.

TRAFALGAR

A bid for Fairey was put in by Trafalgar House, the notorious asset stripper, union basher and top contributor to Tory party funds. The stewards knew that Tress could be the first bit of the Fairey empire to have its assets stripped if Trafalgar won control.

Tress had been a low priority in Fairey's corporate plans. It did not fit profitably enough into the Fairey product range. So most of its profits were siphoned off to other parts of the group.

Like many of the North-East subsidiaries of the multi-plant corporations, Tress was being allowed to run down.

The stewards assumed that the purpose of the NEB was precisely to reverse this order of priorities and take investment decisions on the basis of social needs. So when the NEB did take Fairey over on 1 January 1978, they expected things to change and investment to start.

Indeed there was much talk of expansion, of new products and job security. Job security is a rare experience these days on Tyneside. People began to book holidays, take on hire purchase commitments and so on, on the strength of these changed prospects.

Three months later, while the shop floor were on strike over a pay claim, the NEB announced that Tress was to be closed immediately.

Three hundred and thirty men and women were to join the growing dole queues of the North-East — 330 jobs and apprenticeships gone forever. The same week newspaper headlines announced that 11,000 more school leavers had joined the dole queues of

the North.

At first many of the stewards were quite stunned. Here was the NEB acting like the most profit-conscious of the big corporations.

Some of local management and the Tyne and Wear Council leaders were equally shocked: they were convinced that Tress could be viable with investment to replace the old — in some cases over 20 years — machinery.

LOBBYING

At first many people thought that it would be just a matter of some strong lobbying, trips to London, pressure on Scanlon, questions to Varley, and the NEB would come to its senses and realise that Fairey management had taken it for a ride.

But in the course of a few days' lobbying the stewards quickly realised that the NEB does not work like that. Its statutory guidelines make sure that it is not politically accountable for its day-to-day decisions.

At every turn the stewards found that the Government has made sure that the NEB acts according to the normal practice of any major private financial institution. It is even headed by a former merchant banker, Leslie Murphy.

The only difference between the NEB and a private institutional shareholder is that whereas the latter is concerned primarily to maximise its own profits, the NEB is concerned with the profitability of British manufacturing as a whole.

The NEB itself has to show a high profit in the long run — 15-20 per cent by 1980 — but this is only to ensure that it sticks to its primary purpose: to restructure ailing but potentially profitable companies with a ruthlessness which only a state-backed management can apply; and then sell the company back to private shareholders.

ILLUSIONS

This has already happened in the case of Kearney, Trecker and Marwin, an important machine tool company which was sold to Vickers. More recently, Piteraft Summit was sold to the multinational Booker McConnell.

British Leyland (most likely in bits), Fairey Holdings, and the others will go the same way if the Government (either party) meets no resistance.

Establishing new profitable companies in risky areas such as micro-electronics, also for later handing over to private shareholders, is clearly another side of this process of restructuring.

The experience at Tress, then, shattered a lot of illusions. And not only in the NEB. It also revealed some of the weaknesses of the Employment Protection Act.

At Tress this turned out to be more of a Management Protection Act. It certainly helped to protect management against an occupation which the

The closure of Tress: A Fairey story



redundancies and closures. This would attempt to back up the principle that jobs are not for sale with some sort of discipline.

Within the Labour Party there is growing pressure for an inquiry into the NEB. Within the left in general there is more thoughtful discussion about what policies and what forms of organisation will overcome the fatalism with which the majority of working people are accepting closures and redundancies, as if there is no alternative future to fight for.

It was in order to strengthen these responses, in order to generalise some of the lessons of Tress, and in order to answer some of the many questions which are being asked on Tyneside about the closure, that the former shop stewards committee, with members of the Tyneside Socialist Centre, have produced the pamphlet *The Closure of Tress: A Fairey Story*.

IMPACT

It is a pamphlet which aims to have an impact among rank-and-file trade unionists far beyond the left. Judging by the mass sales by sympathetic shop stewards committees (eg. 340 sales in two Vickers plants), by the debates in Constituency Labour Party meetings, and by the comments in pubs, clubs, and factory floors it is fulfilling its objective.

It is perhaps too early to say, but it would seem that a pamphlet on a local instance of a wider problem, written and produced by or with the workers involved, is a way of stimulating political debate among far wider sections of the workers movement than ever the left press or public meetings could do.

It's been done before, of course, but maybe we should make a habit of it.

A major problem at the moment, however, is that on Tyneside, at least, there is no rank-and-file organisation in the AUEW able to build on the political interest such a pamphlet generates.

The Broad Left has never really had much presence on Tyneside and, as elsewhere, is weaker now than ever before. Engineering Charter is only beginning to gain respect.

An initiative like the Tress pamphlet can therefore only help to prepare the ground for the future.

Further information and copies of the pamphlet [price 20p plus p&p] from: Tress Shop Stewards, c/o Tyneside Socialist Centre, 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle 1.

stewards saw as their only hope.

The Act's provisions enabled management to buy out the 90 day consultation period and lock out the workforce. The Act does not make the 90 days compulsory, it just provides for a cash award if management don't allow the period.

Furthermore, the Act does not cover redundancies announced during a strike — a common occurrence these days.

Once the 90 days were lost and the workforce locked out, everything depended on arguing with the membership to carry out a fight, to occupy the plant. That is what the stewards argued.

But when the workers had been living on strike pay, and little of that, for six weeks there was a lot of convincing to do. For this the stewards needed the full backing of the full-time officials. On this further illusions were shattered.

The full-time officials saw their priority as being 'to get a good settlement'. At no time did they

challenge management's decision to close.

This was not simply a matter of a particularly nasty official. The whole experience demonstrated how thoroughly management's definition of the economic constraints (markets, competitiveness) and management's priorities (profits, the interests of corporate growth) have become part of the normal thinking of many officials at a regional as well as national level.

And the support which the officials got from some quarters indicated that the rot has not stopped at the level of the officials.

On the other hand, a large number of shop stewards, other trade unionists and Labour Party members took a strong stand against the closure of Tress.

Within the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers there are now moves — meeting with the same, if not stronger resistance — to establish a firmer district policy against

WHAT'S LEFT

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

TYPIST WANTED
Comrade with fast, accurate typing needed immediately for full-time position. Be part of the Socialist Challenge team. Wages £25 a week. Send applications to FI Litho, 328 Upper St., London N1 2XP citing experience, etc.

URGENT: Full-time worker needed immediately for SC circulation dept. Contact Dodie. 01-359 8371.

NORTH LONDON: Right to Work Campaign presents the film *Attica* documenting the brutal suppression of the prison rebellion in 1973. Monday 11 September, 7.45pm at the Hemingford Arms, corner of Difford Rd and Hemingford Rd, London N1. 75p/50p claimants, students.



TO-DAY IN N IRELAND...

THE ABOVE, and other badges in red, black and white, available from Just Books, 7 Winterton Street, Belfast. 25p plus 7p postage. Cheaper bulk orders on request. Tel: Belfast 25625

WIN A £450 HI-FI: Coventry Anti-Racist Carnival must sell 15,000 tickets to successfully fight the Tory council and hold a carnival in Coventry next year. Tickets 50p per book — cheques/social tickets with SEA to — Coventry Carnival Against Racism, c/o Wedge Co-operative, 13 High St., Coventry, W. Midlands. Draw 24 Oct. Licensed under 1978 Lotteries and Amusements Act.

ROOT AND BRANCH: a Libertarian socialist quarterly. Issue No 6 now available. Articles on: trade unionism, Rosa Luxemburg, modern economics, plus more! \$8 for 1 year sub. \$2 for sample copy. Root and Branch, Dept CS, PO Box 236, Somerville, MA 02173, USA.

CRITIQUE Conference on Stalinism in Decline; Eurocommunism; Africa and Soviet Foreign Policy, at Ewing College of Higher Education, St Mary's Rd, London W25. 29 and 30 Sept. For further information contact Critique, 31 Cleveon Rd, Glasgow G12 0PH, 041-339 6267

PICKET GARNERS: Main pickets every day, noon to 3pm and 5.30 to 11 pm at 398 Oxford St., London W1 (opp. Selfridges); 243 Oxford St. (Oxford Circus); 40-41 Haymarket; 56 Whitcombe St. (Leicester Sq.). Mass picket every Saturday at noon, 399 Oxford St. Donations urgently needed as strike pay is only \$6. All donations to Garners Strike Fund, c/o TGWU, Rm 54, 12-13 Hensella St., London WC2. 01-2401056.

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Unity is holding a 'media jumble sale' (books, tapes, records, posters, etc.) in the autumn. Bring anything suitable to The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, N1, or phone 247 2717 for arrangement to collect.

END the Tory Ban on the use of public halls by anti-racist and labour movement groups in Hammersmith. Picket Hammersmith Town Hall, King St, London W5. 8pm, Wednesday 20 September.

COM COM: latest newsletter of the Community Communications Group. 25p incl p&p from Comcom, 82 Huddleston Road, London N7.

ISLINGTON Campaign against Racism and Fascism one day conference 10am to 5pm on Sat 23 Sept at the Community Health Foundation, 188-184 Old St, London EC1 (1 min Old St tube). An official launching and a plan for future action, speakers and workshops. Creche, Food. All welcome.

MATURE PERSON (inexperienced) seeks light work. Contact Hassan Abdulla, 58 Donnington Gardens, Reading, Berks.

NAC National Planning meeting in Manchester. All NAC groups and individual supporters of the campaign are urged to attend to discuss autumn activities. Further details from NAC office. 01-485 4303 (after 29 August).

LONDON accommodation wanted for quiet Latin American couple: 485 8300.



NEW BADGE available. 'Defend Direct Works' in three colours. From J Wilson, 50 Badges, PO Box 50, London N1. Cost: 15p each plus 7p p&p, or 11p each for orders of 10 or more.

INTERNATIONAL

Confessions of a Chilean agent

'I am the hooded man...'



INTRODUCTION BY LIBER MOROS

WHEN I arrived at the National Stadium of Santiago as a 'prisoner of war' in October 1973, one month had gone after a fascist coup had deposed Socialist president Salvador Allende.

Like most of the football stadiums in the country, the main Chilean sports coliseum was being used by the junta as a concentration camp.

Many are the terrors that those of us who were there can recall, too many perhaps. It might be enough to say that all changing rooms had been transformed by the fascists into torture chambers.

NIGHTMARISH

I will always bear with me the nightmarish image of those thousands of hungry, unshaven and untidy men waiting on the stands under the heat of the sun; the uncertainty and anxiety that consumed our days; the unending fear that the loudspeakers of the stadium might be switched on again. For these were not giving out football team formations now, but endless lists of people called out for interrogation.

Everybody knew that sooner or later their names had to be included in one of the lists, as well as what it meant: that you would either return after hours, days or weeks of torture, or, as happened with so many of our acquaintances, comrades, or friends, that you would never return at all.

