

Socialist Challenge

RACISTS ARE PLAYING WITH FIRE

■ Anti Nazi League offices in central London are fire-bombed by a racist or racists 'unknown'. Extensive damage is caused. No arrests. (For details see P. 3)

■ Ishaque Ali, an East End Bengali, dies after a physical assault by two 'unknown' racists. No arrests so far. He is the second Asian to be killed within a few weeks of Ahsan Ali's murder.

■ Carl Foster, son of David Foster, Chairperson of Lewisham 21 Defence Committee, is shot at from a passing car by a racist or racists 'unknown'. A bullet enters his intestines and he is hospitalised. Numerous other incidents come to light. No arrests. (Demo organised for Sat 1 July at 2pm. Assemble Loampit Hill, SE13, corner of Algernon Road — site of one of the shootings).

UNITE AND FIGHT BACK

■ Build the ANL in every locality and trade union. Make it a campaigning and fighting organisation.

■ Support all struggles of black communities against racist attacks and police harassment.

■ Win support for the right of black people to organise their own self-defence.

■ Demand an end to state harassment at airports and detention centres. Demand the repeal of the racist Immigration Acts.

IRELAND
EXCLUSIVE
WE PRINT
THE
YELLOW
CARD
SEE
BACK
PAGE



REVIEW:
'THE
SHERIFF'
PAGE 15



CHILE:
THE RATS
FALL OUT

THE
CONSER-
VATIVE
SAGA
PAGE 2

GULAG IN
THE
FRENCH
CP?



GAY PRIDE
IS
WORLD
WIDE
PAGES 8 & 9

EDITORIAL

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Massacring the truth

MASSACRE time is here again. The killing of 12 British missionaries in Zimbabwe was the signal for another Kolwezi-style bout of hysteria. The purpose of this propaganda was made clear by the press's refusal to countenance the likelihood that the killings were carried out by the Smith Government's troops.

The previous day there was an even larger death toll, just over the border in Mozambique. This time the culprits were definitely Rhodesian troops (which is why you probably missed it in the British press). Seventeen of the victims were black Zimbabwean refugees (another reason for not bothering to report it).

This nauseating propaganda offensive reflects more than the innate racism of the Western media. It also signals their fear that imperialism is losing its grip on Africa. This has been most marked in the warlike noises issuing from the White House.

This has two aims. The first is to indicate that imperialism has had all it can take from the African liberation movements. The bloody cautionary tale of Vietnam has dissuaded America from any similar excursions in Africa — even at the cost of a major defeat, such as Angola.

But the Zaire crisis restored the upper hand to the Pentagon hawks. Carter personally has spent the last 18 months in thorough ideological preparation for resistance against the 'Soviet imperialist threat' (read, 'the liberation movements') and we must now face the prospect of a new Vietnam in Africa.

Carter's second aim is the isolation and strangulation of the Cuban revolution. No evidence has appeared to support US allegations of Cuban involvement in Zaire, though that is a secondary question. The essential point is that imperialism will use any pretext to intervene against the revolutionary threat 90 miles from the Florida coast.

We have many differences with Cuban strategy in Africa. In particular we have frequently criticised their blind support for the Ethiopian regime. But we still defend the right of liberation movements to call in outside help and the responsibility of workers' states to offer unconditional aid to such movements.

The Cuban revolution has fundamentally transformed the lot of the Cuban masses and stood as a beacon for revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. This is despite all its weaknesses or deformations.

That is why all socialists must demand: Imperialist Hands Off Africa! Imperialist Hands Off Cuba! Americans Out of Guantanamo!

After the game is over

BRIAN CLOUGH put his finger on it, minutes after the end of the World Cup final. Mario Kempes must be a bit pissed off, he said, with old General Whatsisname hogging the limelight. What better political platform could be hope for, for the Argentinian regime?

It was a brief moment of sanity in a media spectacular marked by its brutish indifference to what was really going on in Argentina. Those who imagined that this publicity could be used to highlight the vicious record of the Videla dictatorship were wrong.

This was not for want of trying. Two West German commentators made critical remarks about the regime during the opening ceremony — and found themselves confined to their hotel and threatened with expulsion.

French journalist Bernard-Henri Levy was arrested as soon as he arrived in Argentina. Police said to him: 'You say you are French. But Levy is a Jewish name...' He was only allowed to stay four days and had to stay at a hotel chosen by the junta. A French TV team was prevented from transmitting a report of a demonstration by relatives of those who have disappeared.

Even more successful initiatives, such as the Swedish team's support for a demonstration by relatives of the disappeared and some good comments from French players, passed almost unnoticed amid the mindless hysteria to which football commentators are prone at the best of times.

Many people feel that the Argentinian team were unworthy winners. There are question marks over many of the refereeing decisions throughout the tournament and their behaviour in the final was disgraceful.

The political tragedy and the footballing injustice are obviously linked. The built-in advantage for the home team is magnified in a right-wing dictatorship where the regime has a political interest in seeing their team win.

The nationalism which permeates all football is taken to the nth degree under a regime like Argentina's. Nationalism is their justification for torture, assassination and the deprivation of all political rights.

The scenes after Argentina's victory — presented as just quaint South American good fun — were a victory for that nationalism. Those Argentinian oppositionists who called for a victory for the home team were proved dramatically wrong.

The World Cup was a defeat for the Argentinian working class; a victory for barbarism.

HOME NEWS

Act One

The Conservative Saga

SCENE 1: An open field near Ascot. Enter Lady Thatcher, George Wardenrantz, and Robert Mosensstern. All three are disguised as witches.

GEORGE: Shall we three ever meet again,
Has my struggle been in vain?
THATCHER: When the hurly-burly's done,
When Labour's lost and we have won!
ROBERT: Methinks that will be this autumn.
GEORGE: And the place?
THATCHER: Why Downing Street, Sir. No 10, if all goes well,
But now let's move posthaste to hell.
ROBERT: There to meet our Lord Powell.
ALL: Enoch calls: — anon! —
Fair is foul and foul is fair,
Hover through fog and filthy air.

(Witches vanish)

Scene 2: Party headquarters in Ian Smith Square. A large committee room. Enter stage right: Lady Thatcher and her chief adviser, Sherman Tank.

THATCHER: O that this too, too awful situation
Would melt, thaw and resolve itself into a
victory
How weary, stale, flat and boring is the rhetoric
Of our once great party.
TANK: Heath, Heath, that blasted Heath, that damned
Heath is to blame for all this.
If the soldiers had been despatched to Saitley
Gate
We would not now be in this sorry state.
THATCHER: 'Tis not the fallen Heath that worries us,
But the Squire Callahodge,
He is crafty, wily, almost a fox
And knows every dodge.
TANK: Gracious lady, do not despair,
Callahodge will soon fall,
We'll paint him a lurid red,
'Tis a colour hated in this land
Your Sherman Tank has all in hand.
THATCHER: Here come our good lords from the battlefield.
(Enter Earl White Law, Lord Joseph, Sir Geoffrey Who?, Duke
Michael of Brilliantine, and Airey the Knave)
Welcome good gentlefolk. Welcome all.
What news from yonder house?

WHITE LAW: Good lady,
Callahodge grows yet more confident.
He no longer says 'if we win', but when
And sitting at his feet are Lords Foot and Benn.

(At the sound of the word Benn, Sherman Tank turns purple with rage, froths at the mouth and farts uncontrollably)

THATCHER: Fie on it! Oh fie!
Will no one rid me of
this turbulent government?
What weapons have we left?
WHITE LAW: Weapons! Why very few ma'am,
Our slings and arrows have gone,
Our uniforms have been stolen
Leaving us with nought to cover
Our nakedness. (He weeps)
TANK: My Lord White Law comes close to treason,
We still have our clubs,
Our foot-soldiers from the backwoods are ready
to use them
And one club in particular
Has a piercing nail,
Known to you all as the
Daily Mail.
THATCHER: We use the white club
But Callahodge answered it with an even more

Select club,
Wielded by the old peasant Hidwell from
Southall.

AIREY THE KNAVE: 'Tis then to use the orange club
It's never failed us in the past.
THATCHER: But others must be kept in reserve.
TANK: They shall madame.
The family club,
The hanging club,
The club against licentiousness and loose
women.
THATCHER: And men who wear make-up!
Gentlemen you have revived my spirits.
TANK: I know our people well,
Was once one of them myself,
Fought in the Spanish Wars
But on the wrong side,
Now I'll take them all for a ride.

(Laughter and applause)

AIREY: Madame I too did fight
Against the Nazi Tribes,
And methinks that what Callahodge
and his Labour Band
Are fighting for
Has much in common with our enemy of yore
THATCHER: The Knave has a point,
Let him say it aloud
Let it be spread all over the land
We have but few weapons left
Let us use all of them.
TANK: We shall,
We shall conjure up such visions of despair
That even Callahodge will pause to reflect,
Black faces swamping our pleasant land,
Our beleaguered Orange friends in the North,
The Red Barbarians clambering on the white cliffs of Dover
And the threat of War.
The rivers of blood shall scream out:
Enough, no more killings of babies in their mothers' wombs.
No more wantonness in our cities
No degenerate pussies corrupting our children
No more drugs on prescription.
We shall end poverty
By abolishing the dole,
That must be our manifesto,
For the god-fearing souls.

(Brimstone and thunder outside. Exit all.)

Scene 3: Bertofriendlys, an Italian banqueting house near Soho. Enter three angels disguised as Bernardo Levin, Pope Paul Johnson, and Lord Worst Thorne. They sing the finale:

ALL: Labour are Reds,

Labour are Reds,
Labour are Nazis,
Look Under Your Beds
Or you'll catch the disease.

Don't be deceived by Callahodge,
Don't be deceived by Healey,
David Owen is a sop,
And as for Rees, well really!

The man to watch is Wedgie Benn,
He hasn't lost a single spot,
And if you vote Labour,
He'll just have you shot!

We'll fight for Capital
We'll fight for Profit
We'll fight for Freedom
With Vorster and Pinochet.

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

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

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

(Delete if not applicable)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

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

OUR POLICIES 2

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

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

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

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

1 The struggle for socialism seeks to 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-communists' nor the pro-Moscow wings have any meaningful strategy for the overthrow of the capitalist state. New revolutionary socialist parties are more necessary than ever before. Conditions today are more favourable than over the preceding three decades. But such parties can only be built by rejecting sectarianism and seeing internal democracy not as a luxury but as a vital necessity. This means the right to organise factions and tendencies.

'Detailed work'

NIGEL HARRIS, member of the ANL's steering committee and of the Socialist Workers Party:

The central aim of the conference is to unify the efforts of all those who are committed to an active campaign against the NF in the short period before the General Election.

The Front is committed to offering 318 candidates, and the election could be the make or break political test for the Front.

The 80,000 people who attended the 30 April Carnival showed the potential for the campaign, but if it remains at the level of an occasional event of this kind we will not ultimately defeat the Front.

For that, we need continuing disciplined and detailed work in every locality, in each school, housing estate, street, workplace, at every football match and on every football train.

Such a campaign requires a body of committed activists of many thousands, each in their own circumstances dedicated to mobilising many more at continually confronting the arguments, fantasies and anxieties which underlie the election performance of the Front.

The campaign conference will bring together that body of activists that already exists around the ANL, as well as representatives of the anti-racist and anti-fascist committees engaged in parallel campaigns, and of local and national trade union bodies.

The task is to define clearly our individual responsibilities in the five months to October.

Although it's not a central task of the conference, it will also take important steps towards unifying the many anti-racist and anti-fascist campaigns in different localities, so that we can avoid duplication and rivalries, and maximise the effect of our propaganda and activities.

After the General Election we propose to hold a full national conference to define our long-term tasks and our internal structure. The success of the campaign in the next five months can provide us with the most powerful indication of what those tasks and structures should be.

What they say about the Anti Nazi League conference

THE ANTI Nazi League has been the fastest growing campaign that the left in Britain has seen since the days of Vietnam solidarity in the late '60s.

It was the massive success of the ANL Carnival in April which persuaded the League's steering committee that a conference was necessary.

The national conference is to be held at the

Porchester Hall, London on Saturday, 8 July. All ANL groups, anti-racist committees, and trade union organisations that have sponsored the League are urged to send delegates.

Socialist Challenge asked five leading activists what they would like the conference to achieve.

'Programme of activity'

DAVE COOK, national organiser of the Communist Party:

1. I hope that the conference will give a real boost to the £25,000 appeal to pay for the damage at the ANL headquarters.

2. That the conference will achieve a much higher level of involvement by the trade union movement in the ANL.

3. I hope the conference will lay the basis for a programme of activity throughout the summer which can have a big effect on the results in the three hundred plus constituencies that the NF says it will contest at the General Election, as well as raising the level of anti-fascist consciousness among working people.

4. That it will help clarify the sometimes confused relationship at a local level between anti-racist committees and the ANL, recognising that both have important roles to play.

5. That it will help get rid of the sectarianism that still affects some areas of anti-fascist and anti-racist work.

6. Out of the activity that I hope the conference will make possible, the basis can be laid for a really large representative conference of all sections of the labour, anti-fascist, and anti-racist movements in the autumn. That can help make the ANL more representative and democratic with deeper roots in all sections of British society.

'Extend the unity'

ERNIE ROBERTS, member of the ANL's steering committee and prospective Labour Parliamentary candidate:

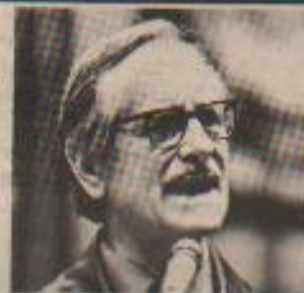
Since the formulation of the League's founding statement and the signing by many MPs and trade union leaders at the 1977 Labour Party conference as initial sponsors, the ANL has gathered wide support within the labour movement, from all political tendencies, and from many thousands of young people.

At the campaign conference on 8 July every effort should

be made to strengthen and extend this unity in the labour and trade union movements.

Any attempt to make a takeover bid by any single political party will destroy the splendid unity which has been built.

There is a need to extend the organisation of the League throughout the country. In order to involve all areas in organising the ANL activities led by the national steering committee, it is essential to have a working committee with representatives from all areas



ERNIE ROBERTS

to build united anti-Nazi, anti-racist organisation in all parts of the country.

United we shall grow in strength. Divided we shall be defeated.

'Fight racism'

A. SIVANANDAN, director of the Institute of Race Relations:

I think the Anti Nazi League has done a tremendous job in mobilising the progressive forces in this society against the re-emergence of Nazi ideology.

But if the purpose of this conference is to take stock in order to go forward, there are two points I would like to make.

Insofar as the ANL does not address itself directly and specifically to the question of racism, which is the recruiting ground of fascism, the League only succeeds in driving the fascists off the streets in to the crevices and ratholes of the inner cities in which they breed — where they then resort to vicious and violent attacks on the black community, terrorising women and children.

Hence the ANL must give priority to liaising with and supporting black groups and local communities that are fighting local issues of racism and therefore fascism.

To fight fascism — and racism only secondarily (and this is my second point) — is to allow fascism to re-emerge in the guise of Thatcherite Conservatism.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

'Support mass action'

COLIN TALBOT, member of the International Marxist Group's Central Committee:

Why has the ANL been so successful? Because it has been able to take the fight against racism and fascism beyond simply the far left, to involve tens and tens of thousands of people in anti-fascist activities.

Is that enough? No, clearly not. But it is an excellent start. For that reason the IMG is fully committed to building the ANL on a long-term basis.

We consider that the conference should map out a series of mass campaigns and activities. It should call a mass demonstration in the autumn election period and organise a conference aimed at its supporters in the trade unions and youth.

It should also step up its work on racism, involving itself in campaign activities on immigration, racist attacks, sus laws, and so on. In short, the conference has to go on record as supporting mass action to defeat racism and fascism.

To carry out this ambitious programme of events, the League should elect a fully representative national council with the authority to decide national activities between



COLIN TALBOT

conferences. This should be a broad and open body involving the fullest range of support for the League.

We are confident that with such a campaigning orientation and democratic structure the ANL can register a big step forward from this conference.

DELEGATES credentials for the conference from: Anti Nazi League, PO Box 151, London WC2H 7JQ.

EMERGENCY APPEAL!



ANL offices after fire: police found 'NF rules OK' slogan on wall

These are the offices of the Anti Nazi League after they had been deliberately set on fire. Tens of thousands of leaflets, brochures and pamphlets have been destroyed. Extensive damage has been caused to the building itself. The cost of this act of arson will run into thousands of pounds.

This is not the only incident of violence. The Anti Nazi League organiser in High Wycombe, a busman, received a parcel bomb. Threatening phone-calls to the League's organisers are commonplace. Meetings have been broken up: in one, a smoke bomb was thrown, at another three people were put in hospital after being attacked with wooden clubs. The level of racial assaults and harassment continues to rise. In East London, three black people, one a ten year old boy — have died as a result of murderous racist attacks.

This rising incidence of Nazi and racist violence is the result of one thing — a growing determination by large numbers of people to stop the growth of Britain's new Nazis — the National Front.

There was the 80,000 strong Anti Nazi Carnival in April.

Trade Unionists, school students, women's groups are organising against Nazi infiltration

■ No longer can Nazi candidates put forward their racist poison unopposed.

■ Anti racists everywhere are organising to stop the Nazi NF.

■ In the local elections in May the Nazis suffered humiliating set-backs.

■ The Anti Nazi League, together with anti racist committees up and down the country, has played its part in building up this movement.

■ Now the Nazis are becoming worried. So they are turning to arson, violence and intimidation to silence the Anti Nazi League. They dare not put forward their Nazi beliefs in public. Instead they resort to cowardly attacks by night or in the dark alley.

■ In the coming General Election the Nazis are putting up at least 350 candidates. Their racist propaganda will be everywhere. They must be opposed.

■ By burning our offices the Nazis want to close the ANL down.

■ They must not succeed. Our campaign against the Nazis needs to go on, getting bigger and stronger. To do this we need money urgently.

■ Please give now!

TO: Emergency Appeal, Anti-Nazi League
P.O. Box 151 London WC2.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED NOW

I enclose a donation for the Emergency Appeal (payable to "Anti-Nazi League")

£

Name

Phone

Address

STOP THE NAZI NATIONAL FRONT!

Anti Nazi League

School students conference 'The leadership wants to drop direct action against the NF'

THE NATIONAL Union of School Students holds its annual conference this weekend.

It comes at a time when thousands of school students have taken action on a wide range of political issues — from the Anti Nazi League, to fighting school closures, to tackling sexism.

Where does the NUSS stand, and what will it be doing in the next year to build a mass movement in the schools? Socialist Challenge asked three candidates for the union's executive for their comments.

TONY COLLINS, Humber-side NUSS organiser: Much of the political action taken by students in the past six months has by-passed the NUSS.

For example, School Kids Against the Nazis has been tremendously successful in getting students involved in anti-NF activity. But the leadership of NUSS has made no real effort to build on this.

In fact at the conference they are proposing we drop any direct action against the NF. This means dropping our no platform position.

My area is opposing this. We want to see a clear anti-racist and anti-fascist policy and we want to see full and active support for SKAN.

BARBARA, active in the anti-racist campaign in Wandsworth schools in South London, considers: The NUSS hasn't taken a lead in any of

the big problems we're facing — racism, sexism, unemployment.

And while thousands of school students join SKAN, the NUSS has set up its own anti-fascist campaign. This has no impact among young people.

School students want action on these issues. The NUSS will grow only if it's prepared to link up with organisations like SKAN, the National Abortion Campaign, and the unions. We can't avoid politics. We can be political without tying our union to any particular party.

At this weekend's conference I want to see a move towards socialist policies and a national executive which will turn the union into a fighting union. If it co-ordinated mass action on these issues, the NUSS could have a big

response. But this will mean the end of cosy relations with the head and some staff in many schools.

Students won't join a union because it's acceptable to heads. They join if they think it's capable of mobilising in defence of their rights (denied in 99 per cent of schools) against the racism and sexism which many heads are happy to tolerate.

PAUL, chairperson of the NUSS in Manchester: We're trying to organise a week of action on racism to coincide with the ANL Northern Carnival on 15 July.

If we can get kids involved in

the meetings, we can get them to the Carnival and leaflet there. An important part of what we'll be doing is taking up the problems students have experienced wearing anti-Nazi badges.

In the Moss Side by-election, the NF candidate is a teacher. Members of the National Union of Teachers have already announced their opposition to him. We will be joining forces with SKAN to leaflet against this teacher.

I'm standing in the NUSS election for the position of international secretary. This job entails liaison with the Chile Solidarity Campaign and similar groups.

I have attended meetings of the Manchester Anti-Recruitment Campaign and we decided to leaflet against the Army at the Manchester Flower Show.



'WE'LL BE BACK' was the chant that went up at a picket of new National Front headquarters in Nottingham on 19 June. Hundreds of anti-fascists from Nottingham Trades Council and the Anti Nazi League were joined by militants from Loughborough ANL and anti-racist committee.

Harassment of anti-racists has been on the increase in Loughborough — the latest incident was by several racists who entered the premises of an Asian ANL member, ripped down posters and terrorised an employee.

But the fascists have not had it all their own way. They find it difficult to hold meetings in pubs because of pressure on breweries locally, and public sales of their paper have been countered by local militants.

ANTI-RACIST IN BRIEF

Cardiff Carnival

THE AFTERMATH of the London Anti Nazi League Carnival has probably been similar all over the country. Great, now let's go and organise our own carnival!

DEREK DAVIES reports on the plans of the Cardiff Committee Against Racism for a South Wales Carnival.

The Carnival in South Wales will be against racism and fascism. Its main aim will be to get the local black community involved. If any disappointment came out of the ANL Carnival in East London it was from the lack of black support. We hope this won't be the case in Cardiff.

There has been some response from the Asian and local black community in Cardiff already. Asians are being steadily ghettoised in the slums of Riverside.

The National Front in South Wales is weak, demoralised by its failure in a recent Cardiff by-election. But the Tory County Council has tried to block the progress of the Carnival. It recently refused to allow the ANL or the Cardiff Committee Against Racism to book schools for public meetings.

The Tory-led Amenities Committee of the City Council also made a last bid at disruption when it attempted to cancel the hall booking. When faced with opposition from the Wales TUC, Labour councillors, the Commission for Racial Equality, as well as the organising committee, the Council backed down.

The Carnival will be a celebration of different cultures. A procession will march through Cardiff on 15 July, led by a steel band and a jazz band, with community, political and trade union contingents. In the afternoon there will be Sikh dancing, karate and gymnastic displays, a male voice choir, theatre groups, Welsh folk music, stalls selling ethnic food, and exhibitions tracing the rise of racism.

In the evening there will be a concert with reggae, punk, rock and funk rock bands.

CARNIVAL AGAINST Racism in Cardiff, Saturday 15 July, Assembly 11, Xam, Al Loughor Square, Bute St, Bute, Merthyr Tydfil, to Sophia Gardens Pavilion.

1pm to 1.40pm Rally with Neil Kinnoch, Labour MP, Terry A. Socialist Challenge, Musa Noor, National Union of Seamen in a personal capacity, Ben Davies, S.Wales Executive NUM. 1.40 to 5pm. Events, displays, an exhibition, games, theatre groups, music, food stalls, Sikh dancers, jazz bands, youth theatre. Evening Concert with the Cimaron, Riki and the Last Days of Earth, the Sunsets, and local heroes. Tickets £1. The Carnival Committee can be contacted at Transport House, 42 Charles St, Cardiff, S. Glamorgan. Tel. Cardiff 41996.

Newham ANL

THE FIVE hundred who began the anti-fascist march from Ilford on Saturday were joined by another five hundred by the time they reached Plashet Park in Newham reports TONY BROWNE.

The march, organised by Newham ANL and Redbridge CARF, was made up almost entirely of local people and led by a local band, the Tickets.

Several hundred saw the Broadside Mobile Workers Theatre in the park, and listened to the reggae disc.

Some 300 racist youths, many from outside the area — regarded as an NF stronghold — heckled the march. In one incident, seven of the youths set upon two dockers as they were making their way to the start of the march. One of the young Nazis promptly found himself sailing through a plate glass window.

However it was the two dockers — and not their assailants — who were arrested. One of the dockers required nine stitches after being hit with a trancheon by the police.

None of this detracts from the success of the march, and the ANL is now likely to increase its work in the area.

London Trades Council Conference

THE GREATER London Association of Trades Councils, which is to hold a conference against racism on 15 July, announces:

'This will be the Saturday after the ANL's conference and will thus be able to take into account both its decisions and the lessons learned from the CARF conference in charting the way forward for trade unionists in combatting racism.'

Delegates from trade union organisations, 50p each. Credentials from: P Masters, 43a St Albans Rd, Seven Kings, Ilford.

Colchester ANL

OVER TWO hundred people came to a public meeting in Colchester earlier this month to hear Peter Hain, the ANL's press officer, writes MIKE SLEDGE.

The meeting, against racism and fascism, was called by Colchester Trades Council. One local activist described it as the biggest left meeting in the town since the General Strike.

After hearing the experiences of Ipswich and Harwich anti-racists, the meeting decided to set up a Colchester branch of the ANL, pledged to anti-racist and anti-fascist activity.

It will aim to involve a wide cross-section of the community in its work.

Huddersfield ANL

RACISTS have been busy in Dewsbury, near Huddersfield.

Two Asian shops were daubed with NF slogans on Friday night, and the windows of Staincliffe school, where a third of the students are Asian, were virtually obliterated with slogans.

Batley advice centre, which is also the HQ of Dewsbury ANL, received the same treatment. The League is considering a demonstration to counter these activities.

Fifty League supporters attended a meeting in Huddersfield on Saturday to elect delegates for the ANL national conference on 8 July.

Plymouth ANL

The Plymouth branch of the Anti Nazi League has been launched after weeks of threats, bans, NF thuggery and hampering by 'moderate anti-racists', writes ED VULLIAMY.

Local ANL organisers faced last-minute cancellations of inaugural meetings planned in April and May after the Devon County education authorities and the Quaker Swarthmore Foundation backed down to threats of fascist violence, and refused the League use of their premises.

The ANL was banned from all educational buildings, although Devon's chief education officer, Mr Joss Owen, is a sponsor of the 'moderate' Devon and Cornwall Association for Racial Equality.

Days after the ban, a local ANL organiser was attacked by NF members in a busy shopping centre — watched by shoppers and police who did not intervene.

But Plymouth Sutton Labour Party called the fascists' bluff and offered their hall to the ANL, despite subsequent threats to their families from members of the Front.

The meeting went ahead peacefully in the packed and guarded hall. The new branch collected affiliations from trade unions, the Liberal, Labour and Communist Parties, IMG, SWP and anarchists.

The NF claim 80 members in Plymouth, some of whom are in the Police and Royal Marines, they state. Earlier this year, local NF organiser Gordon Cummins was expelled from the Front for giving information to a newspaper about the undercover activities of fascists leaking secrets from inside the navy and compiling files on Social Security claimants.

Portsmouth ANL

OVER 250 people took part in the Portsmouth ANL march on Saturday despite attempts by the local Tory council to ban it from meeting in a city park.

Permission was refused for Victoria Park to be used for a rally with speakers and a rock group at the beginning of the march. The leader of the council said the ANL was made up of 'extremists' and the fight against fascism was 'superfluous'.

Marchers did meet in the park and a meeting was held before the demonstration set off, led by a Rock Against Racism group. About 5,000 leaflets were distributed. The demo was, on paper, supported by Portsmouth Trades Council and contingents came from Southampton and Brighton.

'THE SOCIALIST CHALLENGE TO IMMIGRATION CONTROLS'

The how, why, what, and wherefore of immigration controls — all in a pamphlet just out for only 10p. Place a bulk order! From:

The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1. Tel: 01-226 0571.

AGAINST THE NAZIS

STEEL PULSE BUZZCOCKS CHINA STREET

SATURDAY JULY 15 RALLY AT 12 NOON

STRANGWAYS, BURY NEW RD MANCHESTER

MARCH TO ALEXANDRA PARK

SPONSORED BY NORTH WEST REGION TUC

Vacances Rouge

WHY NOT have a Vacances Rouges or a Red Holiday? It will be fun, sun and politics in the Basque Country in Northern Spain this summer.

Throughout July and August, the French Revolutionary Communist League and the Spanish Revolutionary Communist Youth are organising a series of 10-day holidays. Young members, sympathisers or those interested in the politics of the Fourth International are welcome.

150 young revolutionaries at a time, from all over Europe, will be exchanging experiences,

debating, sun-bathing, enjoying music, sport and cultural events.

Sixty places at the Vacances Rouges have been reserved for supporters of Socialist Challenge who are under the age of 25.

The cost? £45 excluding transport. But this can be much lower if the places are filled. There are reductions for school students.

For further details write to 'Vacances Rouges', c/o Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1.

HOME NEWS

Raids against left continue

Terrorism from the 'anti-terrorists'

A NEWS story called 'Armed Police Raid Swansea Militants' appeared in the 15 June issue of 'Socialist Challenge'.

The grouping 'Persons Unknown' argue that more lies behind the raid than we reported. They explain.