However, after my arrival there I soon had to realise that in spite of the fact that hardships and terrors prevailed, none of them was ever to match the dread impressed upon my fellow-prisoners by the public appearances of 'the hooded man'.

BEATING

He was called 'the hooded man' because apart from his disguise nothing was known about him. Wearing a sack hood that covered him to his knees except for the two holes for the eyes, he would emerge and begin to stride along in front of the prisoners, escorted by armed soldiers.

Surrounded by the silent awe, the strange mixture of intrigue and panic every one of his appearances produced in the captives, he studied them carefully and stopped from time to time to have a better look at some.

Every now and then he would pick out people by pointing at them.

Soldiers took the spotted individuals away by beating them with the butts of their fire-arms.

More than a hundred people were selected by 'the hooded man' in all his incursions. None of them was ever seen alive again.

At that time nobody knew who the man under the hood was. In fact, we had every reason to assume we never would.

Five years later, however, and unexpectedly enough, both his identity and motives have come to light.

It all started in June last year when — by one of those paradoxical ways truth finds its way out — a certain Juan Muñoz Alarcón appeared in the 'Vicaría de Solidaridad', a Catholic Church institution in Santiago which helps the families of the disappeared prisoners in Chile in the search for their relatives and which has been constantly opposing the junta's repression.

Munoz said that he was a DINA agent [the junta's fascist secret police, now CNI], and that he feared for his life. He said he knew too much about DINA's activities and that he had lost their confidence, so he wanted to record a statement which should be released in case something happened to him.

INFORMER

He added that until months before the coup he had been a leader in Allende's Socialist Party, which he had betrayed to become later an informer



for the fascist movement that was planning the coup. In September 1973, once the junta took over, he had become the much renowned and feared 'hooded man' of the National Stadium.

The Church Vicaría recorded a tape with his requested statement. Four months later [24 October, 1977], in a wasteland in the outskirts of Santiago, Muñoz was found dead with 16 stab marks in his body.

As the coroner requested by the Church was later to report, he showed evident signs of having been tortured before he was killed. There were cigarette burns everywhere on his body.

The Vicaría approached the Supreme Court of Justice and presented them with a typed transcription of Muñoz's statement, offering to endorse it with the original tape. The Supreme Court, working hand in hand with the junta since the coup and providing cover-ups for any of their illegalities, ignored both documents.

DRAMATIC

The Church, with no explanation, kept them secret for a long time. Whether someone took too long to smuggle the tape from the Church quarters or out of the country, the fact is that this reached the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, which released it to the world press only in July.

Chilean exiles who once lost relatives or comrades, or were just terrorised by the accusing finger of 'the hooded man' in the National Stadium, have now been able to listen to Muñoz's own voice spelling out a dramatic testimony.

He is well aware that he is stating his last will; he knows that those whom he helped to murder his former comrades are now going to execute him.

SHOCKING

Seen as the 'fate' of one unconscious individual, the account of 'the hooded man' is tragic. Ethically, it is shocking. But most of all it is a political lesson.

It shows how those who for any reason support fascism cannot avoid becoming in the end its victims, for fascism develops into that snake which, in its vicious fury, ends up by biting its own tail.

As Muñoz himself puts it in the statement that follows, with fascist organisations in power 'you can get in but never get out'.

My name is Juan René Muñoz Alarcón, identity card No 4.824.557-9, from Santiago. I am 32 years old, married, and I live in Sargento Menadier 311, Puento Alto, Población Maipón.

I am a former leader of the Socialist Party, a member of the Youth Central Committee, a national leader of the CUT (Chilean TUC) (1), and I belonged to the Confederation of Copper Workers.

ADOPTED

During 1973 I resigned from the Socialist Party. I left because I disagreed on certain matters. I made my accusations through the press, TV and radio.

This happened four or five months before the military coup, and it meant my persecution and harassment by people in the party. They even set my house on fire, I lost my family. By that time I was married and had six children.

Right-wing people adopted me — more precisely, Carlos Astor,

nowadays the Chilean Consul General in South Africa. They sheltered me, I had practically reached the end of my tether. I could not see any alternative but to shoot myself.

Then came the military coup. I was taken to the National Stadium to identify people. I did it voluntarily at that time because I was in a vengeful frame of mind towards those who had been my comrades, on account of the persecution they had subjected me to.

I am the hooded man of the National Stadium. The security services hooded me and walked me around the different sectors where prisoners were held. I identified a lot of people.

Many of them died, and I am to be held responsible for their deaths just by having identified and accused them of having been my former comrades either as members of the Central Committee or as members of the security apparatus of the party.

Later on I was asked to go out to the streets with some military groups so that I could identify people in the city squares. I unfortunately came across Miguel Plaza among them.



OTHER EVENTS

London: 'Letelier Challenges Pinochet from the Grave', speakers and films on the investigation into the assassination of Orlando Letelier, Thursday 21 September, 7.30pm, Friends House, Euston Road.
Oxford: Exhibition in City Centre, 9 September.
Leamington: Chile/Latin America Week, 10-16 September.
Bradford: Street exhibition, 9 September.
Newcastle: Rally with CUT speaker, 13 September.

Liverpool: Public meeting to hear Margarita de Ponce, 13 September, 7.30pm, Trades Council offices.
Bristol: Trade Union Conference, 28 October.
West London: Trade Union Solidarity Conference, 25 November, 12-6pm, at 21 Star Street, W2. Chile trade union speakers, Argentinian speaker, films and social. Details from West London CSC, 14 Hounslow Gardens, Hounslow, Middx.

MONSTRATION, Saturday 9 September, in Glasgow. Assemble Blytheswood Square, 10am, for march to Custom House Quay. Speakers: Margarita de Ponce (wife of 'disappeared' trade union leader), Norman Buchan MP, Eric Clarke (NUM), Norman Rolls Roce (E. Kilbride).
MASS PICKET of Chilean Embassy (12 Devonshire Street, London W1), Monday 11 September, 10am-6pm.
NATIONAL RALLY, Monday 11 September, 7.30pm, at Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1. Speakers: Margarita de Ponce, Alex Kitson (TGWU), Martin Flannery MP, Brian Nicholson (TGWU).

He is alive now thanks to me, I refused to identify him. But unluckily the military had a photograph in which he and I appeared together, and just because of this lie I was sent to prison for three months.

They treated me just like the other prisoners; I mean they did not take into account that I did not belong to the party any longer and that I was not involved in anything.

I was released later on condition that I should cooperate. I was taken to Dignidad Colony (2), inland from Parral, about 40 kilometres from there. There is a National Intelligence Training Centre there, it is run by Germans who acquired Chilean citizenship.

They are former Germans who escaped from the war. They arrived here very young. They are of Jewish descent and they practically have a garrison in Dignidad Colony, containing a hospital with all the modern technological advances none of the Santiago hospitals could ever have; they have ambulance planes there, and mail airplanes, and underground jails.

There I was trained to interrogate people and to carry out counter-intelligence jobs...

I was later given the job of hunting people, of interrogating, of torturing and killing them. My direct boss for this work was the now Director for Civilian Affairs of the junta, Alvaro Puga Cox, together with the national coordinator for the Government's Taxation Department, Anibal Maturana Contreras, who is a relative of DINA boss General Contreras (3), and with the coordinator of TV Channel No 9 of the University of Chile, Jorge Schilling Rojas, a student of law in the university.

CLANDESTINE

The other one is the chief of personnel in the newspaper *El Cronista*, his surname is Zalaquett.

People generally think that DINA is the only organisation that makes prisoners disappear (4). This is not so. There are seven intelligence services operating in this country.

Of course DINA is the biggest one, 70 or 80 per cent of which are military and carabinieri (armed police). Its other 20 per cent are some civilians, navy and air-force people.

The last two have little participation

there, because they place more importance on their own counter-intelligence services with their clandestine apparatuses like SIFA, SICAR, DIENE, DIFET, and the Information Department of the Political Police (Chilean 'Special Branch').

I have worked with all of them, without exception. I reckon I started to do it for revenge, out of hate and with joy at being able to help to achieve vengeance.

But later, seeing the situation in which I was and the things I was compelled to do, I reacted and on repeated opportunities I tried to leave, a thing I have found impossible, because you can get in but never out...

It is not my intention in this denunciation to look for forgiveness nor to become reconciled with myself, for truly what I have done bears no name.

Even at this moment, I do not recognise myself now. I cannot understand how I could reach such unbelievable extremes.

Though for the satisfaction of my conscience I say that things are very difficult when you do not have any backing and when the intelligence services corner you. To get free from them is impossible.

I have taken part in the disappearance of some people who are in Dignidad Colony now, some old leaders of the different parties of the UP (5). They keep the rest of them in Santiago, here in Penalolén and in Colina. They are around 145.

All the others are dead. They were dispatched by the execution squad of the DINA led by Fernando Cruzat, their headquarters are in Alameda 312, 6th floor...

There are six detention places and I have already named some and the most important two of them, where they keep prisoners hidden under a 'plate'.

A 'plate' means that when a man is detained, when he is caught for instance, and I am going to give an example, if they catch me, Juan Muñoz Alarcón, they will make a 'plate' for me, they will call me Francisco López Aguirre instead, so when there are court appeals on behalf of the detained his name does not appear on the records, though the man is really detained.

They burn up all his identification papers, the true ones, and they put a 'plate' on him. In some cases they make

them appear as having left the country; they have been taken to Argentina and later flown back by plane.

Or on other occasions, when the man has refused to collaborate, and I want to state it very clearly because all of us collaborate, weak and strong, no doubt about it, they make a 'plate' for a man of DINA who leaves the country under the name and with the official documents of the detained person. Thus the detainee's departure from the country is officially registered and he is later executed...

CAPTURED

Now about the way the system works. They (the prisoners) are captured in Santiago and taken to Tobalaba, near the Grimaldi one (6); there is a very large house where they hold them. They call it Dignidad.

In Dignidad there is a radio transmitter by means of which you can get in touch with any part of the world in a matter of seconds; it is the reception centre for all the information of the security apparatus of the DINA abroad.

At this moment, in Venezuela, Colombia, France, Sweden, Italy, 50 per cent of DINA is at work; I mean the officers of the permanent staff, not civilian personnel. The civilian personnel is replacing those people here in the country. And where, whom do these groups answer to?

Cruzat was the man in charge of the assault on the Confederation of State Employees, ANEF (7), he did it with the Bandera 121 detachment.

I want to give information regarding Fernando Cruzat. He is a brother in law of captain Jorge Zuchino, chief of the 'labour apparatus' of the Tacna regiment, second department, which is in charge of all the factories in the greater Santiago area. The mentioned organisation is trained to persecute, make disappear, snare and terrorise all the workers in general.

He is assisted by the personnel officer of the metallurgical industry ASA, Ivonne Rios Talledo, who is a social worker, and by the personnel manager of CINTAC, Carmen Smith, both these women handle this system.

This labour apparatus keeps a veritable army of informers that allows the intelligence service to detain, interrogate, and torture, and as I have

repeated it many times, to kill these people for acting against or showing dissatisfaction with the government.

It's enough for the man to say just one word against the government to lose his job. In connection with this, if you want to restore the rule of law in this country again, the most important thing is to clearly say that this government has gone to all extremes beyond the law, it is totally illegal.

There is at this moment a Death Squad in this country, under the command of captain Rolando Larena, an artillery officer if you want to identify him later. This man keeps in contact with the Brazilian, Argentinian and Uruguayan intelligence services which work indiscriminately inside our country. Fifty per cent of the vehicles with Argentinian registration that get into Chile through the different frontier posts are let in as tourists, when the truth is that they are really vehicles of Argentinian intelligence working as a team with our intelligence services.

The task of these services is to catch their man abroad and bring him here, and here he is done for. They exchange prisoners, and everything is authorised and backed up by the President of the Republic, the direct boss of all these affairs, since DINA's boss answers directly to him.

Neither the Interior Minister nor the Minister of Justice have any participation in these services.

Another man I was forgetting, a very important one, is Daniel Galleguillos, Silvia Pinto's husband (8), both of them are the leading Chilean agents of the CIA, their superior here is James John Bissonnet from the US Embassy, and the Chilean Secretary of the Ambassador, Sheila Fortna, plus an immediate assistant who is a former Socialist like me, he has all the confidence of the Socialist Party but is a traitor called Hugo Vicencio.

He is the man responsible for the capture of Exequiel Ponce and all those who have fallen lately.

This is, sketchily put, my denunciation. I authorise its use in whichever way seems more convenient, regardless of consequences, I had already assumed them when I started.

I do it this way for security because I am in danger of death and I know that I am going to die sooner or later...

As a security measure, I repeat, so that it can be used on behalf of so many people that are now suffering and for whom I am to blame, not directly if you wish but in the long run, and I do it to let the truth be known...

I also want to stipulate, swear it if necessary, that some of the (disappeared) prisoners are alive, in bad physical conditions, but many of them bordering on madness after the treatment they have endured, which has been very hard.

I refer especially to Carlos Lorca, to Ponce, leader of the 'Frente Interior' of the Socialist Party and Secretary General at the moment of his detention. They are in 'Dignidad Colony', second block.

I also want to mention Tolosa of the Communist Youth and the Central Committee who has informed on everybody, though on his behalf I should also stipulate that he was

terribly and barbarously tortured.

There is a yellow magazine (9) in which with my own hand I ticked in front of every name and its number, I ticked those who are alive and those who are dead. Those alive are not more than 150 people. I mentioned the exact figure before, they are 140 odd people.

They are imprisoned under their true names in the official archives, I mean DINA's archives in Vicuna Mackenna street; in the (other) archive in the hands of the General Staff of the Armed Forces they are registered under a 'plate', all of them, without exception. In their detention place itself they appear with both their true names and the 'plate'.

At this moment these people have no certainty at all as to whether they will come out alive, I think they are not going to really, for if their detention is kept unknown it means that they were important people in the underground movement and they are left alive for the time being so that they can be used to silence the rest of it.

The permanent places, and I repeat them for it is there that you have to start fighting the disease, are Dignidad Colony, Colina and Penalolén. In no other place are you going to find disappeared detainees.

DETAINEES

Occasional detainees you can find in many sites but the disappeared ones are in those three permanent ones only.

Women prisoners are held in San José de Maipo, where they treat people with lung diseases, it's incredible, but an excellent site to 'submerge' (hide) people.

No doubt that in the last days or months more people have been caught, but some of them are alive, as is the case of Contreras Malule.

It happens that the Supreme Court counselled the immediate freedom of Mr Contreras, but Lieutenant Fuentes, from the counter-intelligence service of FACH (Chilean Air Force), is the man responsible for the order of that Tribunal not having been fulfilled in the sense of setting this man free, it is they who are keeping him.

The only service capable of 'submerging' and snatching prisoners from the DINA is the counter-intelligence apparatus of the Air Force, which almost totally destroyed the MIR, with the help of the famous commander Raúl, whose name is Raúl Romo (10).

This would be almost everything I have to say but for ratifying that I am willing to do it in a legal manner, in front of a notary, or in the tribunals to do some good and put an end to injustice in this country, so that when a citizen goes out to the street he can do it feeling assured that he is walking in a free country and not with fear, scared of being spied on block by block and at every corner, just because a neighbour reported him as a communist or socialist...

If I am under any coercion, it comes from the government. I have done all this of my own accord, with no pressures, and I am left very much at peace with my conscience, for I am telling the truth.

1. Explanations between brackets are added by the translators. Liber Moros and Robert Stoddard. Orisilong (for reasons of space) are indicated by dots (...). The full version will shortly be available as a pamphlet.

2. Colonia Dignidad ('Dignity Colony'). There is a special Amnesty International report on it. Muñoz is wrong about the German settlers: far from being of Jewish descent, they have Nazi connections.

3. General Miguel Contreras, chief of DINA and answerable only to Pinochet. The US Government is now demanding his extradition because of his alleged responsibility in the murder of Orlando Letelier, a former Socialist minister who was blown up in his car in Washington.

4. More than 2,000 prisoners have disappeared in Chile while in the hands of the security forces.

5. Unidad Popular (Popular Unity), the government coalition under Allende.

6. Villa Grimaldi, another Santiago concentra-

tion camp.

7. ANEP, 'Asociación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales', its headquarters were forcibly seized by DINA.

8. Silvia Pinto, a woman journalist, was a leader in the reactionary women's movement which helped to whip up the atmosphere before the coup. She is now the main editor of the junta's paper, *El Cronista*.

9. He refers to a supplement published in yellow by the magazine *Solidaridad* and containing a list of 383 cases of disappeared prisoners.

10. 'El comandante Raúl', one of the mass leaders of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was in charge of the party structures in a shanty town in Santiago. Only after the coup was he discovered to be an infiltrator. He then played a key role in the repression and became the most feared torturer of DINA. The UN Human Rights Commission denounced him publicly in a report because of his incredible crimes.



ZANU leader ROBERT MUGABE

Leader excluded from talks spells it out No deals with Smith regime!

THE SMITH regime is wriggling desperately as the Zimbabwe guerrillas close in.

The puppet status of the black 'leaders' involved in the internal settlement—Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau—was dramatically confirmed last week when it emerged that Smith had been having secret talks with Patriotic Front leader Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

A conference bringing together all the parties involved in the conflict could soon be held. On what conditions would you agree to take part?

As far as procedure is concerned, we will negotiate with no-one except Great Britain, which has the responsibility of decolonising the country.

The other parties can attend the conference and submit their proposals, but we will not countenance the idea of a marriage between the Patriotic Front and the Salisbury regime. We reject attempts to draw us into the orbit of the internal settlement.

We are therefore ready to discuss on the basis of the Anglo-American proposals. They envisage the dismantling of the Salisbury regime.

The regime may have been 'broadened' but it remains the same. Parliament is identical. The ministers are still in office. The African component has merely been authorised to operate in the shadow of the ministers already in office.

Therefore discussions can only concern the holding of a constitutional conference, with the aim of working out the institutions of an independent Zimbabwe.

The Western powers should not try to sidestep the basic problem: political power is the due of the Zimbabwe people without any restrictions. They

must be given the necessary means: army and police.

We therefore demand, first, that the Smith regime and its puppets get out; second, that its forces are dismantled; third, that they are replaced by the liberation forces of the Patriotic Front.

What is the main objective of your struggle?

We are pursuing several objectives: to destroy the enemy, to organise the masses, and the hold of the party among the people.

We are concentrating our efforts on the zones where the enemy are strongest, because we already largely control the regions where they have been weakened: the rural zones inhabited by six million out of the seven million Zimbabweans.

Since our strategy is to destroy the enemy, we cannot avoid attempting to win control of the towns.

Until now ZAPU tended to have the support of the countries of the socialist bloc, and ZANU of China. Will your visit to Cuba alter this state of affairs?

It is true that we were largely aided by China, though also by Korea, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Since my trip to Vietnam we have had good relations

with Hanoi. Also kept in the dark, apparently, was the other main Patriotic Front leader, Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union.

What is Mugabe's position on the liberation struggle? The following interview was recently carried out by Rene Lefort of the French daily paper 'Le Monde'.

with Hanoi.

But we have never considered the USSR to be our enemy. In aiding ZAPU it aids the people of Zimbabwe. But we would like them to widen their assistance.

Our visit to Cuba was a very good starting point from which to improve our friendly relations with Havana. We agreed to maintain close links, and I hope that this will lead Cuba to furnish material aid to ZANU: it's not men we lack but weaponry.

In certain of your publications you have defined yourselves as Marxist-Leninist-Maoist.

That's true, but it doesn't contradict what I have just said. We have borrowed certain ideas from Maoism.

What are the obstacles to unification between ZANU and ZAPU?

ZANU was born in 1963 when we wished to launch the armed struggle. There was no-one in ZAPU at that time who was as clear as we were on the question of the armed struggle. We think that power lies at the end of a gun.

Recently ZAPU has started to reorganise itself in the context of the armed struggle. Historical evolution explains our existence for so long as distinct parties.

The difference between

ZAPU and ZANU has no tribal basis. It is a reactionary practice to base one's struggle on ethnic groupings.

We are trying to destroy such backward consciousness among our cadres, in promoting a national identity and unity which can transcend petty tribalist and regionalist loyalties.

How can unification be achieved?

We are essentially a combat organisation. We therefore want unity to be born out of the armed struggle.

ZAPU, on the contrary, wants first to unify the political parties and only then the armies. But in present circumstances it is unthinkable that we could bring together our supporters in a single party.

Let us unite our armies, fight the enemy first, and then immediately after we are installed in our country we can apply ourselves to unifying our two movements.

It seems, however, that the majority of ZAPU fighters are not taking part in the war. Why?

You should ask Nkomo that question. As far as we are concerned, our forces are heavily engaged and we are doing our best to overcome the enemy.

This year is decisive, for victory is on the cards inside the country.

Workers fight S. Africa computer deal

THE SALE of a British computer to help enforce South Africa's notorious pass laws is under attack from trade unionists.

ANDY BLUNDELL reports from the International Computers Limited plant at West Gorton in Manchester.

The deal to supply a 2972 computer to the South African police, which could be worth more than £1 million, was completed early this year. But we only found out about it when the *Sunday Times* leaked the news on 3 August.

ICL is heavily involved in South Africa. As far back as 1967 it supplied a computer for the Bantu Reference Bureau in Pretoria, whose monitoring of black people's movements is central to the whole Bantustan system.

Last year its sales leaped by

68 per cent to R47 million. This was largely because tougher US government sanctions on the export of equipment to South Africa reduced American competition.

Britain's Labour Government, though, is happy to help bolster up the apartheid regime in this way. Tougher sanctions would hit the profits of its allies in British business, South Africa's number one trading partner.

And it's not as if the Government has no direct control over ICL. It has a 25 per

cent stake in the company through the National Enterprise Board.