Four people including Iris Mills, Ronan Bennett (arrested 24 May), Dafydd Ladd (arrested 2 June), and Stewart Carr (arrested 15 June) are being held in Brixton Prison. They are charged with 'conspiracy to cause explosions with persons known and unknown'.

The Anti-Terrorist Squad also hopes to pin charges of armed robbery on two of the accused. The general line of police investigations was put in court by Detective Superintendent Peter Bradbury of the Anti-Terrorist Squad: 'We are looking for a group of

idealistic persons who would take positive steps to overthrow society'.

RAIDS

Since the arrests there have been more than ten raids in London — as well as those in Swansea, Sheffield, Huddersfield and possibly elsewhere. Anarchists have been the main target, but other sections of the left have also been affected.

There has been no evidence of any left-wing political bombings in Britain for more than two years. These arrests and the raids that have

followed them point to one thing and one thing only: Mills, Bennett, Ladd and Carr have been fitted up by the State in order to mount a general offensive against the anarchist and socialist left.

This comes at a time when the Anti-Terrorist Squad is desperately trying to justify its existence, following its recent reduction to 30 persons in a Scotland Yard reorganisation, and a week of awkward questions in the House about the composition and role of the political police.

ISOLATED

The four arrested have been deliberately isolated and intimidated, their lawyers and visitors denied basic rights. In the case of Iris Mills:

*She is the first woman to be held in this men's prison since the Price sisters in 1975. She is in solitary confinement and denied association with other prisoners. In addition she has to exercise in full view of male prisoners.

*Not only is this mind-bending, it is insulting and degrading.

*When she is visited, a table is placed between her and her visitor. No physical contact is allowed. Two screws hover about the conversation, listening to every word.

*She is strip-searched before and after each visit.

Our demands concerning Iris are clear: that she be given bail; failing this, that she be moved to Holloway and granted association with other

prisoners.

In the meantime we demand that Ronan, Dafydd and Stewart be allowed to visit Iris for social interaction as well as purposes of defence, and that Ronan Bennett be allowed to visit her on the common law husband/wife basis.

PRIORITY

This must be our first priority because of the effects of prolonged solitary confinement on a prisoner: incoherence, disorientation, lack of identity. The effect of such treatment on a person in the dock would be disastrous for the 'trial' and an attack on her politics: anarchist — cretin.

More generally the support group demands: All those

arrested must be freed! Get rid of all conspiracy laws! Investigate the activities of the Anti-Terrorist Squad and their 'Suppression of Terrorism' Laws!

IRISH

We recognise that the raids we have just begun to experience are part of everyday life for Irish people in Britain. The British left on the whole has done little to show solidarity and launch a general offensive against such repressive legislation as the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Now we are being harassed in the same way as Irish people. We appeal to all groups concerned with prisoners' rights and with opposing such laws to help in this campaign so as to launch a general offensive against State Terrorism.

SOLIDARITY

*Public Meeting: 7 July, 'Free Iris Mills, Ronan Bennett, Dafydd Ladd and Stewart Carr', Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, 8pm.

*Demonstrate: 15 July — Edgware Tube, 2pm.

*Benefit: 15 July, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

Socialist Unity campaigning in Manchester...



THE Anti Nazi League's Northern Carnival will be held in Moss Side just two days after polling day in the by-election that has been called for 13 July. That's why Socialist Unity along with the Manchester Socialist Workers Party will be concentrating their energies on running a campaign to build the Carnival.

BOB PENNINGTON reports.

Plans are already underway to organise meetings outside schools at lunch-time, and local new wave and reggae rock

bands will be asked to play at the meetings.

A National Front candidate, Herbert Andrews, who teaches in the area will get a reception from local anti-fascists not only in the streets in Moss Side but also the campaign against his racist ideas will hit him when he goes back to school after polling day.

LEAFLETS

Every single day militants from the Anti Nazi League, Socialist Unity and the SWP will be leafletting pubs, shopping precincts and factories, calling for mass support for the Carnival and urging the rout of the racist scum.

This will be in contrast with the Labour campaign which will no doubt make pious

noises, but will maintain a discreet silence about the racist policies of the Labour Government and its support for immigration controls.

Nor will the torch of political prisoners in Ireland be allowed to be buried in the interests of unity at the polls. A demonstration has been planned in support of Irish political prisoners who are 'on the blanket'. This will probably be held outside one of Labour's election meetings.

ABORTION

The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child has raised its ugly head. Leaflets and posters have appeared in Moss Side against abortion. One prominent Labour Party

member has threatened to mobilise the Catholic vote against the Labour Party if the candidate dares to openly support a woman's right to choose.

ORGANISE

Militants don't intend that Labour will be allowed to renege on the decisions of its own conference and condemn working class women to the butchery of back street abortion because it is thought to be politically 'expedient'.

There won't be candidates from the revolutionary left. But its presence will be very much evident. Revolutionaries will use the election to help organise the fightback and prepare the way for standing candidates in any autumn general election.

...and Glasgow

IF SCHOOL students could vote, Socialist Unity would have its first councillor in Glasgow's Crosshill/Prospecthill ward.

This was the reaction of Socialist Unity workers after a week of hectic campaigning in the final days before Glasgow's council by-election on 29 June.

After Socialist Unity supporters had given out School Kids Against the Nazis leaflets in five schools in Glasgow's southside, the Socialist Unity election office became a centre for school students.



CHRIS BAMBERY

Out Movement's latest film 'Home Soldier Home' at St Bridger's Primary School, Tollymore.

As well as school kids the bulk of the 65 strong audience were housewives, thereby disproving the myth that Irish solidarity work must be based on hard drinking males.

Socialist Unity's by-election candidate, Chris Bambery, addressed the audience before the film started. Arguing for British withdrawal from Ireland, Bambery pointed out Socialist Unity was the only participant in the election that took up the question of Ireland.

SPUC

A small group of supporters of the anti-abortion outfit the 'Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child' tried to disrupt the meeting. But they found no support for their views and for their accusation

that because Bambery supported a woman's right to choose on abortion that he was a 'child murderer'.

SPUCites were also active last Saturday afternoon when the National Abortion Campaign, supported by Socialist Unity, petitioned the local out-patients abortion clinic, with an exhibition showing methods of back-street abortion.

POLICE

One non-European NAC supporter was told by a SPUCite to 'get back to your own country'.

The police came to the assistance of SPUC when they ordered an 'offending' section of the display to be hidden. NAC was forced to comply. This kind of censorship is not new. Women fighting to control their bodies facing such harassment should join with other NAC groups and labour movement bodies to fight back.

ISA vote for left unity

THE CONFERENCE organised by the International Socialist Alliance (former members of the Socialist Workers Party) attracted some 70 delegates on 17-18 June. Its importance lies in the fact that they voted almost unanimously (with only one vote against) to campaign for a unified revolutionary organisation with the International Marxist Group and Big Flame.

Delegates also endorsed the decisions of the Steering Committee to participate on the Editorial Board of 'Socialist Challenge'.

On Saturday the conference discussed the political and economic situation in Britain. It divided into workshops on racism, feminist politics, and trade unions where the discussion was both freer and extremely productive. A resolution presented by Stephen Marks and Richard Kuper was overwhelmingly adopted.

The resolution outlines policies — in addition to 'Our Common Ground' — as the basis for a campaign for a unified revolutionary organisation.



STEPHEN MARKS

It commits the steering committee to organise a further conference after the general election 'to draw up a balance sheet of the campaign and either found a united organisation, or to set out a time-table

for moving towards it'. Socialist Voice will continue to appear as a popular broadly-based journal of socialist news and analysis, although its exact form will be part of a further discussion.

Observers with speaking rights were present from the Socialist Workers Party (Colin Sparks); International Marxist Group (Tariq Ali, Brian Grogan and Dodie Weppler) and Big Flame (Peter Anderson, John Hillier).

Colin Sparks appealed to the



RICHARD KUPER

ISA conference to have a dialogue with the SWP, and not to ignore the largest far-left group in the country. He pointed to the successes of the ANI as a sign of the fact that, despite errors, the SWP's political instincts had not deserted it.

In response, Steve Marks pointed out that the ISA was very interested in a dialogue. He examined how numerous approaches from Socialist Unity had been ignored, as had been appeals in Socialist Challenge.

A dialogue, Marks stressed, could not be exclusive or one-sided. It should include the IMG and Big Flame, and equally important, independent revolutionaries who agree with the need for unity.

The test of a new organisation will come in the months that follow these decisions. All delegates stressed the necessity of joint work on every front to test out the ground before an organisation was launched.

OPEN FORUM

Letting the bureaucrats off the hook

THE RANK AND FILE organisation held its first conference in 1974. Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, it promised to be one of the most serious oppositions to the policies of the Labour Government. Today its influence is at an all time low. RAY BURNS argues that the comrades of the SWP should rediscuss their whole notion of rank and file, and join the fight for broad based fighting left wings in the unions.

ONE MONTH after the return of the Labour Government in 1974, the first conference of the Rank and File Organising Committee in Birmingham attracted delegates from 300 trade union bodies, including a significant representation from the industrial working class.

DISARRAY

We were entering a situation in which thousands of votes would be cast for revolutionary policies and candidates in the trade unions, accompanied by a big increase in the size of the whole revolutionary left. In contrast, the Communist Party was to find its industrial strategy in disarray and its membership declining at a rapid rate.

The stage was thus set for Rank and File to start to dislodge the Communist Party from its positions of power and influence in the trade union movement. This would have signalled the end of the CP's traditional position as the only real left alternative to the Labour Party.

But instead we have seen a growing decline of the Rank and File movement.

The SWP leadership and its members have certainly devoted plenty of energy to building it. But the election of

the Labour Government and the consequent downturn in mass industrial struggles, coupled with the political misconceptions of the SWP, proved to be a disastrous combination for the new born organisation.

The decline of the Rank and File movement should not be cause for pleasure on the far left. An important opportunity has been lost to draw hundreds of working class militants closer to revolutionary politics.

Nevertheless the facts must be squarely faced. In the white collar unions, where Rank and File had won leading positions on the basis of a strong implantation among the membership, the decline is most marked.

SPONSORED

In the industrial unions, Rank and File has never really got off the ground as an alternative to the Broad Left. This unfortunately applies to all projects sponsored by the revolutionary left in this area.

Many good militants have left the Rank and File affiliated organisations in disgust, protesting against the organisational domination of these bodies by the Socialist Workers Party.

But the issue of control and democracy in these bodies did not come out of the blue.

The Rank and File organisations had developed in the struggles against the Tory Government. When a Labour Government launched savage attacks on working class living standards in the summer of 1975, 'rank and file' could not deal with the new situation.

Rank and fileism bases itself quite correctly on the class collaborationist role of the trade union bureaucracy, and upon the need for building a movement independent of the bureaucracy.

PROMOTING

But, by definition, rank and fileism understands this question of independence primarily in organisational terms — a movement of the rank and file. Hence its primary stress is on promoting unofficial channels through which militants can communicate, supposedly outside the control of their leaders.

It does this at the expense of seeking to break the rank and file from the bureaucracy through a fight to force the trade union leaders into united action.

The Rank and File policy misunderstands the way in which the bureaucracy maintains its hold. Its control is based on more than bureaucratic manoeuvres and suppression of union democracy, vital though these are in protecting its privileges.

REFORMIST

What has been decisive in holding back the working class in the face of the crisis and the attacks of the Labour Government has been the bureaucracy's reformist politics.

This question has been brought to the fore in a dramatic fashion by the successes of James Callaghan. For a broad layer of militants has been convinced — at least until the next election — that the only alternative to Labour

austerity is a Tory onslaught against the working class.

It is the lack of any other credible political alternative which explains the triumph of Callaghan. Of course it has been made possible by the role of Scanlon, Jones, Bassett, etc. But the mechanisms which made the latter's class-collaborationism acceptable was the Labourism of the militant sections of Britain's organised working class.

Alternative solutions which merely restrict themselves to demanding more wages and more militant methods to achieve the same are totally insufficient. Thus the SWP's central demand during the recent strike by the Fire Brigades Union was for flying pickets!

This not only grossly overestimated the combativity of other sections of workers, but also gravely underestimated the necessity of orienting to the 17 dissident members of the TUC General Council who voted to support the FBU strike. Such an orientation would have won socialists a hearing amongst the broader sections of rank-and-file workers.

NO APOLOGY

Furthermore, the question of what demands we raise is posed with greater urgency than ever before. And we make no apologies for introducing the word 'transitional' here.

The function of transitional demands is to effect the difficult passage from economic to political struggles against the state. Is this less relevant today than before?

One need only look at the massive redundancies being planned and carried out today to answer that question in the negative.

Why was there no factory occupation at Speke in Liverpool? Because the bureaucrats betrayed? Or was there something more: the lack of any other alternative.

Thus workers control demands are more necessary than ever before. The powers of surveillance and veto over all employers' decisions without accepting any responsibility for running a capitalist enterprise need to be stressed and understood.



RANK AND FILE

Many of these powers could today be utilised by trade unions, but generalising workers control would mean extending veto powers till they covered the entire life of the enterprise and began to pose other and broader questions.

The latter would involve the question of economic planning and nationalisations. The point is that this would be seen as flowing out of a struggle rather than as the slogan at the end of an article in a left paper.

The problem is that those who have tried to raise such questions in Rank and File organisations, or have disagreed with their direction in other ways, have soon found themselves excluded from the leading bodies and democratic discussion suppressed.

The SWP defends practices of this sort in the name of building the party. But a party cannot be built by imposing its line.

FRONTIST

In building the left in the unions, there are genuine questions to be debated. A party can only be built insofar as it is able to show in practice that it has answers — and good ones.

The SWP has partially acknowledged this. In a recent statement, it said that the 'frontist image' of the Rank and File organisations needs weakening.

But to build a party, it is not sufficient to 'weaken a frontist image' — the frontist reality must be buried and genuinely democratic and independent organisation encouraged.

This weekend's trade union conference called by Socialist Challenge will be discussing the task of rebuilding the left in the

unions. It is no coincidence that a paper which has campaigned so forcefully for a new unified revolutionary organisation should be calling such a conference.

We believe that the tasks of building the revolutionary party and of building a class struggle opposition are intimately related. We don't believe that Rank and File can of itself be transformed into a new left wing in the unions.

POSTURING

We think that such a left wing will be built through forces at present in the Broad Left, in Rank and File, and outside both. It must be a united left wing, democratically organised and fighting for class struggle policies.

Socialist Challenge isn't about to launch such an organisation. To attempt to do so would be to repeat the worst mistakes of the SWP's posturing that 'we are the left'.

But we are going to be discussing how to fight for such a new left wing. We say to Rank and File members:

- * Recognise that Rank and File is not the rank and file or the left in the unions. Build a united left wing, fight to involve the Broad Left.

- * Make Rank and File democratic, with the right of representation of all minorities on all bodies of the organisation.

- * Put forward adequate policies to fight the union leadership on all the key issues of the day.

- * Organise broad-based support committees with workers in struggle; unite with all forces on this. Demand the official movement and leaders support this.

AGENDA

- 10.30-11.00 Registration
- 11.00-11.10 Opening remarks by Tariq Ali
- 11.10- 1.30 Rebuilding the left in the unions.
- 1.30- 3.00 Lunch (including meetings of supporters from different sectors/unions.
- 3.00- 4.30 Fighting racism.
- 4.30- 4.45 Voting
- 4.45- 5.00 Summary.

How to get there

HUDDERSFIELD: 7.30am St. Georges Square (opposite Station). Phone 42099 for tickets.

CARDIFF: 8.20am from front of Students' Union, Park Place. Phone 394755 for further information.

MANCHESTER: St. Peters Square, 8.30am. Cost £2 Contact Socialist Challenge centre 061-236 2352.

SWANSEA: Contact Glyn Jones, Swansea 460473.

GLASGOW: Star Social Club, 44 Carlton Place, at 11pm on Friday night. £5 return. Phone 041-221 7481.

BRISTOL: 8am Christadel-

phian Hall, Stokes Croft, Bristol. Contact Mike 0272 556554.

BATH: 8.20am Laura Place, Bath. Contact Mike 0272 556554.

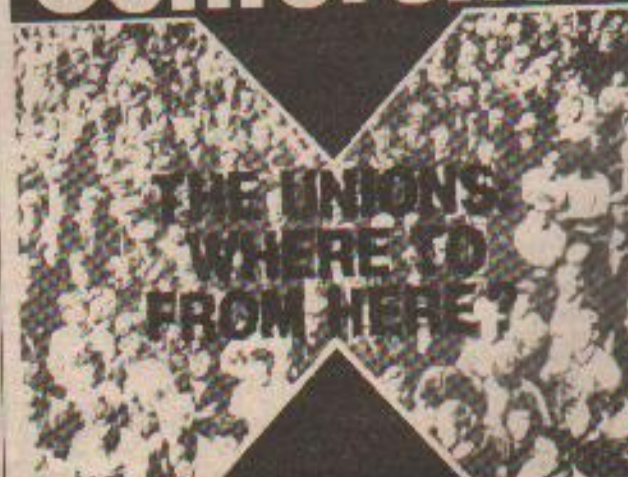
LIVERPOOL: Pierhead, 7.30am. Contact SC sellers or SC c/o 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool.

LONDON: Coaches leave London Bami. Cost £2.50 return from SCTU Conference, PO Box 50, London N1. Cheques payable to Socialist Education Fund.

LEEDS: 6.45am University Steps, Woodhouse Lane. Phone 780625.

BRADFORD: 7.00am Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate. Phone 305927.

Socialist Challenge Trade Union Conference



Saturday, 1 July, 10.30am
Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham

fightback 3p
The SPECIAL
NHS 30th anniversary

celebrate with resistance
TORCHLIGHT VIGILS outside threatened hospitals
eve July 4th 9pm onwards

Defend London's Hospitals Conference July 1st

FIGHTBACK, dealing with the Health Service, is one example of militants organising to counter the Government's anti-working class policies. Born out of the Hounslow Hospital occupation, Fightback is broad-based and democratic, open to all those prepared to organise together to blunt the axe on health.

The 30th anniversary of the NHS will be the occasion of united resistance. On Saturday, 1 July, a conference to Defend London's Hospitals will be held at Porchester Hall, Queensway, London W2, from 1pm to 5pm. It is called by the EGA shop stewards committee.

On Tuesday, 4 July, there will be evening torchlight vigils outside London's threatened hospitals, commencing at 9pm. Copies of Fightback, c/o Hounslow Hospital Occupation, Staines Road, Harrow, Mdxs. Tel 01-570 4448. Next week in Socialist Challenge: the grim story of the National Health Service.

HOME NEWS

Sanderson strikers The Northern Grunwick

STRIKERS at Sanderson's forklift factory in Skegness have been out for 13 months. It began when shop steward Phil Gillat was sacked and the strike — over union recognition for 43 workers — has been dubbed the 'northern Grunwick'.

What's it like to be on strike so long? What lessons have been learned? And why is shop steward Phil Gillat coming to the Socialist Challenge Trade Union Conference on 1 July?

Last week the shop steward discussed these points with KEITH RUSSELL and PETE MIDDLETON.

The first surprise about the Sandersons strike was that it started at all. 'When we first came out', explains Phil Gillat, 'everyone was amazed.'

'They didn't believe we could do it. Then, for the first two months we stood on the picket line and waited for the power of the trade union movement and Transport and General Workers' Union to show itself.'

That power was slow in coming, but then the strike began to attract publicity in the left press. Says Gillat: 'With the publicity we were on the crest of a wave. It was terrific.'

ISOLATED

'Then it died. It died because we weren't getting round the country enough, and because we were geographically isolated. But we have carried on and we have had some fantastic support.'

Certainly the strike has had

its effect. The factory that used to produce 15 tractors a week is now down to one a fortnight, but, says Gillat, 'The most important thing at the moment is that Ford workers in Basildon are "blacking" Sandersons' parts.'

OFFICIALS

'That's great but it's difficult for the shop stewards to maintain because their own management are making noises about lay-offs if the "blacking isn't lifted".'

The strike has given Gillat the opportunity to observe union officials and the rank and file.

'The full time officials are restricted by their position and the policies of the union. They don't think in terms of how do we win this strike.'

'You also have to understand the problems facing the rank and file. Those who have

supported us have been effected a great deal by Grunwick. A lot of people are saying, we didn't crack it at Grunwick and Sandersons will be ten times harder.'

COMPLICATED

'The problems are more complicated than just seeing it as full time officials equal "bad" and rank-and-file equals "good". In some areas the Transport Workers' Union have been nothing short of fantastic, and in other areas there's been problems of the backwardness of some of the rank and file.'

'So what I've learned is that we've got to get organised in the trade union movement so we can pull together all the union activists.'

Phil feels that an obstacle to such a perspective are the divisions on the left.

DIVISIONS

'There's a lot of potential but as long as divisions exist the left groups will remain a series of factions and we won't have a left capable of challenging the strength of the right.'

'There was a meeting in Scunthorpe. I gave our case and you proposed a united action committee to build support for us.'

'What happened? Bloody



On the picket line at Sanderson's

chaos! Other people got up and said, "We're not working with them." I ask you, if we don't get it together on basics then what the hell are we doing?

DISASTROUS

'This inter-left struggle is disastrous. It defeats you, and it defeats me because I can't get collective help from you.'

But Phil Gillat is coming to the Socialist Challenge Trade Union Conference.

'I want to share our experiences. We have learned such a lot in the last year or so. We must pass it on to other trade unionists and it will be good to hear activists discussing some of the major problems we all face.'

WINNING

But at the moment the main problems the Sanderson's strikers face is winning their dispute. For how you can help them do it, contact: Phil Gillat, 27 Lady Matilda's Drive, Winthorpe, Skegness, Lincs.

35 HOUR WEEK Post Office takes on engineers

THE Post Office — with the backing of the Labour Government — is cracking down on the campaign of industrial action by 125,000 post office engineers for a 35-hour week. STEVE POTTER reports.

Callaghan has quite different ideas to those of the engineers. He is trying to negotiate with the TUC for a 38-hour week with no loss of production.

The seven year old claim by the Post Office Engineering Union is the subject of a special enquiry set up by the Government under Lord McCarthy. It is unlikely to report until the Government tries to get a deal with the TUC on the 38-hour week.

The Government proposals would not in any way deal with unemployment. The 'no loss of productivity' clause would mean speed-up and no guaranteed increase in the hourly rates necessary to make sure there is no loss of pay.

The Department of Employment has calculated that a 38-hour week would provide an extra 200,000 jobs. This is probably an underestimate, but a 35-hour week would achieve a more than proportionate increase in jobs given the number of workers on a 37-1/2 hour week: local government workers, miners, and so on.

The whole working class has no interest in a 38-hour week on the Government's terms.

And a fight must be organised to make sure the TUC doesn't buckle in to the Government's proposals.

The POEU campaign escalated at the union's recent conference when delegates voted for a massive campaign of industrial action in response to the new technological innovations in the telecommunication industry. These could displace with five-sixths of the total telecommunication workforce in the Post Office.

The effectiveness of their action has been proved by the ready response of the Post Office. Last week, 11 members of the union in Dundee and two in Edinburgh were sent home for carrying out the union instructions.

A total overtime ban in Scotland has been imposed by the National Executive Committee of the POEU, under big pressure from its membership for action. Things won't stop there.

The action is hitting hard and everything points to a showdown between the Post Office management and the engineers. The POEU campaign is the only one which is fighting for a 35-hour week by taking industrial action.

Militants who support the fight for the shorter working week, with no loss of pay and no productivity strings, should approach local POEU branches to plan support and common action.

This is the best way to make sure the TUC doesn't cut short the fight against mass unemployment by accepting Callaghan's proposals.

Garners conference In the doldrums too long

'I BELIEVE in democracy,' declared Transport Union official Les Shorter at the Garners' strike conference last Thursday.

'I can't take up a cudgel and demand a 10p levy from my members,' he explained.

Brother Shorter had difficulty making himself heard at the conference, attended by 150 labour movement delegates.

There was fierce hostility to the failure of the TGWU leadership to build support for the strike at Garners Steak Houses in Central London, now in its 22nd week.

Habib Rahman, chairperson of the strike, urged the union to institute a voluntary levy on all members of its No 1 Region.

LIMIT

Les Shorter did not deny accusations from the floor that he had agreed with the police to limit pickets to six. 'I don't think the strike can be won by confrontation with the police and mass pickets,' he announced.

Yet it has been the police who have consistently harassed the pickets, with ten arrests for 'obstruction' and 'threatening behaviour'.

ENTHUSIASTIC

There was an enthusiastic response to a suggestion from Chris Wright, an APEX official, for a mass picket to be held in Oxford Street on a



Voting at the Garners' conference last Thursday

Saturday to disrupt the traders' busiest day.

Boycotting Garners' supplies was another activity for which TGWU officials have shown little enthusiasm, although the union is strongly organised in the Smithfield and Covent Garden markets.

It was an executive member of the Civil Servants union CPSA who informed the con-

ference of the kind of initiative that's now badly needed. CPSA members in job centres have been instructed not to handle any job applications from Garners.

'Our victory will give a great boost to the unorganised catering industry, and will stamp out slave labour,' said Habib Rahman.

'I can't believe that the trade union movement hasn't got the power to win such a struggle against a tin pot employer,' added Alvaro Miranda from the chair.

'The strike has been left in the doldrums for too long.' All the more reason to join the pickets. See 'What's Left' for details.

IN BRIEF

Loughborough

THE INAUGURAL meeting of Loughborough National Abortion Campaign last week came after the local SPUC sent a wreath to local MP Dr John Cronin.

Cronin had voted against the Braine Bill, another attempt to further restrict women's abortion rights.

But women are fighting back. The NAC meeting discussed campaigning for an outpatient day-care abortion clinic in Leicestershire.

It is a county where only 18 per cent of legal abortions are done on the NHS, and where the chief gynaecologist is a founding member of SPUC.

Oxford nurseries

OXFORD NUPE is to ballot its members on strike action over the cuts after energetic campaigning by the local nursery campaign to keep the 30 places at South Oxford nursery.

The 'class in exile' ended last week. They were evicted from their occupation of the nursery in April.

But there was a tied vote on the education committee over whether to restore the cut nursery places.

Now the campaign is looking at how the local labour movement can open the council's books and reveal the lies behind the cutbacks.

SEXUAL POLITICS

'OUT OF THE CLOSETS... AND INTO THE STREETS'

GAY PRIDE week 1978 takes place from 30 June to 9 July. Gay people in this country and internationally will demonstrate for gay rights and proclaim that gay sexuality is not something perverse to be hidden away, but that on the contrary, 'Gay is Good'.

On these pages, we look at some aspects of the gay struggle now, and why the fight for gay rights goes hand in hand with that for 'gay pride'.

GAY PRIDE week is celebrated at this time of year to commemorate what has become known as the Stonewall Rebellion, writes **JAMIE GOUGH**.

In Greenwich Village, New York on 28 June 1969, cops raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar. But this time the gay men and women who were arrested fought back.

Many of the men had been harassed for being conspicuous and 'effeminate', and that was what forced them to begin the fight back. A crowd gathered determined to free those arrested.

Only the arrival of reinforcements rescued the cops who were trapped in their van. The next night hundreds of angry gay people gathered on the streets outside the bar and taunted the cops. Later in the week there was a huge demonstration for gay rights, calling for an end to harassment.

Stonewall was the rebirth of the gay movement internationally. Nine years later, a large part of our work is concerned with fighting the direct attacks of the State, the bosses, and the right. The Gay Pride march in London on 8 July will focus particularly on the enormous intensification in police harassment of gays.

But as the name Gay Pride implies, the fight for gay liberation involves more than defence against attacks; it also means organising to give collective support to individual gay people, to help people come out as gay, and overcome the self-hatred that is imposed on us.

These 'social' aspects of gay liberation are sometimes seen as secondary to the 'political' fight against ruling class attacks. In fact, the two things are inseparable.

The establishment and defence of democratic rights — which in the end can only be guaranteed by a workers' state — is obviously a minimum need for social liberation. But there would not be a struggle for elementary rights unless some gays have the personal support necessary to come out as gay and fight their victimisation.

And without 'gay pride', gay people will accept their lack of rights.

The aims and content of the 'social' activities of the gay movement depends on our political situation. It is therefore vital for socialists and the labour movement to support and, where necessary, defend gay counselling services, centres, and switchboards.

This support is now more necessary than at any time since 1969.

The crisis has given rise to a sharp increase in attacks by the right throughout the capitalist world, and a consequent strengthening of every aspect of our oppression as gays. The basic aim of these attacks is the strengthening of masculine and femi-

nine sex roles, and thus of the family. In Britain, the policies of the Labour Government have laid the basis for an overall drift to the right, which is evident in the attacks on gays no less than those on blacks.

The Government has directly reinforced this trend by, for instance, refusing to allow time for the Bill liberalising the age of consent for gay men in Scotland; by its uncritical championing of Whitehouse's Child Porn Bill; and, most seriously, by Callaghan's disgusting campaign for a strengthening of the family.

Non-gay people are asked to support the demonstration on 8 July by marching behind gay banners. In this way non-gay people can not only support the fight for the elementary political rights of gays, but also experience and solidarise with the daily social oppression of lesbians and gay men.