But we aren't taking this deal lying down. Our first step was to produce a bulletin attacking the deal, for distribution inside the plant through union channels.

This was signed by the General Group Committee of the TASS white-collar section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers; and by 16 representatives of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, including myself.

The bulletin was also endorsed by shop floor stewards from the AUEW and the electricians' union, the EETPU.

It points out that, 'The laws that the South African state needs a computer to enforce, such as the pass laws under which there are 250,000 arrests a year, are designed to maintain a vast pool of African workers

with no trade union or political rights.'

We ask workers to imagine that on leaving work at ICL they are stopped by a policeman and asked for their pass. You've left it behind.

'No excuses! You have committed an offence! The policeman radios for assistance. You're thrown into the back of a van. You end up in prison for two months and lose your job.'

'It reads like a scenario from Orwell's 1984 but this, for black Africans, is the sunny republic of South Africa today where ICL is an employer. This could be happening to your colleagues.'

Full-time officials of both TASS and ASTMS are now seeking a meeting with the company, and there will be a mass meeting of the workforce within the next week.

But we are adamant: this deal must not go through.



All blacks in South Africa have to carry a pass like this

Glasgow storm

A STORM has arisen over the decision by Glasgow's Labour Lord Provost, David Hodge, to invite the South African ambassador to a civic luncheon on Wednesday 6 September, reports CHRIS BAMBERY.

Many of Hodge's party colleagues promised to join a picket outside. And as we went to press it seemed that Hodge would have little hospitality to

offer.

Members of the General & Municipal Workers Union voted not to cook or serve food to the ambassador, and to stop food being brought into the City Chambers. The local government workers' union, NALGO, also issued instructions that no help should be given to outside contractors.

Boycott call demands response

Socialists and the Moscow Olympics

A BOYCOTT of the 1980 Moscow Olympics is now being openly canvassed. Should socialists support such a campaign? MARTIN METEYARD argues that it would be wrong to do so.

A lot of the support for a boycott comes predictably from leading figures in the right-wing National Association for Freedom such as Lord De L'Isle and Sir Frank Taylor (of Taylor-Woodrow).

But backing for the idea goes wider. Perhaps it isn't so surprising to see Frank Chapple, the anti-communist leader of the electricians' union, EETPU, endorsing the call. But figures on the left such as Peter Hain and novelist Alan Sillitoe have also taken it up.

COLD WAR

Now there is no doubt that the majority of those who support a boycott of the Olympics are simply Cold War hypocrites. If they are so concerned about human rights, why didn't they speak up when the World Cup was held in Argentina?

It may be news to these people, but in Argentina dissidents are not just arrested and given long sentences in rigged trials — they are kidnapped and murdered in cold blood. Not just now and then — every day, with the full involvement of the 'security' forces.

The double standards of some of these people are truly staggering. A letter from De L'Isle, Taylor, Chapple and others in The Times on 22 August said that athletes shouldn't go to Moscow because 'they would be lending their prestige to an oppressive regime which denies self-determination to people living as close as 500 miles from Dover'.

IRELAND

Will they now also demand a boycott of sports events in Britain, whose regime denies self-determination to people living a lot less than 500 miles from Dover — in Northern

Ireland, to be exact. I doubt it. Because the motive of these Cold Warriors is precisely to whip up feeling against the Soviet Union in order to justify greater repression at home, labelling all those who struggle for control over their own lives as 'Fifth Columnists'.

EFFECT

But what about those who, like us, campaigned for a boycott of the World Cup in Argentina, but who now want to extend the tactic to Moscow?

Peter Hain (writing in the Daily Telegraph on 9 August) rightly points out that while opposition to participation by white South Africa is a matter of principle, because that system openly discriminates against blacks in sport, the question with other regimes is, 'will such opposition help advance the cause of human rights or not?'

What would be the effect of a campaign to boycott the Moscow Olympics? My feeling is that its impact on the regime would be comparatively little, while its effect elsewhere would be disastrous.

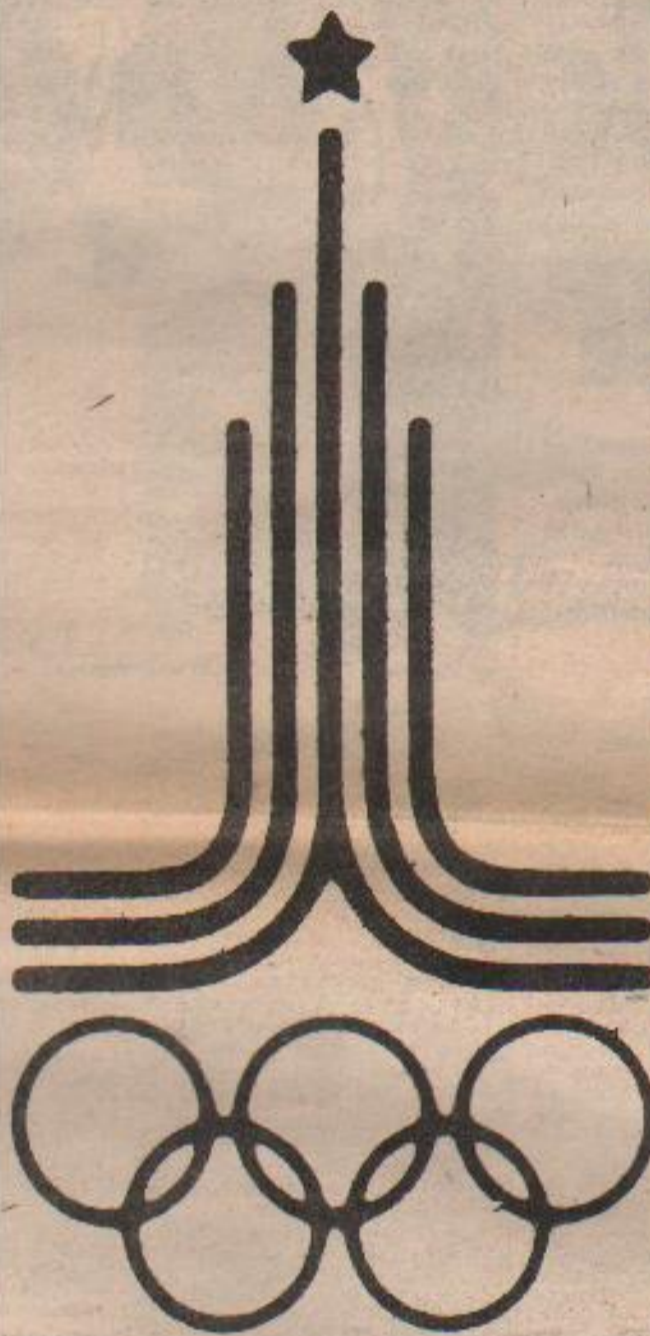
WHITEWASH

Sports boycotts can be most effective where a regime is trying to consolidate its hold through bloody repression, still feels insecure, and hopes to use sport to help overcome this by whitewashing its image internationally.

That was the situation with the World Cup this year. It was also the case with the 1936 Olympics organised by the Nazis in Berlin. But the Moscow Olympics are hardly so decisive (unfortunately) for the hold of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

What a boycott would achieve, though, would be the singling out of the Soviet Union as the number one enemy of humanity, the number one threat to human rights.

The imperialists, who have been responsible for innumerable bloodbaths in every corner



of the globe, who deny their peoples the basic human right of a job and a decent wage, whose attempt to strangle the infant revolution actually

created the conditions for the suppression of democracy in the USSR — they and they alone would benefit from such a campaign.

But this does not mean that we should stand idly by. We do oppose the repression in the USSR, and the Moscow Olympics are a good opportunity to home in on it.

The most important thing is the conditions of that repression: restrictions on freedom of expression, of movement, of association.

The World Cup was not a happy precedent. Journalists hostile to the regime were simply refused entry. Some who were allowed in but uttered a few mild criticisms were confined to their hotels.

KGB TEAM

The number of overseas visitors was drastically limited so that the event became in essence a TV spectacular.

There are signs that the Soviet leaders are thinking the same way. A KGB team was sent to Argentina to learn from the organisation of the World Cup, and it appears that they now want Article 49 of the International Olympic Rules changed so that they can exclude journalists 'hostile to the spirit of peace and friendship'.

As for freedom of movement, the report from the British yachting team who attended the recent Baltic Pre-Olympic Regatta in Estonia is bleak:

'There were three security guards outside our hotel all the time... We could not go outside the town of Tallinn because there were road blocks on every road.'

PRIORITY

It seems to me that our priority now should be to campaign on these conditions of repression rather than endorsing the blanket call for a boycott.

Against any restrictions on entry and movement; for no limitations on reporting; for the right to meet freely with all residents of the Soviet Union. These should be the slogans we adopt now.

Any further action should only be considered once we have the chance to assess the results of such a campaign.

* Readers who have different viewpoints on this question are invited to contribute to this discussion.

Brazil arrests

TWO Argentinian revolutionaries are among 22 people arrested in Brazil at a meeting of the organisation Socialist Convergence on 23 August.

One of them, Hugo Bressano, is a leader of the Argentinian PST (Socialist Workers Party), while the other, Rita Esterberg, is a militant in the same organisation.

There is a real danger that they will meet a swift death if they are returned to Argentina. An international campaign saved Peruvian leader Hugo Blanco when he was deported to Argentina and won him the right to go to the country of his choice; no less is required to save these two militants.

Peru miners

THE strike by 45,000 Peruvian miners for the rehiring of militants sacked after previous strikes has reached a crucial stage. The military government has now put seven provinces under a state of emergency and empowered mining companies to dismiss those who do not return to work.

Mining accounts for more than half of Peru's export earnings, and the strike is estimated to have cost £32.5 million so far. Twelve thousand miners and their families have marched on Lima in support of their demands and are now camping out in the capital.

Meanwhile the left-wing parties in the newly elected Constituent Assembly, whose success undoubtedly encouraged the miners in their struggle, have organised a massive solidarity campaign as well as using the Assembly as a tribune to publicise the miners' demands.

Chile miners

IN Chile, too, it is miners at the Chuquibambuta copper mine who are spearheading a challenge to the regime. Denied the right to strike for higher wages, they have organised a boycott of the works canteens which has proved so effective that the junta has now declared a state of emergency throughout Lon province.

The arrest of 13 militants has so far had little effect; pro-junta union leaders have been booted off the stage at mass meetings for not pursuing the miners' demands strongly enough in negotiations. There is now talk of further action such as a go-slow against 'the starvation dictatorship', which would mean a real crisis for the regime.

Nicaragua

WILL President Somoza arrest the entire population of Nicaragua? That's what people are asking now that he's ordered the arrest of anyone advocating the overthrow of the Government.

After last week's street fighting, a general strike is now underway to get rid of the dictator they call 'the last of the US Marines left in Nicaragua'. US Marines intervened in the country in the 1920s and 1930s to install Somoza's father.

The general strike has the backing of big business, which is running scared after the mass upsurge which followed the spectacular hijacking of Parliament by the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) to win the release of political prisoners. They realise that if they don't distance themselves rapidly from the regime they might well share its fate.

Unfortunately the FSLN, despite the impact of its guerrilla actions, has so far devoted little attention to the problem of organising the masses independently of these figures. This is the key to finishing off the regime for good.

Shah's No.1 fan

EVER SINCE Kissinger and Nixon visited Peking in 1972 and 1973, the Soviet Union has replaced the United States as 'Enemy Number One' of the Chinese Communist Party.

The fact that the Chinese bureaucrat Hua felt it necessary to visit the Butcher of Iran at a time when the latter's throne is shaking under the pressure of the masses indicates the depth to which Chinese foreign policy has sunk.

Hua's visit to Iran must pose some awkward questions for Iranian Maoists both inside and outside Iran.

Many of them have been vociferous opponents of the Shah, but their sectarianism

has prevented the development of a united front of all Iranians opposed to the present regime.

Iranian Maoists should ask themselves: Did Hua's visit to Iran serve the needs of the toiling masses of that country? Was it a manifestation of proletarian internationalism? Does it help to safeguard the gains of the Chinese socialist revolution in any way?

Hua and the Chinese bureaucracy have made a political choice by their refusal to cancel the visit. That is to bolster up the present regime. Why? Because it is a bulwark against the Soviet Union. Both they and their apologists will live to regret this decision.



'Then I'm off to Nicaragua to greet our old friend Somoza'

Intercontinental Press combined with Inprecor

ISSN 0263-8869

AN INTERVIEW with Hugo Blanco on the opening days of the Constituent Assembly in Peru is featured in this week's issue of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor (Vol. 16 No. 33), which also includes a report on the current miners' strike.

Last week's issue included a major article by Alan Jones tracing the falsification of Marxist philosophy by the leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party and showing how this relates to their abandonment of Marxist politics.

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IRELAND

Why 15,000 marched

Tale of an H Block mother

FIFTEEN THOUSAND people marched from Coalisland to Dungannon in the North of Ireland on Sunday 27 August. They were marking the tenth anniversary of the civil rights campaign. The theme of the march was one of solidarity with the 350 prisoners in the now world famous H Block, Long Kesh. Among those 15,000 was the author of this article, a mother of one of the H Block prisoners. Read the article and understand why she and those thousands of others marched.



On the march from Coalisland to Dungannon

Photo: DEREK SPIERS (IEL)

He was first arrested on a street in the town in December 1976. The RUC Special Branch held him for three days under Section 10.

They said he had left a hoax bomb at a petrol station. He would not sign a statement and he said that he did not do it.

They sent for me then, which is not very usual, and the Special Branch gave me this ultimatum — the mother bit. They said, if you ask him to say he took the car it will be very easy for him, because he's just sixteen.

I said, 'I can't ask my son to sign for something which he obviously did not do.'

The Special Branch man said, 'He's going to go away for a long time.'

I said, 'Better than to sign a false statement.'

He said, 'Well I'm going to charge him now, and he'll see no more Christmas trees.'

I said, 'That's all right.' It wasn't all right, but I said that.

So they charged him and they took him away.

ARGUMENT

They charged him with membership of Na Fianna Eireann and the bomb thing. The next week at the bail court two policemen started arguing about where he was arrested.

The judge took the ugly — his cirrhosis was probably playing him up. The judge said it was his court and he wouldn't have arguments in it, and he gave Jo bail.

He got bail of £550, and he went about his business as usual. He was only sixteen.

Then in February the bus depot round there was burned. No bombs, just burned. So one morning in April they came for him and they took him away.

I kept on phoning, and three days later they said he was charged with the bus depot.

He was in Crumlin Road Jail till he went for trial in October for the first charges. It was a no-jury trial, so he wouldn't recognise the court. He got two five years to run concurrent.

He went straight to H Block then. We saw him the next morning, and he said that was where he wanted to go, because he did not believe he was a criminal — and he is not a criminal.

Five weeks later he was brought to trial for the bus depot. He refused to recognise that court too.

He said in court they had beaten

him for three days solidly. He was badly beaten when I saw him in court when he was charged.

He said at his trial, 'I signed that statement because I couldn't take any more of your beatings. You are the brutalisers. Because we come from an area which is underprivileged, you say that everything my people say are lies.'

'You men stand there now and swear to God you didn't beat us, but you are the liars, not us. My comrades and I are not liars.'

So the judge gave him 21 years altogether. I just couldn't cope with the thought of anyone being so cruel.

Because nine UVF men were up the same day for murder, attempted murder, armed robbery and possession of weapons, and between the whole lot of them they only got 59 years and he let one off to join the army. The British army, of course.

He was already in H Block, and away he went. But the Incorporated Law Society asked the judge to amend the sentence, and he changed it to 14 years.

But the five years runs consecutively, which makes 19 years, and now he's eighteen. He's been in H Block ten months now.

When we visited him yesterday, we had to wait a long time. That made me very nervous, because the last time I saw him he was really wretched looking.

That time he was so undeterred. Far better he would die, he said, than accept that he was a criminal. I didn't ask him to stop his blanket protest.

I asked him what would happen if the British Government would not relent.

He said, 'We would come out of here in coffins. We would wreck this place. They have beaten us and beaten us and it doesn't matter to me any more how much they beat me, because I'm a soldier of the Irish Republic and I will not be criminalised.'

STARVING

But he couldn't hardly because his voice was gone. And he was obviously starving. He couldn't eat. I smuggled in some sweets and he only ate two of them. He was white like a ghost.

Because of that I was really afraid yesterday. I waited for two hours. My friend was with me. She had never been to see anybody in there before, and she knew him from when he was

born.

She makes speeches and pretends it doesn't affect her. When we went to go in she turned really pale white, and I said, 'You've turned pure white.'

And the young girl who was in front of us going in to see Peter said to me, 'You've turned really white too.'

GHOST

The door opened and the two of them came in. A fellow came first with a massive beard and thin like a ghost. He was white, was. We cheered him. He said, 'I don't know you, but thanks.' And we just clapped and cheered.

Then Jo and Peter came. Jo was inarticulate, but very spiritually wonderful. He's only young and he never was eloquent.

'A Patrick Pearse he'd never be', I used to say. But now, maybe he would be. Because I've seen letters from them. In simple words they write what you couldn't make up to write if you were going to write fiction.

He took some cigarettes back for the boys. He doesn't smoke himself. And he said he was going in the punishment block today and he will be there till Friday.

His face was white and his hands were white and his nails... But the rest of him was filth and dirt. He showed me. His feet were so dirty that they had gone green. And his body was all caked with dirt.

LIKE PAWS

He said, 'My friend down there has got two hands like paws.'

Then we heard this great big shout, 'Jo, Jo, are you there?'

And he says, 'Yes, I'm here.'

Then he said, 'Is your ma there?'

And I says, 'Who's that?'

And he says, 'It's Danny.'

I says, 'Yes, I'm here, Danny.'

He says, 'Is your wee Sean with you?'

I says, 'Yes, son.'

He says, 'Send him down to me.'

And he says, 'Clara, Clara, are you there?'

And she says, 'Yes, Danny, son, I'm here.'

He says, 'It's me, Danny, and I'm here and up the Republic!'

I thought it was the most touching thing. But they wouldn't let wee Sean go down to him.

Jo and Peter were next to each

other, so we were able to kiss them and hug them and kiss them and hug them.

And we said could we see Danny for just a couple of moments and the screws said, 'No, you can't.' They were angry because we really thought they were so wonderful, that they could suffer so much for so long.

He said, 'What do you think about the Cardinal?'

I said I thought his statement covered everything, but I didn't appreciate that he waited for two years to go there.

I said, 'How are your hands clean, and your face, son?'

He said, 'They made us throw water over them.'

They didn't throw any water over Danny's so he has got, like, paws.

My son was clean all of his life, and when he was younger, a Rod Stewart fan. And he had long hair down to here, auburn, all shiny. Now it is all matted and dirty and grey.

PRINCIPLE

His father is sick, and he sent to the Northern Ireland Office that he wanted to see his son. He doesn't understand H Block, because he left a long time ago. He doesn't understand that they won't see anybody.

I said, 'Son, if anything happens to him I'll let you know through a priest.'

He said, 'That's all right. Because if it means going off the blanket, I wouldn't even go to see you, Mummy, if you were dying.'

I said, 'And I wouldn't ask you son. Don't break your principle for anybody.'

He said, 'No, I won't, and never will.'

And he kept on speaking in Gaelic all the time, because he was forgetting, because he speaks in Gaelic inside there.

He said, 'We had a singsong last night.'

I said, 'What were you singing?'

He said, 'I did my Rod Stewart, and then Peter sung and we all sung. But it's cold because there isn't any windows.'

I said, 'Are you lying on the floor?'

He said, 'Yes, I haven't anything to lie on.'

It's about six months now since he has washed himself. They were being beaten constantly. They felt that they just couldn't brutalise them any more.

And therefore they would do something which is abhorrent to any Republican soldier. Their first principle is to be honourable and clean and well-mannered to their visitors, and an example to their own army.

But it has come to the point now that it can kill them. When they get a cut, it gets poisoned. His toenail has grown in, and it's all festered, and his foot was all dirt.

Roy Mason says it's self-inflicted punishment. I say Roy Mason is wrong. The reason for this protest is because the punishment which was being inflicted on those men was out of all proportion for anything they had done, and they had no comeback for it.

A British prisoner doesn't expect to be constantly beaten for nothing. And this was what was actually happening.

They are inflicting it on Roy Mason and his Government. He surely doesn't like a prison full of human waste, excreta, urine.

And I'm sure it's very, very highly educated governor doesn't like getting urine thrown round him every time he goes to speak by ordinary Irish boys.

They might be famous now, as a group, but individually they're only boys that say, 'Yes, ma', and 'That's magic', and 'Sound enough'.

Roy Mason's wrong, and he'll always be wrong, and the British will always be wrong as long as they set their feet here and put shackles on my people.

I hate them, for they haven't the right to be here. They came here, to a Gaelic land — we never went to conquer anybody — and they destroyed it.

But they can't destroy these three hundred and fifty men. Since 1916 we've never had men in a group that we could think so much of. Not because my son's one of them. I don't care if he's from Cork, or the Bogside, or Ardoyne, or where he's from.

CHANGE

It's made an awful change in this house. This was always a Republican house, a socialist house. But now... Everybody in the house is really proud of him, really proud.

And I'm his mother, I raised him a Republican, I'd want him to be brave. But I'm afraid now, that something is going to happen to him. I think every mother is afraid.

OPEN FORUM

Some recollections on its 40th anniversary

Founding the Fourth International

THE FOUNDING Conference of the Fourth International took place forty years ago this month. CHARLIE VAN GELDEREN was there and describes the experience.