Fri 30 June: Midsummer Ball, Lambeth Town Hall, 8pm-12pm. Adm. £1 (£70p wageless). Gay Sweatshop Women 'What the Hell is She Doin' g Here?', Action Space Drill Hall, 16 Chancery St., WC1. 7.30pm. Adm. £1. Also Sat and Sun.

Sat 1 July: GAA National Day of Action against WH Smith, 1-4pm; Concert by Peter Kahn at Wigmore Hall, Wigmore St., 7.30pm. Adm from £1.50 from Wigmore Hall; One-Off Theatre Company in 'Men' at Theatre Space, 29 King St., London WC2. 8pm. £1. Also every evening to 8 July.

Sun 2 July: Picnic for disabled gay men and women, 2pm, St James' Park; Coming Out at Work, discussion at Oval House Arts Centre, 55 Kensington Oval, SE11.

Mon 3 July: Jam Today, women's rock band, Oval House, 8pm, £1.50.

Tues 4 July: Disco, University College, Gordon St., WC1. 8pm-12am, £1 (£70p wageless); Lesbians and Rape workshop, Action Space, 7.30pm; Gays and Fascism workshop, Oval House, 7.30pm, GAA.

Wed 5 July: Gay Teachers' group at Oval House, 7.30pm.

Thurs 6 July: Gay Pride, origins, relevance today and to early GLF, video, Gay Left Collective, Action Space, 7.30pm.

Fri 7 July: Liberties Gay Pride Disco, Hanover Grand, Hanover St., W1; Workshop for disabled lesbians, Oval House, 7pm; Gays and Socialism workshop, Action Space, 7.30pm.

CARNIVAL Saturday 8 July

Assembly noon outside Sloane Sq Tube

Sat 8 July: Gay Pride Week Licentious Dance, Camden Centre, £1 for 1st 8pm-midnight, Adm. £1 (£70p wageless).

Sun 9 July: GAA National Conference 11am-6pm; An evening of poetry and music at the Star, London Rd, West Croydon.

More up to date information from Gay Switchboard 01-857 7324.

Moral purge

GAYS in London are bearing the brunt of a stepped-up campaign of harassment from police, and the well-established gay community in the Earl's Court area of London has been weakened.

But gays will not be forced back into the closets. This year's Gay Pride Week demonstration demands an end to police harassment, and will march through Earl's Court. **NIGEL YOUNG** reports.

In Earl's Court, The Masquerade and The Catacombs, two gay clubs, were forced to close following continuous police raids. Coleherne Pub, in the same area, has had an almost nightly police presence for the last two years. Many gay men have been arrested in the area; plain clothes police roam the streets, pick up men and then arrest them. A gay bookshop has been forced to close and another shop in the area is frequently raided.

Police harassment is not just a feature of being gay in London. All over the country there seems to be a major offensive against gays. They have been prosecuted for holding hands or kissing in public and been sent to prison for relationships with men between the ages of 18 and 21.

WITCH-HUNTS

In Bradford and Cornwall there have been massive police witch-hunts. In Chief Constable Anderton's Manchester the police were considering prosecuting a club under an Act against licentious dancing. This hasn't been used in this country since the 19th century.

Again in Anderton's Lancashire, arrests for 'indecent behaviour' in public lavatories have gone up by nearly 200 per cent. The police climb on roofs, spy through holes, look under doors or spend hours watching from cars.

More and more gays are refusing to plead guilty to charges of obstruction,



importuning or gross indecency. And as police evidence is questioned, the extent of police harassment becomes obvious. The Gay Activists' Alliance is monitoring police activity around the pubs in Earl's Court, and will be marching with the Gay Pride demo through Earl's Court on 8 July.

In Manchester too the GAA has begun to organise against Anderton's moral purge. He is picketed wherever he speaks in public.

It is vital that all cases of harassment and discrimination are not just fought by gays on their own behalf. The police must be forced to account for their actions to all groups in society. The vagueness of the law in defending our rights, which allows the police so much room for manoeuvre, must be changed.

Coming out

SINCE THE rise of the Tom Robinson Band, 'Glad to be Gay' has almost become a household refrain. It's still the case, though, that many socialists have not given much thought to the question of gay politics.

As Gay Pride week approaches again, it seems a good time to give the matter some consideration, argues **THERESA CONWAY**.

At a first glance — looking at glossy magazines for instance — it seems that ideas about heterosexual sex are changing. But once you begin to reflect a bit it isn't at all straightforward.

The idea that sex can be pleasurable 'even' for women is gaining some currency; but still many women never have orgasms. Furthermore, sexually active women have always existed, but they are usually labelled 'whores', and contrasted with passive women who have dignity and innocence attributed to virgins. Both these stereotypes exist to please men, and not much has changed!

Infidelity is still more acceptable for men. And sexuality is still generally reduced to penetration; very satisfying for men, but far from enough for women's sexual enjoyment.

CHALLENGE

The threat posed by gay people deeply challenges bourgeois ideology. Contraception and abortion are being used more, but heterosexual relationships are, in the long term, based on reproduction. This validates male



TOM ROBINSON BAND at the Gay News demonstration.

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)



Rubyfruit Jungle A scarlet 'L' on my forehead

'MOLLY BOLT ... an all-American, true-blue gay and proud of it!' announces Rubyfruit Jungle's back cover. 'A novel about being different and loving it!' said the sickeningly coy Capital Radio advert.

Worse still, the front cover features two long blonde haired women embracing in the centre of a blooming white flower. Rubyfruit, you gulp, what have they done to you? SARAH ROELOFS reviews this widely discussed novel.

Published for the first time in this country last March by Corgi, Rubyfruit Jungle was launched into the newly discovered highly lucrative 'feminist' market. Corgi say that to their surprise the book has sold extremely well. They were a little worried about its 'taboo subject' at first. Happily it's now selling better than an average popular paperback, with a 'good continuing sale'.

Originally published in the United States in 1973, it became a 'lesbian cult novel'. Imported into this country by the alternative London bookshop Compendium, the Women's Liberation Movement loved and treasured it. No feminist bookshelf is really complete without it. Now it's hit the big time: the mass market.

Carrie's husband has syphilis and she is unable to have children by him. She adopts Molly. 'I thought you would make me happy... Course you didn't turn out like I expected.' Infuriated by Molly's unfeminine and clever behaviour Carrie tells her she is illegitimate. Worried but unrepentant Molly reflects 'I really don't care. I got myself born, that's what counts. I'm here.'

Molly, independent, strong, cynical — a survivor. Molly, who on second reading is just a bit too crude, too strong, too good to be true. Molly who never compromises, never sells out and somehow always keeps on fighting. Molly, an archetypal hero in a story book adventure.

When making love to women Molly thinks of their genitals as a rubyfruit jungle, thick and rich and full of hidden treasures. With such a positive description of themselves, when women are trained in self-hate, it is no wonder that Rubyfruit Jungle has become a by-word among feminists. For the book has given us a hero, strong and brave and free no less, when all we have is the women-hating media image, or at best fatalistic novels of tragic lesbians.

It has given us a woman who fought and won while we are painfully slogging away at liberating ourselves. Now we have Molly who hits back every rotten shot fired at her: 'Do you think you're queer?' a best friend asks. Molly replies 'Oh great, you too. So now I wear this label 'Queer' emblazoned across my chest. Or I could always carve a scarlet 'L' on my forehead... I don't know what I am — polymorphous and perverse. Shut... I'm me. That's all I am and all I want to be.'

Rubyfruit Jungle gives us laughter, exhilaration and a feeling that we can win too. Daughter of Earth is more faithful to the real horror of women's lives, but too many of those books and we can start wondering is it worth it?

We need stories like Rubyfruit to keep us going; if we don't laugh sometimes we'll be crying all the time. Rita Mae Brown knew what she was doing and her phrasology is cool: 'I go walking down the street and the men look at me like a walking sperm receptacle.' Read it.

Rubyfruit Jungle by Rita Mae Brown published by Corgi at 85p. Available from The Other Bookshop, 228 Upper St., London N1. Add 10p for p&p.



By women, for women

LESBIAN LINE is a national phone service for women operated entirely by women, offering help, advice and information. We do not see ourselves as experts. We are a group of women of a wide range of ages, backgrounds, and experience that we would like to share with other women.

Lesbian line provides an opportunity for sharing information, making links between different groups already in existence, helping isolated lesbians and bisexual women, and encouraging the formation of a wider network.

Society prefers to close its eyes to the existence of lesbians. But this apparent indifference is not to be confused with acceptance. There is a general misconception, both inside and outside the gay movement, that because lesbians are not overtly discriminated against in law (unlike male homosexuals), lesbian oppression is less severe and our struggle secondary to that of our gay brothers.

As well as open prejudice against lesbians, there is no support available to most women considering a lesbian relationship. Instead they are told to work at their relationships with men.

POSITIVE

We offer a positive view of lesbianism to all women who contact us and communicate to them a sense of confidence.

We all work voluntarily for Lesbian Line. It is a non-profit making organisation, financially dependent on donations and fundraising, so financial help is extremely welcome. Both administration and phone duties are shared equally.

We also hold small social gatherings to enable women to talk and get to know other lesbians. At present we are open for any woman who wants to ring us on Mondays and Fridays between 2-10 pm, and Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays 7-10 pm. Letters can be sent to us c/o BM 1514, London WC1V 6XX, telephone: 01-794 2942.



female relations in the eyes of society.

Such 'validation' doesn't exist for sex between two men or two women — it can only be for pleasure. A woman living on her own bringing up a child is seen as unfortunate and the object of pity. But two women living together as lesbians and choosing to bring up children are seen as a real scandal!

WHITEHOUSE

Changing ideas about sexuality are far from universally accepted. The growth of organisations like the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child and the Festival of Light, and the success of Mary Whitehouse's campaign against Gay News and for the Child Pornography Bill, shows how the right is gaining ground on these issues.

All the social movements that have developed in the States and Western Europe since 1968 have been quick to see the importance of ideology. They have recognised that self oppression is one form of social control: if you think you deserve to suffer, then you're not likely to fight your oppressor.

In this way 'Gay is Good' comes from the same source as 'Sisterhood is Powerful' or 'Black is Beautiful'. All reflect a new found positive identity of oppressed people who are no longer prepared to see themselves as 'queer', 'weak' or 'alien'.

But for gay people there is an added factor. Sexual orientation is not a 'fact' like skin colour or biological sex. Gays have to discover their gayness — not an easy task given the persuasive weight of heterosexual 'norms'. There are people who have first 'admitted' they are gay in their sixties — and that's in today's 'liberal' climate.

If gay people are to fight our oppression we have to recognise ourselves and each other. In that sense saying you are gay, and glad about it, is a political statement for all lesbians and gay men.

Fighting Isolation

'QUEER, bent and a sod'. 'I am the Eva Peron of Ilford'. Two snippets from recent phonecalls to Icebreakers.

The first is the more typical, abuse is common, PAUL NEESOM, who works for Icebreakers, writes.

Sometimes we listen and try to go beyond it, to explore the motivations that made them phone. It can often be a cloak for genuine anxiety. Sometimes we reply in kind.

Knowing how to reply is based partly on instinct and partly on experience. I'm sure we make mistakes.

We do not pretend to be experts. We are not councillors advising people on their problems. We are a collective of gay men offering our experience to others who are facing isolation and fear.

Many of our callers — nearly all of whom are men — seem surprised not to be told that they are ill, perverted or criminal. They are often amazed that we don't tell them to accept second best or to put up with being ignored just because they are gay.

We try to encourage a sense of anger at the oppression of gays.

Fighting the isolation facing gays is the most crucial step. Winning support for the wider political struggle for gay liberation is more difficult.

Success is hard to measure. But the need for a positive approach to being gay is shown by the 5,000 calls we receive each year. Gay Switchboard receives 200 calls a week.

So who phones? And how can we help? All ages and from all parts of the country, including transsexuals and paedophiles, whose sexuality is put down in the vilest ways. We concern ourselves with practicalities not legal niceties, otherwise we could accomplish nothing.

We can help in giving encouragement and support in coming out. We don't see any need to call in psychiatrists, social workers or other professional 'help'; though other similar services do.

This is not because of the different kind of callers that they receive. It is that they have a different understanding of gay oppression; not seeing that the problems are structured into society and need to be challenged.

Ring Icebreakers any time from 7.30pm to 10.30pm on 01-274 9590. Or Gay Switchboard 24 hours a day on 01-837 7324.



IRELAND

Yellow card publication reveals How British troops break their own rules...

THE decision of 'Socialist Challenge' to break the ban on publishing the 'Yellow Card' was taken in the light of the killing last week in Belfast of three members of the IRA and a passer-by in a joint British Army/RUC ambush.

GEOFF BELL reports on the killings and on how they broke the Army's own rules.

Sections of the instructions in the 'Yellow Card' are often quoted at inquests of Army victims in the North of Ireland. This is because if the instructions are not followed then the soldiers who defy them can, in theory, be prosecuted. Although this rarely happens the Army likes to be seen to be obeying its own rules.

This is why the Army and/or the RUC issue statements after the type of incident which resulted in the death of IRA volunteers William John Mailey, Denis Brown and James Mulvenna and passer-by William Hanna last Wednesday night.

The first Army/RUC statement said: 'At approximately five minutes past midnight a group of men were seen by soldiers to be carrying bombs at a fence at Ballysillan GPO

depot. The men were challenged and there was an exchange of gunfire.

'Four men were shot dead. One of these is believed to be a passer-by caught in the exchange.'

The *Daily Telegraph* of 22 June elaborated on the details of this version of the incident. The *Telegraph* often publishes Army statements as though they are facts, while not attributing the statements to the Army.

It is safe to assume that the *Telegraph's* report was based on an Army briefing. It said: 'As the terrorists' car drew up by the flats at the back of the depot three men got out carrying bombs. Immediately troops, police and it is suspected SAS men, emerged from behind hedges and called on them to halt.

'The IRA men fired about four shots at the security forces and then ran off in different directions. One fled with a bomb towards playing fields but was shot dead.

'Two others dashed up a four-foot-wide lane which runs between the side of the depot and a fenced hedge. It was there that the innocent victim of the ambush, Mr Hanna was killed as security forces opened fire on the IRA men.

Note in passing that this report virtually admits that Hanna was killed by the Army. But the point of this version is that it states the IRA volunteers got out of their car, were challenged, fired on the ambushers and then were shot.

But as more details of the incidents emerged a major problem arose with this

version. No guns were found on the scene. This is particularly important with respect to the Yellow Card. Given the small size of the bomb and the time of night there was no way the soldiers could have known it was a bomb.

Accordingly only if the IRA volunteers had guns would the Army have been justified in firing at them. So how to explain that no guns were found?

The answer came in a later police statement supplied to the *Guardian*: 'The police said there was no record of anyone seeing the bombers getting out of the vehicle before the shooting.'