The Founding Conference of the Fourth International is usually described as having taken place 'somewhere in Switzerland'. This was for security reasons. In actual fact, our International was formally launched in a small room near the Gare du Nord in Paris towards the end of August 1938.

I was privileged to be among those — no more than forty people — who attended this historic gathering, representing the Fourth International Organisation of South Africa (FIOSA). As this organisation was not formally affiliated to the International Communist League, I was seated as an observer and not as a delegate.

The founding of the Fourth International took place under vastly different conditions from those in which its three predecessors were launched.

CHRYSALIS

When Marx and Engels founded the First International, the working class in the advanced capitalist states was emerging from its chrysalis and beginning to assert itself as an independent political force challenging the hegemony of the capitalist class.

Trade unions and working class parties were springing up everywhere and Marxist theory was beginning to penetrate its ranks, giving direction and historical perspective to what had hitherto been only economic aspirations of the new class.

The Second International was built on the foundations of the mass social-democratic parties which had sprung up in Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and other countries. Formally it was based on an acceptance of Marxist theory, but the insidious poison of reformism was already seeping into its veins, leading to the ultimate betrayal in August 1914.

The Third (Communist) International was called into being by Lenin and Trotsky in the wake of the first victorious proletarian revolution — the Russian October — on the crest of a rising revolutionary wave.

All these three Internationals reflected the growing strength and self-confidence of the working class.

The Fourth International, in stark contrast, was born in the trough of world reaction. In the first workers state, the Soviet Union, Stalinism had decimated the Bolshevik Party, its leaders murdered in the frame-up Moscow Trials.

Leon Trotsky, the outstanding leader of the October Revolution after Lenin, was in exile in Mexico. Stalin's Five Year Plans were accompanied by a monstrous lowering of the living standards and suppression of the rights of the working masses; the Soviets existed only in name.

In Spain, fascism had unleashed a civil war that was to end in tragedy and defeat. Japan had embarked on its invasion of Manchuria. The great mass movement in France (June 1936) which brought the Popular Front government of Leon Blum to office was betrayed by the Stalinist and reformist leaderships.

Above all, in Germany, Hitler's Nazis had destroyed the most powerful working class movement in the capitalist world. All seemed doom and foreboding!

But there was no despondency among the handful of people who met

in Paris that August of 1938. They saw themselves as the continuators of the movement which had begun with Marx and Engels, the carriers of history, the vanguard of the future.

Absent in distant Mexico, but dominating the conference, was Leon Trotsky. With literally only a handful of followers, he had set himself the task of carrying forward the Bolshevik heritage, despite the efforts of the ruling class, the Stalinists, and the reformists to stop him.

And what blows he suffered! The physical destruction of his family and the group of comrades in the Soviet Union he had done so much to bring into being; the murder of his closest companions in exile, Erwin Wolfe, Rudolf Klement, Ignace Reiss — to mention only some of the many who fell victim to Stalin's murder squads, determined to strangle the infant new International in its womb.

This, then, was the atmosphere in which we met. But the mood, as I have already stated, was one of optimism. For we believed firmly that ours was the future.

Some of the participants have not stayed the course. A recital of names would be pointless. The enduring nature of their work has outlived them for today. Forty years later, the Fourth International is the only internationally organised body of revolutionaries, growing in strength despite setbacks and still as confident in the future of humanity as the founders of 1938.

HEROIC

That first conference discussed many issues. First there was the salute to our living martyrs and heroic dead; greetings to the anti-fascist fighters in Spain and to Leon Trotsky.

Of course the conference dealt with the current issues which confronted the working class in those days — the war in the Far East; the role of American imperialism; the tasks of the French section; the perennial problem of trying to heal the splits among British Trotskyists.

We discussed the Canadian, Greek and Mexican sections and the problems which confronted them; the organisation for the defence and relief of persecuted revolutionaries; and a resolution on youth which called for the formation of a Youth International.

(The Founding Conference of the new Youth International took place a few days later and I was elected, as British representative, on the first executive. Alas, it was short-lived owing to the imminence of war.)

The coming imperialist war — only twelve months ahead — played a large part in the discussion, but the main task of the conference was to discuss and ratify the Transitional Programme (later published as *The Death Agony of Capitalism*).

For us in the Fourth International, the importance of the Transitional Programme has been fundamental. It set out to answer the crucial questions: 'How can humanity be extricated from the nightmare of crises, of world wars, of continuous chaos in which it has been floundering for some forty years. How can the transition to socialism be assured?' (Pierre Frank, *The Fourth International*).

The idea of a transitional programme had been raised at the Third Congress of the Communist International — a programme which



would organise the workers in the struggle for power combined with a programme to be put into operation immediately after the workers took power. This was in contrast to the old minimum and maximum programmes of the Second International.

The Transitional Programme therefore emphasised the continuity of the Fourth International with the first four congresses of Lenin's Comintern.

The importance of the Transitional Programme is not in the actual demands it contains, though many of them are still very relevant today. It must, of course, be adapted to the needs of the 1970s and not 1938.

What is important is the *method* of the Transitional Programme, the need for a programme which combines a series of slogans for democratic and transitional demands corresponding to the needs of the masses and to the logic of the development of the class struggle.

ADAPTED

It culminates in the call for a workers government, which is not synonymous with the dictatorship of the proletariat but is a transitional government formulation 'which has to be adapted to the masses' organisational situation and degree of class consciousness at a given moment. A programme lacking any perspective for a workers government taking anti-capitalist measures is not a transitional programme' (*ibid*).

The Transitional Programme is the foundation on which the Fourth International, 'The World Party of the Socialist Revolution', is built.

Looking back to that conference in 1938, the one thing that strikes me as significant is that I cannot recall any woman delegate being present. Also, apart from the passages in the Transitional Programme, the issue of women's oppression was not even on the agenda.

That is something which cannot happen today in our International, and we are all deeply in debt to our women comrades who through their struggles have raised our consciousness on this issue and started the

process — alas, by no means complete — of educating the men comrades out of their machismo.

In 1938, too, we did not even think of homosexuals as an oppressed minority. Here, too, we have been educated in struggle.

Apart from myself, there were no representatives from the imperialist colonies. The only black delegate present was CLR James who, though born in Trinidad, represented the British section.

Today, forty years on, the capitalist world is in mortal crisis. Stalinism, a seemingly indestructible monolith in 1938, is riven with contradictions. The Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country' has proved, as Trotsky predicted, to be a deadly poison which saps the very fibre of the socialist revolution.

History has demonstrated only too tragically that the Trotskyist struggle against this theory was no mere academic exercise. As a direct result of this Stalinist theory we see states where the workers have conquered power, the USSR, China, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, etc., at

each other's throats instead of combining to finally crush the imperialist enemy.

Similarly, Stalin's theory of the unilinear development of the revolution through the successive stages of bourgeois-democratic to the socialist phase, in contrast to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, has distorted the revolution in the 'underdeveloped' countries of Africa, Asia and South America into hideous caricature-reflections of the deformed revolution in the Soviet Union itself.

Everywhere Stalinism, whether in its Muscovite or Maoist form, has become a brake on the advance of the world revolution, a counter-revolutionary force which must be destroyed and replaced by the communist internationalism which is the sure foundation on which the Fourth International was founded.

Amidst all this tragic chaos, the red flag of the Fourth International flies bravely, proudly proclaiming its internationalism and the same firm faith in humanity's future which inspired that small gathering in 1938.

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Far left in Europe

THE ARTICLE by John Ross on 'The Crisis of the Far Left in Europe' (24 August) was very interesting and will need to be carefully read and thought about, particularly by those of us on the 'non-Trotskyist' left. But I have a couple of initial comments.

First, in his specific arguments against the line of some of the European far left organisations, he makes some pretty startling claims. For instance, he says that the PRP and MES in Portugal used the slogan 'social-democracy is fascist'.

If they did, then of course they made a terrible blunder. But this is the first time I've heard anything of it, including from the IMG. It doesn't tally with anything I've ever read from the PRP or MES, even though in general it does seem that they had an ultra-left line on the Socialist Party and bourgeois democracy. Can this be clarified?

Secondly, in his section on Italy there are some extremely dubious comments on Lotta Continua. He says that they 'failed to distinguish between the class base of the CP and SP on the one hand, and the Christian Democracy on the other'. Therefore 'they either became left critics of the CP', failing 'to rule out a compromise with Christian Democracy on principle; or they declared that the question of who formed the government was irrelevant'.

Comrades: Lotta Continua believed that the question of government was extremely relevant. From the elections of Spring 1977 they wanted an overall majority for the workers parties (CP, SP, and revolutionary left) precisely because they wanted to form a workers government, excluding the parties of the bourgeoisie.

The whole thrust of their political work was against the 'historic compromise' and they wanted the majority votes in the election so as to be able to put before the CP and SP masses a credible alternative to the compromise. You cannot understand the utter demoralisation and semi-collapse of Lotta Continua unless you see this: it is because the workers parties in general did not win the election, and because the far left did badly within the class vote, that LC has since declined and so many militants become disillusioned.

Thirdly, a more general comment. Comrade Ross's article is fair enough in itself; but it would help if the forces 'basing themselves on classical Marxism' (i.e. the Fourth International, I assume) also made public some self-criticisms; showed whether or not they are able to learn from other organisations and traditions.

For instance, in Italy, where the 'forces basing themselves on Lenin and Trotsky are very weak', it is not because the working class and students are bloody-mindedly anti-Trotskyist, but presumably because the FI has made bad mistakes. And this goes for all the countries in one way or another.

STEVE SKAITH (Kirkby)



Painting out sexism 1

PAUL TICKELL (24 August) makes the same confusion that the bourgeois press seeks to make when he says that calling for 'the banning or picketing of Allen Jones's work' is to 'side with petty-bourgeois radical moralism and not Marxism'. That is, that the action of a group of feminists in making a demonstration against Allen Jones's work is 'totalitarian' and an exercise of 'censorship'.

Censorship is something that the state operates. A picket or political protest is more likely to be an expression of indignation by the working class or its allies — in this case women.

Paul Tickell's reaction is explicable in the context of his entirely understandable desire to distance himself from Mao-Stalinoid/Socialist Realist refusals to confront complexities and ambiguities in the cultural field. But to reject this doesn't mean that we should accept the inviolability of aestheticism (the art market). It should not inhibit us from political actions or outrages which make known the standpoint of the oppressed.

If feminists protest, and call Jones's work sexist, call for the closing of the exhibition by the ICA, deface his work, or even tear his lithographs to shreds, that is action we should be prepared to defend and lend our support to. This is completely different from calling on the state to ban Jones's work, which would be censorship, and which we would oppose.

THE BASH STREET KIDS (London NW1)

2

'PETTY-BOURGEOIS moralist? No sir. 'A censor? No sir. A woman? Yes. But not a woman 'strong and menacing' as in Allen Jones's stereotypes. A woman strong and menacing about petty liberal, would-be art 'critics'.

You, Paul Tickell (24 August).

have reduced, at a stroke, the women's movement's consistent struggle against sexism to puritan moralism. Such crassness can only betray the fact that you have no understanding of feminism or, indeed, of sexism.