This would explain how the guns disappeared: they were fired in the car and a fourth person then drove off in the vehicle. But this second statement was at complete variance with the earlier one which said the ambush victims had left the car before they were

shot. Given these blatant contradictions there is good reason to accept the accuracy of the IRA version of the events. According to them the volunteers were unarmed, surrounded and outnumbered. They surrendered and then, 'Having effectively captured the men, they were summarily shot in an orgy of British Army and RUC concentrated fire. By their own admission the Brits have said that over 200 rounds of ammunition were fired.'

Certainly it is true that the Army admitted firing over 200 rounds. In this respect it is interesting to note rule 3b of the Yellow Card: 'Do not fire more rounds than are absolutely necessary to achieve your aim.'

WOUNDING

In light of the killing of the by-stander the final sentence in rule 5 of the Yellow Card should also be mentioned: 'Because automatic fire scatters, it is not to be used where persons not using firearms are in, or may be close to, the line of fire.'

Also worth looking at is the wounding of a fifth man who was shot shortly after the ambush while driving a car. The Army now admit this man

was not associated with the attempted bombing, but say that he crashed through an Army checkpoint.

This is denied by the man and by on-lookers. But even if the highly dubious statement is true then in terms of the Yellow Card this does not justify shooting the driver.

Rule 20 states: 'At a road block/check you will not fire on a vehicle simply because it refuses to stop. If a vehicle does not halt...note its description, make, registration number and direction of travel.'

INNOCENT

Thus even by their own versions of the events last Wednesday night the Army/RUC broke their own rules three times — by firing more rounds than were necessary, by firing while an innocent person was in the line of fire, and by firing at the car.

But the breaking of these rules is not reported because publication of the rules themselves are banned.

As to the deaths of the three IRA volunteers it is impossible to be precise on exactly how the Army/RUC broke their own rules, because they keep changing their minds about what happened.

...as they have done many times before

LAST WEEK's ambush was not the first time the British army has violated the rules contained in the Yellow Card.

But it is only because the card itself has now been published that the precise details of past Army violations can be seen.

These violations include:
★ August 1974. Patrick McElhone, shot dead by British troops in a field adjoining his farm in County Tyrone.

Even the Army never suggested that McElhone had connections with 'terrorists'. His 'crime' was that he napped and ran when a soldier called him to halt.

At no time was it argued that McElhone had a gun, a bomb,

or was about to endanger life. According to the Yellow Card, there was no excuse to fire on him.

Indeed McElhone's killer was later brought to court. He was found not guilty.

★ September 1975. Leo Norney, shot dead by soldiers of the Black Watch. The soldiers claimed at the time that Norney was carrying a gun and that he was given the statutory Yellow Card warning.

Despite the attempted cover-up the Army was finally to admit in April 1977 that Norney was a 'totally innocent party'. Leo's mother was awarded a paltry £3,000 compensation. No soldier was even prosecuted for this breach of the Yellow Card instructions.

★ April 1976. Peter Cleary, shot dead by the Army in Forkhill, South Armagh.

Eyewitnesses stated that the Republican Cleary was arrested in his house, beaten up, taken to a field and shot.

The Army said that Cleary was killed 'attempting to escape'.

The Army did not state Cleary was armed or that he had a bomb. Accordingly, even if the Army is telling the truth about the death, under the Yellow Card there was no justification for shooting Cleary.

★ August 1976. Remember the Peace People? This now discredited and all but defunct movement began when a member of the IRA was killed after refusing to stop a car he was driving at a road block.

When the driver was shot the car veered out of control and ran into three children and their mother. They too died.

According to the instructions on the Yellow Card the

Army had no right to shoot at the car driver in the first place. The Card explicitly states that failure to stop at a road block is no reason to open fire.

★ February 1978. Paul Duffy, shot dead by the Army in Killygonland, East Tyrone. Paul was a member of the IRA and was shot by members of the SAS who waited outside a barn for him.

The victim's companion said that when he and Paul emerged from the barn they raised their hands in surrender, but that Duffy was shot. The Army's excuse was that the dead man was 'handling bombs'.

But even if true, under the Yellow Card this is insufficient reason for opening fire. The instructions state that soldiers are only to shoot at a bomber when a bomb is about to explode.

This did not apply in Duffy's case.



WHAT'S LEFT

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

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

EAST LONDON: Socialist Unity benefit, Fri 7 July 8pm-1am. Charge and Disco and Bar. Adm £1.

THE OTHER BOOKSHOP is celebrating its first Birthday with a party at City University. Playing will be the Residents and Charge plus a disco and bar. Fri 30 June at 8pm. City University, St. John's St. Adm £1. Tickets at door.

CARP — Campaign Against Racism and Fascism — No 8 out now! Articles on racist attacks, Tory proposals, immigration law, Child benefit, the National Front activities, conspiracy theory. Chief Constable Anderson, campaign reports etc. Available from most progressive bookshops price 15p per ARAFCC Box 35, 182 Upper St, London N1 (10p plus p&p) Sub £2. Bulk orders if cash with order 2/5p discount (plus p&p).

HELP Socialist Challenge by giving your jumble to the Hackney Supporters Group. If you want your jumble collected, ring Dodo on 359-5150; or bring it into the paper's offices within the next fortnight.

THE OTHER BOOKSHOP needs a full-time ledger clerk to take over responsibility for its accounting. Wages are £40 per week plus travel. Applicants must be prepared to work their share of Saturdays. Positive discrimination applied. Further details from Sarah, Sheila or Alan on 01-226 0671.

SOCIALIST musicians/vocalists interested in forming a group in London Tel 01-693 6796.

PICKET BARNERS: Main pickets every day, noon to 3pm and 5.30 to 11 pm at 399 Oxford St., London W1 (opp. Belgrave Rd); 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 84, 12-13 Henrietta St., London WC2, 01-240 1056.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION badges, red on white available from J Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Cost: 15p each plus 7p p&p, or 11p each for orders of 10 or more.

'FIGHT RACISM' badges and T-shirts (badges black on white, shirts black on red) available for all anti-racists. Show where you stand during the long hot summer. Order yours now. Badges, 15p each plus 7p p&p, or 11p each for orders of 10 or more. T-shirts, £2 each plus 15p p&p. From J. Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

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

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST Papers No 3. Theoretical journal of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency. 'The Recession, Capitalist Offensive and the Working Class'. This issue examines the unfolding of the crisis in Britain during the past decade. It analyses reformism and explains why the working class has accepted the Social Contract. This assessment of recent struggles of the working class contains important lessons for the movement. Available from BM RCT (4) London WC1V 6XX. Price 50p plus 15p postage. Cheques and Postal Orders payable to RCT Association.

DAY CONFERENCE on Socialism and the Environment on Sat 1 July. There will be workshops on transport, energy, work and useful work, and local economic strategies. Waterloo Action Centre, Baylis Rd, London SE1 from 11am to 5pm. Creche and food. Organised by SERA, 9 Poland St W1.

EXTREMELY INTERESTING position as Audio Secretary with lively socialist firm of solicitors in Kilburn. Hours 9.30-5.30 4 weeks holiday. Starting salary £3,302 p.a. Review in July. Holidays honoured. Legal experience not necessary. Phone Anna on 01-328 6855.

TRADE UNION Conference on Abortion. Important planning meeting at 7.30pm on 4 July at 30 Camden Rd, London NW1 to decide on format of conference. Further details on 01-485 4303.

EAST LONDON Socialist Unity benefit pop, Fri 7 July 8pm to 1pm. Live band 'Charge', bar, disco £1 (50p wageless) St Hilda's East, Club Row, 10th Bethnal Green Rd London E2.

BRIXTON Socialist Unity — half day conference. Socialist Unity — more than just an electoral front? 1pm to 5pm, St Matthews Meeting Place, Brixton Hill, London SW2. Sat 1 July.

HACKNEY'S Socialist Challenge Jumble Sale, Centreprise, Kingsland High Rd, Dalston. Sat 8 July starts at 11am 5p entrance.

OFFICIAL SECRETS Benefit Pop for Peace News/Letter on Fri 7 July with the Knives, and the Durrill Column. 8pm. New West Indian Sports and Social Club, Westwood, Westwood St, Moss Side, Manchester. Bring your imagination!

EALING Borough Against Racism and Fascism. Sat 15 July. Speakers include Southall IWA, ANL, Southall Youth Movement, CP, IMG. At Ealing Town Hall, Uxbridge Rd, London. Delegates 60p and observers — who are welcome — 15p. Details and credentials from: IWA, 18 Featherstone Rd, Southall, Middx.

FOURTH PERSON wanted for house in Liverpool. Own room. Ring: 051-733 783.

LONDON Revolutionary Communist Group Public Meeting. Racism, Imperialism and the Working Class. Speakers: Patrick Newman and Judith Harrison. Mon 3 July. 7.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC2.

REVOLUTIONARY Perspectives in Southern Africa. 7 July at 7pm. Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd, London. Speakers: I.B. Tabata, President and founding member of the Unity Movement of South Africa, and Leonard M. Nkomo, Exec member Unity Movement of South Africa.

PUBLIC MEETING — End Silence on the fate of Irish Prisoners of War. Speakers from Prisoners Aid Committee. Wed 6 July. 7.30pm St Agatha's Church Hall, Stratford Rd, Birmingham. Organised by Birmingham UOM.

MIDLANDS conference on Ireland. Next planning meeting Sat 1 July. Committee Room 5, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. 11-1pm. Pooled fare. All Midland supporters of conference are urged to attend.

INSTITUTE of Race Relations meeting. From Immigration Control to Repatriation. Mr A Sivanandan will introduce the discussion. Tues 18 July at 8.30pm.

WHY PAUL FOOT SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST

The Case against the Socialist Workers' Party

'A clearly, sometimes amusingly written contribution to the debate on "socialism and how to get there". Time Out.

A Communist Workers' Movement publication that blows the lid off the SWP and outlines the Marxist-Leninist alternative £1.20

All good bookshops. Or order from October Books, 4b Temple Court, Liverpool 2. (p&p 20p).

Socialist Challenge needs a Designer

A comrade is needed immediately to work full-time on 'Socialist Challenge' and to do additional design work for FI Libo. Previous experience in any design or printing processes is desirable, but training will be given.

Full details of conditions will be given on application. Apply with full curriculum vitae to the Manager, FI Litho Ltd., 328/9 Upper Street, London N1. (Positive discrimination will be applied).

INTERNATIONAL

Interview with Hugo Blanco

'Tanks are the main electors'

THE PERUVIAN election results have shaken the military regime to its roots. In the first elections since 1963 the parties of the workers' movement have won a third of the vote — a dramatic improvement on any previous showing.

The revolutionaries of FOCEP have taken between 10 and 13 per cent making them the third largest party. To add to the capitalists' troubles the majority party, APRA, is split between the right (which will have a majority of seats) and a populist left wing.

The left's advances are part of the upsurge around the general strike at the end of May. FOCEP has made it clear that it will rely on that mass struggle and not parliamentary reforms.

It has plans for a mass workers' and peasants' convention. One of the first tasks of that convention may be to force the military to allow the Constituent Assembly to meet.

It looks as though exiled deputies will not be allowed to return, and the regime may decide to ignore the election results altogether.

In this interview FOCEP leader HUGO BLANCO gives his preliminary assessment of the results. He was talking to the French Trotskyist daily 'Rouge', en route to exile in Sweden.

What do you think of the significance of the first partial results of the Constituent Assembly elections?

Above all, I want to talk about the restrictions placed on these elections.

First, illiterates did not have the right to vote, which excluded some of the most conscious sectors of Peruvian society, like the Indian peasants who do not speak the colonial language of Spanish.

Thus, those who have carried out agrarian reform, increased production and bettered their standard of living are treated as sub-human.

Then soldiers did not have the right to vote, in a country where the military junta rules the country 'in the name of the armed forces'...

Finally, to have the right to present slates in the elections you had to collect 40,000 signatures — a very high figure.

You should know that the authorities did everything to impede their collection by the organisations which identified with the workers' movement.

They continually stopped comrades who were collecting signatures in the street and stole the lists they had already got.

To top it all, ten days before the closure of nominations they refused FOCEP half its signatures, that is 20,000. The comrades, with great persist-

ency, got another 20,000 in a few days...

What were the central features of the FOCEP electoral campaign?

Within FOCEP my organisation, the PST, stressed the fact that the crisis that Peru is going through at the moment is a

crisis of the rotten capitalist system, and that a new political, social and economic structure is needed in this country.

This is why we elaborated a general draft of a constitution which included nationalisation without compensation of all industrial enterprises, the cancellation of the foreign



HUGO BLANCO arrives in Paris from Argentina.

debt, and a programme of works, decided by the popular masses — workers, peasants and neighbourhood residents — to resolve the questions of unemployment and development at the same time.

Of course, we explained that all these measures could only be carried out by a workers' and popular government which could only be based upon committees of workers, peasants and neighbourhoods.

We even added that the members of this government could only earn the same as a worker and that they should be recallable at any time...

The armed forces should be constituted on the basis of the defence committees of workers, peasants, and so on. This draft constitution was our battle horse in this campaign. Moreover, we never stopped

FOCEP: (10-12 per cent) Workers'-Peasants'-Students'-People's Front. Made up of four Trotskyist groups: Marxist Revolutionary Workers Party (POMR), Socialist Workers Party (PST), Revolutionary Left Front (FIR-POC) and the Socialist Struggle group. The first is tied to the Internationalist Communist Organisation in France. The others support the Fourth International. FOCEP also involves many class struggle groups within the trade unions. UDP: (2-3 per cent) Popular Democratic Union. Made up mainly of Maoist groups, but also involving some supporters of the Fourth International. PSR: (6 per cent) Revolutionary Socialist Party. Despite its name the PSR claims to represent the politics of the 'leftist' military regime of the late 1960s.

explaining that these elections were an electoral farce and that there should be no illusions in their purpose.

In this country tanks are the main electors, even if they are illiterate and can't even speak Spanish.

How did the FOCEP campaign function?

The recent history, and even the



'The land belongs to those who work it.' — peasant demonstration in Peru.

not so recent, of the country shows that the gains of the workers can only be maintained through their organisation in struggle.

So each FOCEP committee had to be organised within this perspective. For example, in one neighbourhood it organised the struggle for drinking water, electricity, and transport.

A FOCEP support committee in a factory would mobilise the workers for the general strike, for specific demands at the plant level, and for the rehiring of the sacked workers (there were 5000 after the general strike of 19 July 1977).

That's why we consider our vote as a vote for socialism, for the organisation and mobilisation of the masses for struggle, as a vote against the electoral fraud.

Why did the far left put up two electoral fronts and not just one?