The work of Allen Jones has been seen by many women (many of them artists) as no more than soft porn hung on the walls of a gallery. Jones is, as you say, uncritical of the imagery that insults women. His work perpetuates the history of women as passive sexual objects, only taking on the appearance of



power to encourage a male wank. His work is a degradation of women elevated by the excuses of so-called 'intellectuals' like yourself to the ranks of art. That, Mr Tickell, does not make it a 'comment' on sexism — it puts it at the core of it.

It is not the left which has called for the banning and picketing of Jones's work, it is women like myself. And, in contrast to your claims, I don't know much about art. But I do know a lot about sexism.

Your excuses for Jones, your fine phrases, have put you firmly on the side of 'art' for art's sake and, in this case, on the side of the most oppressive kind of sexism.

ANN BOND (London)

Racism benefits some

TARIQ ALI concludes his article on racism (20 July) by saying: 'For there is no real material basis for working class racism in Britain. It is today the accumulated ideological product of Britain's past.' My own view is that this statement is both factually incorrect and has dangerous tactical implications.

It is factually incorrect for two sets of reasons. First, the working class of

advanced capitalist countries like Britain has been a (usually tacit) partner in the exploitation of the 'Third World' by its capitalists — this through unequal exchange, the international division of labour, manipulation of the terms of trade, etc.

Secondly, the existence of racism in factories, schools, housing estates in this country has benefited the white working class. They have found that reserved for them are the best jobs, the better schools, the better estates, etc.

The benefits that these white workers (some of whom are members of the labour aristocracy) have got from racism are ideological and material.

A recent book, *One Hand Tied Behind Our Backs*, makes clear how sexism in the textile industry benefits male textile workers — a recent telly programme showed how racism is to the advantage of white workers in the textile industry.

It showed how, in Nelson, Asian workers don't become over-lookers. The management isn't against this happening — it is the over-lookers' union that operates a closed shop that won't accept black workers.

If racism were only ideological, it would follow that we only need propaganda to fight it. But since it is also embedded in the labour process, we need to fight it with a programme that includes positive discrimination (what in the US is called affirmative action).

And when we fight for positive discrimination, we must realise the likelihood of coming into conflict with some established principles of trade unionism, e.g. 'last in, first out', union-controlled apprentice schemes. Conflict will be necessary where these schemes are operated on racist lines.

My point is that working class racism not only has a past material basis, it also has a present one. The same is true for working class sexism, though it operates differently because of the 'double shift' which also affects black women.

PETER ANDERSON (Manchester Big Flame)

On the buses

CONGRATULATIONS on the article 'A Red on the Buses' (6 July). I'd like to add my observations from

the position of a passenger.

One thing which has become increasingly apparent, in London anyway, is the collapse of the orderly queue for public transport — particularly buses. The reasons for this are not difficult to find.

Trotsky himself pointed out that the basis for the growth of bureaucracy rests ultimately in general want. To paraphrase him: general social want leads to queues, queues need policemen to keep them in order, and policemen need a bureaucracy to keep them in order.

The queue in Britain was traditionally patient and ordered because it knew that ultimately everyone would get the commodity in question. With the massive cut-backs in the social services, in particular public transport, this is no longer so — people know that they might have to wait another 45 minutes for the next bus.

So the queue disintegrates — every person for themselves. Such a development is a very specific index of the depth of the social crisis in our everyday life.

Now the writer of 'A Red on the Buses' points out the racism of white passengers, who generally blame black people in the queue for the disorderly crush. The shortage of buses and the necessity to fight for a place are taken as 'natural'.

This is a very concrete example of the way that general want and shortage creates a situation which (a) allows confused members of the working class, aided by the National Front, to offer false explanations for their social plight, and (b) in the process heightens more generalised racism — even racist violence.

We can't just stop at anti-racist abuse, tempting as that might be. Racism isn't stupidity or foolishness — it's a genuine, but mistaken, attempt to grapple with real social problems afflicting the whole of the working class.

We have to show how the cuts and racism are intimately connected. We have to offer alternative explanations. Otherwise the 'explanations' and 'solutions' of the racists will hold sway.

MARI GARDNER (London NW6)

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

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

NORTH WEST

WARRINGTON Socialist Challenge group meets regularly. Ring Manchester Socialist Challenge offices for details. 061-236 2352.
GREATER MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge. School students who support the paper and would like to get involved in anti-fascist activity, please contact Chris (273 5547, day) or Steve (226 4287, evening), or write to Manchester SC Centre, 14 Piccadilly.

SALFORD Socialist Challenge

Supporters can be contacted at the Manchester Socialist Challenge offices, Tel 061-236 2352 or, by writing to Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre, c/o 14 Piccadilly, Manchester with a view to forming a Salford Socialist Challenge group.
LEIGH Socialist Challenge group will be holding regular meetings shortly. For details ring Roy on Atherton 88 2830.

NORTH EAST

NEWCASTLE Socialist Challenge local supporters are active! If you want to join them, phone Pat on (0632) 29057.

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

MIDDLEBROUGH Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside entrance to Cleveland Centre (opp. Woolworths), 11am to 1pm. Socialist Challenge is also available from Harrisons (newsagent) in Linthorpe Road.

LONDON

HARROW Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly, details from Box 50, London N1 2XP.
TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper every Sunday in Brick Lane. Meet at the Nazrul Restaurant at 10.30am.

SOUTH WEST London Supporters Group meets next 20 September, 7.30pm, Clapham Library.

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

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge supporters meet at the junction of Brick Lane and Bethnal Green Road every Sunday at 10am to sell the paper. There will also be regular Socialist Challenge forums in Tower Hamlets — watch this space for details.

HACKNEY Socialist Challenge supporters meet next on Wed. 10 Sept. at 7.30pm in the Britanna Pub. Meet St. Discussion on Socialists and the General Election.

CAMDEN Socialist Challenge

supporters sell papers every Saturday at Inverness St market in Camden Town from 11am-3pm. Join us every Saturday 12-3pm on the Gainers pocket at the Celtic Circus branch.

HELP SOCIALIST CHALLENGE. Greenwich and Lewisham supporters are organising a jumble sale. If you have any jumble to be collected ring Jo on 309 8371 or drop it into the paper's offices at 329/19 Upper St.

CAMDEN Socialist Challenge supporters' meeting Wed. Sept. 13th in the York and Albany pub, 129 Parkway (near Regent's Park), 8 pm. Robin Blisburn on Eurocommunism.

SOUTH WEST

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

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

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

YORKSHIRE

HULL Socialist Challenge supporters need lots of jumble for a sale soon. We can arrange collection. Offers of jumble to Annette 443243. Have a clear-out and help build the paper!

HUDDERSFIELD Socialist Challenge sales regularly Saturdays 11am-1pm in the Piazza.

YORK Socialist Challenge is on sale at the York Community Bookshop, 73 Walmgate or from sellers on Thursdays (12.30-1.40) at York University, Ventrugh College; Saturdays (11.30-3.30) at Cony Street.

MIDLANDS

For details of activities of local supporters throughout the Midlands contact the Socialist Challenge Centre, 760 Digbeth, High Street, Birmingham (021) 645 9209.

SOUTH EAST

COLCHESTER Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly. For details phone Steve on Wivenhoe 2949.

CRAWLEY Socialist Challenge

public meeting with Tariq Ali speaking. At the AUEW Hall, Robinson Road, Monday, 15 September 1978.

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

SCOTLAND

For information about the paper or its supporters activities throughout Scotland please contact Socialist Challenge Books, 64 Queen St, Glasgow. Open Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday afternoons. Phone for alternative arrangements (221 7481). Wide range of Fourth International publications.

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

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

UNDER REVIEW

'Every band is political'

CRISIS are the band who launched the Right to Work march on its way last Saturday.

Their line-up is: Tone Deaf, bass; Frazer Razor, vocals; Lester Pick-it, lead guitar; Doug Pearce, rhythm guitar, vocals; Insect Robin, drums.

They sent us an interview they did with the American 'Slash' magazine and asked us to print the bits we liked. Here they are.

How long have you been together?

Frazer: Since April 1977.

Were you in any other bands before?

Lester: Tony and Doug were.

Rob: Clash wanted me, but they weren't committed enough.

You write most of your own songs?

Frazer: We write all our songs.

Doug: Iggy Pop wrote a song called 'Search and Destroy' and we have a song of the same name.

The title really is based on Lewisham, because we had a contingent there and during the fighting it got so we had been fighting for five hours, and at the end we were running around, linked arms, chanting 'Search and Destroy'; as soon as we saw the police or the National Front it was 'Search and Destroy'.

Were you there with the Socialist Workers Party?

Doug: Tony is in the SWP. I am in the International Marxist Group. Like the Clash say, they write about life as they see it through their eyes, we write about life as we experience it.

So you would say that the group is a political band?

Doug: We are pleased to be a political band.

Tony: Every band is political. The Bay City Rollers are political in a sense that they don't want to change anything. If you are not against it, you are for it.

Doug: No bands have actually come up with a solution, they always said, 'Oh, National Front, they're really nasty', or 'I don't like the Labour Party, Tories or Liberals', but they haven't come up with any solution to solve this problem. They go to the National Front because it seems like a

solution to them.

I know that we haven't got the answers to everything under the sun but we are going to put forward a socialist principle basically because that is the way we see the solution.

We're not going to tell the kids to join up here, just tell them to bloody start reading some papers and get educated themselves because West Germany has got it now, and we don't agree with Baader-Meinhof methods and all that kind of stuff, but Heavy Manners, to use a nice cliché, is going to come to this country.

What they have done in Ireland they are going to apply here, they are already practising it. Despite all the crap that the Labour Party will hold on, they won't, the Tories will get back in and they will have harsh immigration control, harsh control of demos.

The origins of English punk seems to be me to be dole queues and high rise flats, social pressures which I don't think are so apparent in the US.

Doug: They're driving around in their dads' cars at 16.

It's nothing to do with money out there, it's just musical boredom. And they have got a lot to be bored about when you think that Peter Frampton and all our British tax exiles are out there.

Doug: I saw a programme with Rod Stewart and Brit Ekland in Paris and he went into a shop and bought two candlesticks at £1,000 apiece and he was saying, 'Just think, in three years they'll be worth three times as much'. And everyone goes goody, goody.

Tony: He was OK when he started, but now he is a shit. And then there's Elton John.

Doug: The only good thing about Elton John was that he came out and admitted that he was bisexual, and when someone famous admits it, it always makes it far easier for people.

Tony: Like David Bowie.

Doug: But he denied it since.

Tony: But he denies everything.

even that Britain needs a fascist government.

When he last came to England he said England was ready for a fascist government, but on the radio the other day he said it just appeared that way after he'd been travelling.

Doug: 'I need a fascist dictator after this trip.' He did say on the radio that it is the last thing we want and probably the last thing we would get. I don't know about that, though.

Tony: It is really very dangerous when people like that say things like that. If someone like Elton John got on and said he was pro-NF it really would get big.

Some people are doing gigs for the Liberal Party 'cos the Liberal Party has promised to lower the tax rate, and if you keep going in that direction...

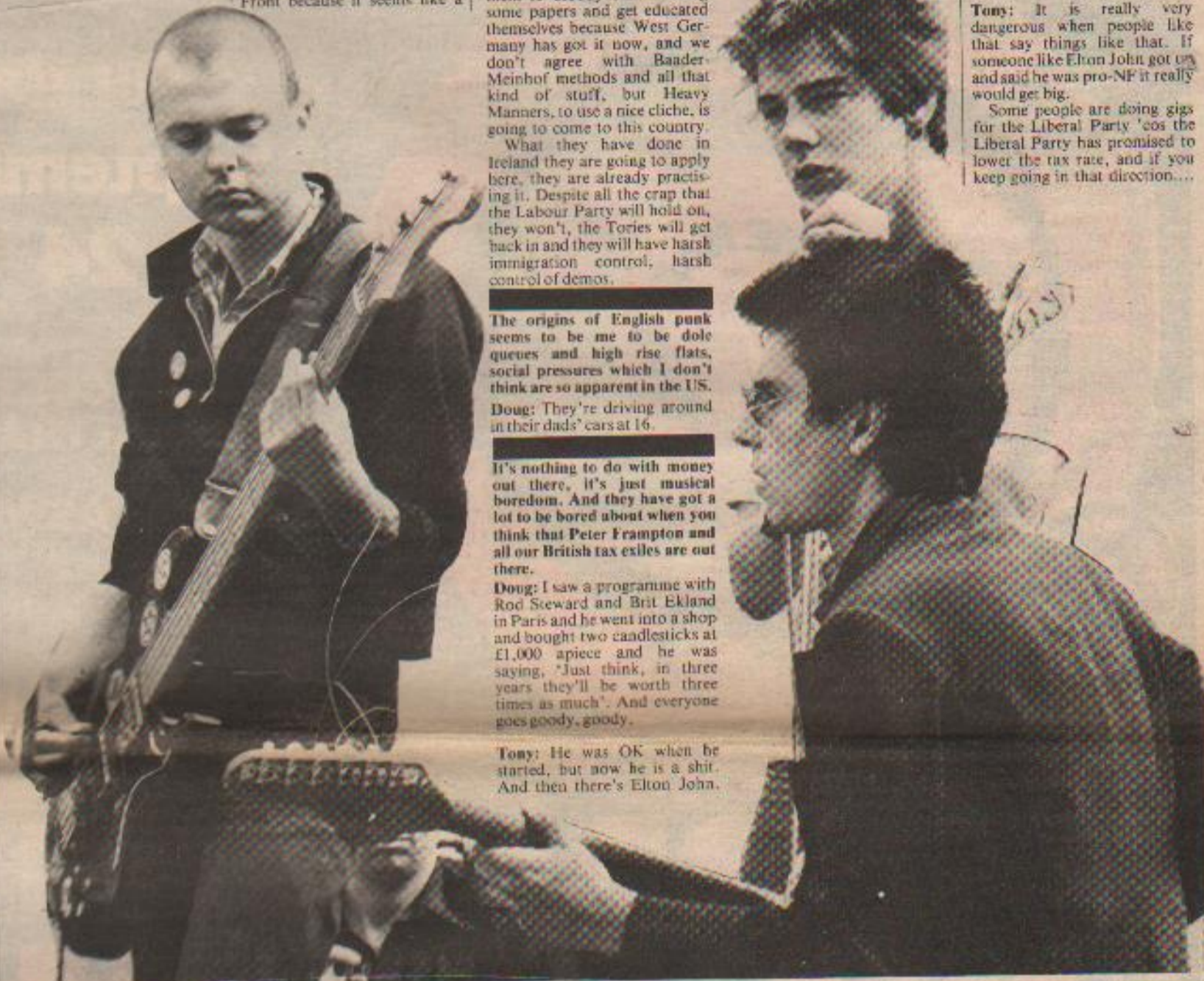


Photo: D. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

FIST right off target

IT ISN'T OFTEN that Hollywood looks at the labour movement. That in itself is enough reason to comment on the American film 'FIST', which opened at London's Leicester Square Theatre last week and will shortly go on general release.

But 'FIST' also deals with a chapter of labour history in which revolutionaries were deeply involved — the rise of the Teamsters. ANDY ROSE of the American Socialist Workers Party explains how that history has been rewritten.

FIST is apparently meant to be a working class American epic, sort of a Teamster Godfather, about the rise and tragic fall of Johnny Kovak (Sylvester Stallone).

Kovak, you see, is a leader of men and an all-around good guy. He is caught in a web of corruption that drags him inexorably to his doom despite his better intentions and his final, desperate efforts to escape.

The possibilities for clichés are endless. Few are overlooked in FIST.

ACCURACY

Kovak and the Federation of Inter-State Truckers are supposed to be based — in some way — on Jimmy Hoffa and

the Teamsters.

It would be absurd to insist on that account that FIST be accurate in every historical detail. Considerable leeway could be allowed either for ignorance or dramatic licence.

PAINFUL

What really makes FIST a painful experience to sit through is that the entire film is conceived around one outrageous falsification.

The fundamental point of the film is that the power that built the union — that enabled it to organise the unorganised and defeat the bosses — was Mafia 'muscle'.

Kovak, after leading an ineffectual work stoppage in

his warehouse and getting fired, is recruited to be a union organiser. Comes the first big strike, and the workers are driven back by violence unleashed by the employers and cops.

Kovak is desperate. He turns to an old buddy who has become a successful small-time gangster. He despises the mob's methods but, as he tells another buddy (Honest Abe Belkin), 'We need push'.

Then — a few well-placed gasoline bombs, a few cops picked off by mob snipers, the strike is won, and Kovak and the Teamsters are on the road to success.

The rest of the movie is dreadfully predictable. The union grows. The mob grows. The union comes under congress-

ional scrutiny.

Honest Abe decides to help expose the corruption. Bye-bye Abe. Johnny decides to break with the gangsters. Bye-bye Johnny.

Maybe Stallone and co-writer Joe Eszterhaus think it happened that way, but it didn't.

The organisation of the Teamsters, like the rest of the major industrial unions, came out of immense class battles. The Mafia played no role, because Mafia 'push' is a piffle compared to the forces that were contending — the capitalists versus the mass upsurge of rank-and-file workers.

In Stallone's mythical version, the union ranks are

bystanders and patsies. Their role is to cheer for Johnny.

The leaders in building the Teamsters union in the 1930s were not the likes of Jimmy Hoffa. They were revolutionary socialists such as Farrell Dobbs, V.R. Dunne, and Carl Skoglund.

Contrary to the paternalistic and elitist attitude shown in FIST, 'They've all got to join up — it's for their own good', says Kovak, the revolutionary Teamster strategists aimed at all times to educate and mobilise the ranks and to develop new leaders.

ZERO

The real story of how the Teamsters union was built is told in four books by Farrell Dobbs. It is not only accurate but also more interesting than FIST.

FIST deserves low ratings on its politics, since it tries to make a political statement. It is also a zero artistically.

The Kovak character is simply not believable as a leader of anything more complex than a small-town street rumble. He is inarticu-

late, shows no hint of intelligence, and is hopelessly inept in strategy and tactics. Maybe Stallone is simply playing himself, as he is said to have done in Rocky.

He shows he is 'militant' by growling at the bosses, 'We're going to cut your balls off'.

He shows he is a 'leader' by getting the truck drivers to chant 'Fist! Fist! Fist!'

This doesn't come close to Hoffa, much less Dobbs.

Rod Steiger does a better job in his short time on screen, playing the senator who brings about Johnny's downfall. He reveals the 'crusader' against union corruption to be something of a weasel as well.

FIST has no sex and not enough violence to attract the Charles Bronson crowd. Maybe it will be a commercial flop. It deserves it.

The four books by Farrell Dobbs are Teamster Rebellion (£1.90), Teamster Power (£2.45), Teamster Politics (£2.45), and Teamster Bureaucracy (£2.50). All are available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ. Please add 10% for postage. Three or more titles post free.

Socialist Challenge

**Sunday
September
24**

**ELVIS COSTELLO
& THE ATTRACTIONS**

SHAM 69 * ASWAD * MISTY

**Hyde Park 11a.m.
March to Brixton**

CARNIVAL 2

OUR FUND DRIVE

ONLY £137.04 arrived this week to bring us up to £1,455.55. We have just three weeks before the end of the quarter to get in the £2,500 which the paper relies on, writes DODIE WEPPLER.

The large majority of the donations this week — and for previous weeks, too — has come from individual readers. Socialist Challenge Groups seem to have gone on holiday while the paper has to face the

debt collectors! Can this change? Every group can surely think of one fund-raising initiative to help meet this quarter's target.

After several weeks urging readers to take out a standing

order with their bank, we have had some small successes.

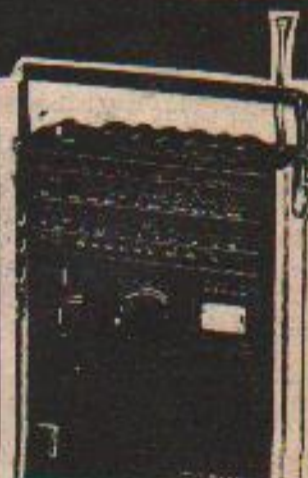
Three new orders have arrived. One was a generous £10 per month, bringing the monthly total of bankers' orders to £282.33. Another

£167.67 per month would reach our target of £450, and make forward planning of the paper possible.

This week our international editor donated half the sum made from those who sponsored him on his 30-day no-smoking pledge. When his other sponsors return from holiday we shall be able to make over £60.

Our thanks this week to:

Anon	1.44
Coffee sales at office	1.00
S Shapiro	1.00
Anon	4.00
German reader	8.28
TASS supporter	5.00
R Spalding	7.00
TC Thompson	5.00
In memory of Joe	5.00
Bob Purdie	4.00
SE supporters	5.00
Eastbourne supporters	4.85
Leistner	1.00
Richard Carver	40.52
C Kilpatrick	9.00
Des Stevens	5.00
MB	15.00
Dick Chappell	0.85
Cardiff supporters	3.00
Anon	6.20
R Wood	10.00
D Moyle	5.00
TOTAL	£137.04



READERS have less than two weeks in which to buy tickets for the 'Socialist Challenge' summer lottery. The draw is on 18 September and the big prize is a top quality Yacht Boy (sic) 1100 transistor radio made by Grundig, or if you prefer, a £50 book token.

Tickets are 10p each or £1 for 12 tickets from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1 or by ordering from the paper. The winner will be announced in 'Socialist Challenge' of 21 September. Organised by D. Weppler, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2NQ.

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

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

Name _____

Address _____

I enclose a donation for the Fighting Fund of _____

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

Complete and return to:

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