For our part we were ready to go into the UDP coalition from the start, but the Maoist comrades who had hegemony in the UDP made a precondition of acceptance of their governmental formula: 'a revolutionary popular government' which, as we saw it, was nothing but the concretisation of the Maoist concept of the bloc of four classes.

In cases where we weren't able to collect the necessary 40,000 signatures we called for a critical vote for the UDP.

FOCEP had three central planks in its platform: independence of the class, struggle against the government, and promotion of popular struggles.

On top of that, each organisation participating in FOCEP could develop its own programme, which seems to us a correct conception of running an electoral campaign.

In our opinion the comrades of the UDP leadership looked a little too closely towards what they called the progressive bourgeoisie and they saw the PSR as a governmental alternative. When I said that, I was treated like a splitter...

When General Leonidas Rodriguez came back from exile for the electoral campaign he was on television one time just before me.

He insisted that the PSR would defend small and medium property and absolutely did not want to divide the armed forces.

I could only explain, when my turn came to speak, that these soldiers of the first period of the military junta after 1968, who today present themselves as progressive, didn't hesitate to open fire on people as soon as things got tough...

African solidarity

Internationalism lacking

THE Soweto uprising of 1976 was not only a heroic moment in the struggle of the South African people against apartheid, writes JON HYSLOP. It also posed a threat to the British ruling class and its economic interest in South Africa.

So it was a poor reflection on the internationalism of the British left that the recent second anniversary demonstration called by the African Students Union could attract only a couple of hundred people.

But what was worse was that the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) failed to mobilise even token support, despite the fact that its National Committee had overwhelmingly voted to sponsor the demonstration.

No member of the AAM leadership attended. Only one AAM group turned up — on its own initiative.

AAM's publicity for the march consisted of one line in the internal members' mailing.

The AAM had initially refused to back the ASU's call for a demo, as it was planning its own rally. The mobilising committee for the demo changed the date and time of the march to fit in with the rally, so that people could attend both.

The AAM National Committee decided on this basis to support the demo. But the executive did nothing to carry out the National Committee's decision.

It seems that there are two types of NC decision: those passed on the initiative of the executive (which can be built) and those passed on the initiative of those of whom the executive disapproves (which can be ignored).

A campaign cannot be united and effective unless it is democratic, and prepared to accept ideas from all sections of its membership.

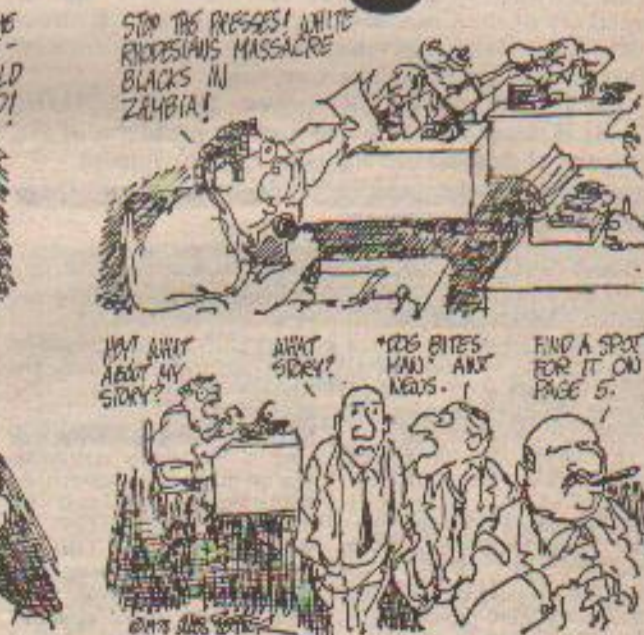
The executive shows hostility to many groups of



activists in the solidarity movement — in this case the three main organisations backing the demonstration: the Socialist Workers Party,

International Marxist Group, and ASU.

The AAM has support from labour movement dignitaries and other celebrities and there



is a fear that involvement with the far left will prejudice these relations. This backing is useful — but only as a step to organising action.

The AAM must not see its ties with such people as more important than with those who are prepared to fight here and now.

Gulag in the French CP

THE leadership of the French Communist Party (PCF) has pledged that it will not use the traditional weapon of expulsions to resolve the present crisis inside the party.

But its domination of the apparatus gives it plenty of opportunities nevertheless to suppress discussion and intimidate critics. Opponents of the leadership from the Union of Communist Students (UEC) in Bordeaux were even physically attacked at the recent festival organised by the PCF's youth paper, 'Avant-garde'.

These methods were highlighted in an article which appeared in last week's issue of the French magazine 'Le Nouvel Observateur'. Below we reprint the bulk of this article, written by SERGE LEWISCH (a member of the UEC in Paris) and YVES ROUCAUTE (a PCF member from Arcueil).

...FOR the leadership, it was not the lack of political perspective which gave birth to the crisis of the PCF, nor the refusal to open discussion forums in the Communist press — it was the ill feeling of a few 'intellectuals'...

INSULTS

It was already apparent in the report by Georges Marchais to the Central Committee: imprecations and insults blossomed there for no obvious reason ('petty-bourgeois anarchists', 'intellectuals seated behind their desks'), alongside disconcerting replies to questions refuted all the more easily in that they were made up out of nothing and attributed always to anonymous comrades.

Thus he held up for the scorn of the militants 'those who want to write on

everything, no matter what', those 'who want factions and tendencies', those who claim that the masses 'can organise themselves spontaneously', those who 'attack the full-time officials' and, still more dishonestly, those who 'have chosen' to express themselves outside the party. As if they had had any choice!

STYLISTIC

The way thus mapped out, there was nothing more to do but pursue it. Our national Pravda — as certain militants say bitterly among themselves — has since spent its time in whipping up the atmosphere. L'Humanité increases its stylistic amalgams: Althusser = Elleinstein = Garaudy = the Socialist Party = Giscardism.

Threats follow on: the presence of Elleinstein and

Althusser at certain debates becomes 'unacceptable'. The worst slanders are aired: 'The comrades who write outside the party are bought by the bourgeoisie' (as one councillor in the Paris suburbs could say).

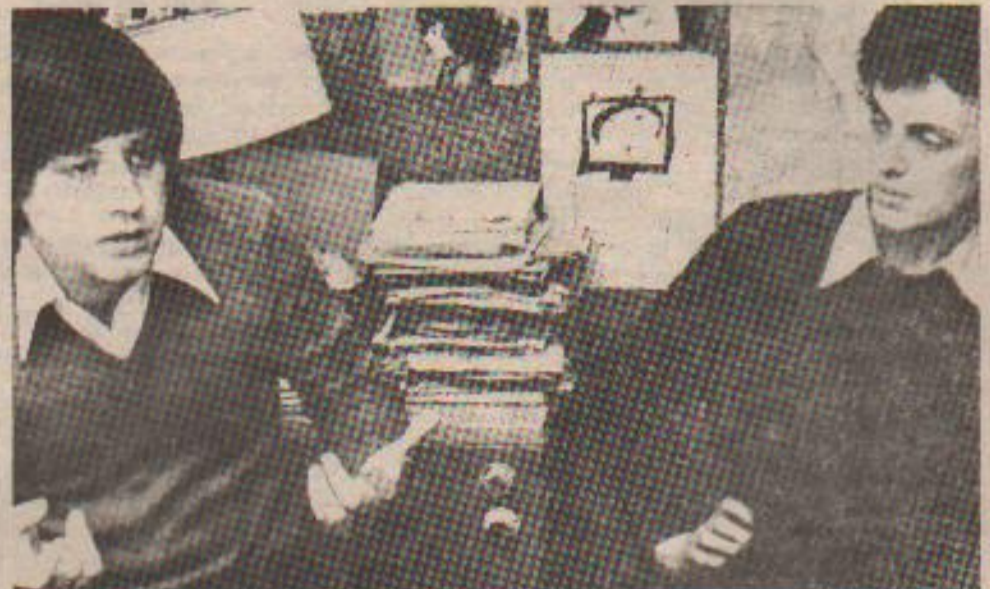
With the assistance of L'Humanité and certain men from the apparatus, everything is happening as if the leading faction hoped to reach the point where it would become impossible to pose political questions.

CONDEMNATION

To do this, it has just taken a further step in bolstering its practices: it is mounting trials, political trials. In dozens of section committees and in hundreds of cells, 'they' are putting to the vote today a condemnation of the letter of the 'three hundred', regarded as a factional undertaking which challenges the party and its political line.

The system is simple: in general, the text is drawn up by a member of the Central Committee or by a federal leader. It is then put to the vote at the levels below. When the result is positive, there is nothing more to do but let it wing its way to L'Humanité.

And all this happens without those who condemn ever having had any knowledge of the form and content of what they agree to condemn, without knowing the reasons which led their comrades to compose and publish texts outside the party; still worse, without the accused being able



YVES ROUCAUTE (left) and SERGE LEWISCHE: 'We must cease having a blind confidence in our leaderships'.

to defend themselves in the paper read by Communists.

At the time of Stalin also, Communist parties ensured the condemnation of certain of their members who described for abroad, even for their comrades, the real conditions of life and of struggle in their country.

The accused were condemned on the strength of abbreviated declarations by the unanimous leaderships of the Communist parties. This is still happening today with the Czechoslovak signatories of 'Charter 77', whose defence has, however, been taken up by the PCF.

All Communists should recall and ponder on what that means. We must cease having a blind confidence, military or religious, in our leaderships. It must be replaced by a critical confidence.

It is time to assess for ourselves what is meant by the criticisms addressed to the leaderships of the 'socialist' countries.

That is why all Communists who agree today to sign these scandalous condemnations are, in our view, accomplices of the Gulag. For the Gulag is not simply the extermination of all those who utter criticisms outside the party and inside it,

it is also a state of mind and the methods which lead to it.

The Gulag, as extermination camp, is only the end result of a certain practice, of a Stalinist practice. It is a practice of isolation which has driven certain comrades who had devoted their life to an idea — a classless society and freedom — to anguish and despair.

It is a practice of amalgam, lies, even violence, as is shown by the blows struck against the Bordeaux comrades by the Gironde federation officials, at the Avant-garde festival.

When one tolerates, covers up for that, then yes, the Gulag is not so far off.

Interview with Vladimir Derer

The long road to East European solidarity

WHEN VLADIMIR DERER arrived in Britain in 1939 as a political refugee from the Nazis he cannot have imagined that he would still be here nearly 40 years later.

He had been a member of an opposition group inside the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and prudently decided not to return home when the CP seized power. The trials of the 1950s saw the bulk of his old comrades imprisoned or executed by the regime.

In Britain he joined the Labour Party and is secretary of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy. He is also convenor of the recently formed Eastern Europe Solidarity Campaign.

RICHARD CARVER talked to VLADIMIR DERER about the campaign and the problems of the defence of democratic rights in Eastern Europe.

How did the Eastern Europe Solidarity Campaign start and what are its aims?

Discussions about forming a united socialist campaign in solidarity with people suffering oppression in Eastern Europe started seriously last year.

A number of the groups participating had different ideas of what the platform of the campaign should be. The main difference was whether all victims of repression should be defended or whether there should be an element of discrimination.

Some people argued that groups that seek to propagate ideas which might eventually lead to the restoration of capitalism should not be

supported.

The Labour Party members, IMG, SWP and some Communist Party members took the position that all victims of repression should be defended and this was the position that was eventually adopted.

One of the main arguments against the position adopted by the campaign is that by defending all victims of repression you play into the hands of the right wing who seek to overthrow the post-capitalist social relations in Eastern Europe. How would you answer that?

I should say first that the campaign does not have a position on the class character



of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states.

Personally I take the view that irrespective of the characterisation of those states it is impossible for socialists to exert any effective political influence in Eastern Europe without taking part in all manifestations of opposition to the regimes.

If we fail to do this, the field is open to people who may seek to restore capitalist social relations. In this sense people who argue that discrimination

must be the basis for solidarity are helping those elements who are trying to achieve the objective that they claim they wish to avoid.

In Britain the association of layers of the British labour movement with the Eastern European regimes has been close.

It's the Thatcherite argument and the claims of Soviet propaganda taken at their face value: the more repressive features of the Soviet system are seen as the embodiment of

socialism. Very few people in the West want this.

It is therefore important for the labour movement here that it should absolutely disassociate itself from the negative features of the political system in the USSR.

That's obviously one aspect: the presentation of an alternative model of socialism. But the dominant tendencies inside the British Labour movement have been the Communist Party and a labour bureaucracy which has been traditionally pro-Soviet internationally. When the issue is Chile, say, or South Africa it's easy in a routine way to push a resolution through your labour movement branch. It's a bit different when you're talking about Eastern Europe.

It's a question of patient explanation of oppression of individuals or social groups.

The official attitude within the trade unions and the higher echelons of the Labour Party can only be influenced by pressure from below.

There is a definite reluctance to take the issue up, and this is supported by the feeling of many people at the branch level who are very sympathetic to what they regard as a socialist experiment.

At the time of the inception of the Soviet Union, the same British government that was used at home in an offensive against the working

class was launching an offensive against the Soviet state.

This was reinforced during the 30s when the Soviet propaganda exploited the absence of unemployment, while everyone could see the mass unemployment in the West.

The rise of fascism was linked in people's consciousness with the ruling classes in the West and the Soviet Union was seen as the bulwark against it. That's a matter for debate, but that's how people tended to see it.

That was confirmed during the war when the Soviet army had to carry for three years the major burden in the military conflict.

These attitudes survived long after the war. To change the attitude of the rank and file we have to familiarise them with the facts.

If this information, which may be quite accurate, comes from the press or Tory politicians then it is automatically dismissed as Tory propaganda.

There should be a credible source of information coming from socialists. This is the basis of the Eastern Europe Solidarity Campaign.

★ You can contact the EESC at 10 Park Drive, London NW11. The campaign has brought out its first briefing on the Soviet Trade Union Association and urges labour movement bodies to pass resolutions in support of these unofficial unionists and to affiliate to the campaign.

The EESC is planning a major conference and demonstration on the tenth anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August. There will also be a concert organised in conjunction with Rock Against Racism.

The campaign needs a lot of money to put on that sort of event, so send donations to the above address.

INTERNATIONAL

Chilean crisis

'The rats are beginning to kill each other'

ON 21 September 1876 two explorers raised the Chilean flag over the Magellan Straits. On 22 May 1978 relatives of political prisoners who have 'disappeared' began an indefinite hunger strike in Santiago against the Chilean dictatorship. CHRIS ROSEBLADE asks: What links these two events?

The 83 hunger strikers were demanding to know the whereabouts or fate of their relatives. As Pinochet's recent general amnesty extends to the secret police (DINA/CNI), the relatives have no recourse to law.

Even if they can demonstrate that the DINA took their relatives away the general amnesty has already pardoned the police — so there is no crime to answer for!

The hunger strike was postponed for 30 days after governmental assurances that Pinochet would give full information about everyone who has disappeared.

SOLIDARITY

The 30 days expires on 8 July and already the junta has denied that it made any promises to the relatives. So further solidarity actions will probably be necessary.

The origins of the hunger strikes are to be found in two sets of events apparently quite unconnected — the disappearance of political prisoners and the murder of Orlando Letelier.

On 21 September 1976 Letelier, a former Minister in Allende's government, was killed by a bomb in Washington DC.

A year before the Letelier incident the Committee for Peace of the Chilean church had requested a Chilean Supreme Court Inquiry into the 'disappearance' of 119 leftists — the first mass disappearance of this kind.

The dictatorship made no response but coincidentally a minor Brazilian paper *O Dia* and an Argentinian magazine *Lea* published reports that the 119 had been killed in an internal left-wing faction fight and in clashes in Argentina with the police.

The Chilean press gleefully seized on these reports with the headline, 'The rats are beginning to kill each other'.

But certain facts began to

cast light on the truth of these reports: it was discovered that the magazine *Lea* was subsidised by the fascists in Argentina and that *O Dia* was not a minor Brazilian paper — its one and only publication had been that devoted to this very 'scoop'!

Le Monde then discovered that several of those supposedly killed in Argentina had been last seen at the time of their arrest by the Chilean DINA who indeed admitted that they were in DINA's custody.

In November 1976 FASIC (an independent body of the Chilean Church) released statistics on detainees which totalled 1400. This was a considerable reduction on the Amnesty International reports of around 4000.

This reduction in numbers could not be explained either by the number of prisoners serving short sentences, nor by those who had commuted their sentence to exile. Moreover, a wave of kidnappings was beginning.

DIPLOMATIC

By 1978 the formal lifting of the 'State of Siege', the 'General Amnesty', the commutation of many sentences into exile, the release of 224 political prisoners and promises of a new draft Constitution had resulted in an overall diplomatic offensive by the junta to regain international recognition.

The tactic of charging political prisoners with criminal offences had aided this process as the Church usually fails to defend such prisoners.

There were only two problems outstanding: the 'disappeared' and the Letelier affair.

It was at this moment that the US Deputy Secretary of State presented a letter to the Chilean Supreme Court from its US equivalent requesting that two men be interviewed in connection with the Letelier

affair in the presence of a US investigator.

The men were named as Juan Williams Rose and Alejandro Romeral Jara; names which puzzled several experts on Chilean nineteenth century history as they were the names of two explorers who, one hundred years to the very day before the murder of Letelier, had planted the Chilean flag on the Magellan Straits!

Any hope of a cover-up ended when the photographs of the two men were simultaneously published in the *Washington Post* and *El Mercurio* in Santiago (which is known to have close links with US intelligence services).

The men were quickly identified as Michael Vernon Townley and Armando Fernandez Larios — and, as they say, the shit had hit the fan.

CAPTAIN

Larios was a serving Captain in the Chilean Army! Coincidentally he had just been given leave for a long holiday when the story broke!

Townley was a nobody — an electronics engineer working for an American firm in Santiago. But a series of 'coincidences' seemed to dog his life too!

He was quickly identified as a leading member of *Patria y Libertad* — the Chilean fascist party. Not just that — he was wanted for blowing up a radio station in March 1973 and murdering a night watchman during the raid.

Most embarrassingly of all it was soon discovered that in May 1976 he had been working on a case involving the tracing of a right-wing Cuban terrorist; a case not being handled by the authorities — but the US Federal Bureau of Investigation!

The junta came up with a new story. The men had indeed used Chilean passports — but the records showed that the passports in question had been issued to a mother and child.

Therefore a cover-up was going on — but it was not the junta's responsibility. Somebody at the Consulate was responsible.

By a remarkable coincidence, the Consular Official responsible for the issue of those passports had committed suicide within a month of Letelier's murder.

A few doubting Thomases had questioned whether this was in fact suicide but no one had paid them any heed.

SCANDAL

Yet it was perhaps strange that the inquest had ascribed death to 'heart failure' without linking that 'failure' to the autopsy report of a bullet wound through the head!

The official had last been seen leaving a reception at the Peruvian Embassy in the car of 'Contreras'. Contreras was head of DINA — the Chilean secret police.

The coincidences began to crowd each other thick and fast. Within an hour of the discovery of the official's body General Forestier (an intimate of Contreras and Pinochet) visited the family and persuaded them not to make too much fuss about the suicide. Even by the standards of



Chile today this was a scandal. Divisions opened up within the junta.

General Leigh dropped his old fascist friends and made a series of critical speeches, Christian Democrat leader Castillo was allowed to return, the 'State of Siege' was lifted, and Townley was expelled from Chile to the USA.

Even this was not enough: the price of the Generals' support for Pinochet was the head of Contreras.

Townley was by now obviously the scapegoat. His expulsion gave the USA a victim and took the pressure off Contreras and Larios (the Army Captain).

CRISIS

His wife did not take this lying down. Having at first denied that he was anything but an electronics engineer, she quickly revealed that he had made several trips to the USA to buy electronic surveillance equipment for the security forces and that he had worked on other matters with the FBI.

On further questioning she revealed that Townley was one of the leaders of the DINA.

El Mercurio then revealed that the equipment Townley had purchased in the USA had been for the personal protection of President Pinochet.

The junta denied all knowledge of any irregular trips abroad by Townley. Unfortunately for them the formal reason they had given for his expulsion from the country had been...irregular trips abroad!

What ensued was the most serious crisis the regime had ever faced. At a meeting of the Generals' Council a motion asking Pinochet to resign was

only lost by 13 votes to 17.

A Cabinet reshuffle produced a majority civilian cabinet although Pinochet's own men kept their fingers on the crucial posts (Armed Forces, Interior, Defence).

Divisions were beginning to emerge within the Generals. The Navy seemed to favour a quick return to barracks, sections of the Army seemed to favour a 'Brazilian' solution, others remained hard liners and gave Contreras a standing ovation on the day of his daughter's wedding (although official sources went to some pains to deny this).

The splits within the Generals gave confidence to the mass movement. On May Day, despite the ban on demonstrations, 5,000 marched in Santiago.

With incredibly short-sighted brutality the police arrested up to 600 people including observers from the Dutch trade unions.

The mass movement was

stirring again: it culminated in the hunger strike by the relatives of the disappeared.

This was timed to coincide with the arrival in Santiago of an AFL-CIO delegation...and the American head of the 'Letelier investigating team'.

It would be foolish to make hasty predictions as to the Generals' speedy demise. But despite everything resistance is stirring and the Generals are in internal crisis — the fruits of their internal brutality and international isolation.

Socialists must step-up their fight in solidarity with the Chilean people because concessions by the regime might bring forth diplomatic recognition.

Recognition, the legitimisation which goes with it and the financial aid to the economy it would involve, would stabilise the dictatorship for a much longer period than now seems possible.

That is why the hunger strikes are so important.

WHERE ARE THEY? WE WANT TO KNOW THE TRUTH



A solemn 'MARCH FOR THE 2500 DISAPPEARED PRISONERS IN CHILE'

Each marcher carrying a white carnation—the hunger strikers' symbol for their missing relatives

SUNDAY JULY 9TH

ASSEMBLE 1.00 P.M. AT MELTON STREET, EUSTON STATION
MARCH PAST THE CHILEAN EMBASSY TO RALLY IN HYDE PARK

Organised by the Chile Solidarity Campaign, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7. Tel: 272 4238

LIFE AND FREEDOM FOR CHILE'S DISAPPEARED PRISONERS

Intercontinental Press
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DOCUMENTS from the discussion in the French Communist Party are printed in the latest issue of *Intercontinental Press/Imprecor* [Vol 16, No. 25].

Also featured are an interview with Daniel Bensaïd on May '68; 'Why Carter is Shouting at Castro', by Joseph Hansen; an analysis of the tax revolt in the USA; an examination of the process of 'de-Maoisation' in China, and further material [including an

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Alternative road to socialism

MALCOLM KITSON (letters, 8 June) informs us of a devastating truth: 'Surely the main point of John Ross's letter (4 May) is that the debate on the Morning Star can only be taken up through a critique of the political practice and orientation of the CPGB.'

But every Socialist Challenge supporter who is active in the trade union and women's movements knows this. What we need is an answer to the question: how can we relate to the crisis in the CPGB and assist the development of a left current moving towards revolutionary positions?

The British far left has traditionally had a one-sided view of the CPGB: that it is 'counter-revolutionary through and through', 'will always betray', etc. But even Trotsky, no softy on Stalinism, rejected such a simplistic approach:

'They are a very contradictory phenomenon. They began with October as the base, they have become deformed, but they have great courage. We can't let the antipathies of our moral feelings sway us. I think that we can hope to win these workers who began as a crystallisation of October.'

(Writings 1939-40, p. 282)

In the meantime, from Yugoslavia to Vietnam, we have seen eleven socialist revolutions led by bureaucratized Communist parties. The effect of the world revolutionary process on the CPGB has been to re-emphasise the point that many CP militants identify with socialist revolution but are caught in the contradiction between this ideal and the party's reformist domestic programme.

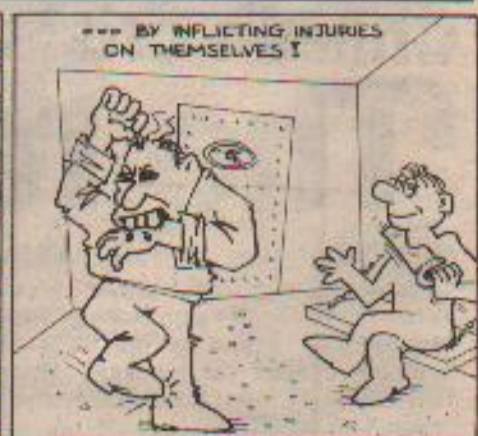
What can Socialist Challenge do in this situation?

One of the main weaknesses in the political armoury of the left has been the lack of a concrete 'action programme for Britain' that could spell out the socialist policies around which the workers movement should unify. Such a plan could be counterposed to the reformist British Road and used to create a much broader political audience for our ideas.

Secondly, we have seen Socialist Unity draw individual CP members into action. We should seek to extend this by involving CP groups in joint intervention around defence of the closed shop, the International Tribunal on Britain's Presence in Ireland, and so on. In particular, the Rudolf Bahro Defence Campaign provides an excellent opportunity for building a massive campaign against the Stalinist bureaucracy's usurpation of democratic rights.

In this way we can begin to assemble dissident CP elements and independents around an alternative strategic road to socialism.

NOEL HIBBERT (Hull)



Time for comment

IN YOUR positive article on the forthcoming Amnesty report on Northern Ireland (8 June), you say that Amnesty 'have been trying to keep secret' the report. Your readers should realise that all Amnesty reports are submitted first to the governments concerned for comment (and hopefully action) a considerable time before publication. In this respect, the British Government gets exactly the same consideration as the governments of the USSR or China.

RICHARD ABRAHAM (Amnesty International, British Section)

The May '68 'industry'

I AM disappointed to see that you have joined the 'May '68' industry (25 May). Can't you see that it goes against everything that those who took part in May '68 were fighting for to turn it into another super-event with its super-heroes.

In fact, the spectacle of May '68 is more or less irrelevant. It is the ideas that were and are subversive, and there seemed little in Socialist Challenge about them. Ideas like:

- ★ The relation between the personal and the political; which questions the traditional practice of 'being a militant'.
- ★ The relationship between the institutions of our society and revolutionary alternatives. For example, the free school movement, the fight for an alternative psychiatry, the free radio stations in Italy and France.
- ★ Finally the relationship between the revolutionary organisation and the autonomous movements — the women's movement, the gay movement, the black movement. And clearly it is not a question of whether Marxism is prepared to accept these movements as legitimate, but rather for us to see what remains of traditional Marxism after the critique made by these

movements of Marxist theory and practice has been analysed and digested.

Tariq Ali's analysis of the period very predictably mourns the lack of a revolutionary party. Fair enough, but the absence of a (the?) revolutionary party has got little to do with 'a correct strategic line... that would have made inroads into the base of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party'.

It has much more to do with the uneasy relationship between revolutionary organisation and social movements that are the vanguard of the struggle in Europe today; many revolutionaries today question the need for an overall political organisation.

Together with heroic victories over US imperialism, May '68 showed many of us the possibility of revolutionary change in our societies. Its most important contribution was to make us question all the accepted dogmas of revolutionary Marxism. It should not be turned into a museum-piece only to be wheeled out in a spectacular manner every ten years.

PETER ANDERSON (Manchester Big Flame)

The yawning gap

WE OBJECT strongly to the introductory remarks in your article on the fascist rampage in Spitalfields (15 June): 'The speaker was a white woman in her fifties, whose appearance suggested a resident of Alf Garnett country'. What the hell you intend to convey is unclear.

Did you mean a middle-aged white working class woman, probably dressed poorly, with a 'hard' face showing a hard life. We don't recall May Hobbs or the Trico women being described as 'residents of Alf Garnett country'. What's so different about this woman?

Socialist Unity has been campaigning in the area for over a year now, polling around 20 per cent of the vote in two elections. A fair proportion came from the white population of Spitalfields, and we have encountered very little hostility from white people in our work in the

area (the NF polled an average of about 80 votes — less than 5 per cent!)

We are now establishing paper sales on the local estates, frequently selling to white working class men and women who must, if we dare sell the paper, read of themselves as 'Alf Garnett types'.

There sometimes seems to be a yawning gap between the Editorial Board and the working class — not in terms of general politics, but in an understanding of what it means to be a member of the working class, or work with and among it. You can see this reaction again when the same article quotes a woman as saying, 'If you wanted to be a Nazi, you were born in the wrong country...' 'her vibrant anti-fascism mingling with national chauvinism'.

Why should the reporter feel morally bound to dissociate himself from it by adding the piece in brackets? This remark seems to take the worst possible understanding of a phrase which very likely did not have anti-German national chauvinist sentiments, but was a gut rejection of fascist thuggery.

Remember it was we in the anti-fascist movement who pinned the label 'Nazi' on the NF.

DAVID SPEAR, BARBARA LITTLEWOOD, JENNY JONES, MALCOLM HEYWOOD (Hackney)

'Disgusting regrettable and irritating'

AS ONE OF the contributors to your Fighting Fund, I find it disgusting, regrettable and irritating that you find Alexander Solzhenitsyn 'persistent and courageous' (8 June).

Solzhenitsyn is nothing but a pest who is dead set against a socialist revolution. The proof of this is that he chose Finland as a place for exile. If he is a true revolutionary, then why does he not stay in the USSR?

HASAN ABDULLA (Reading)

While we share our reader's feelings

about Solzhenitsyn's current activities, this description of him was contained in a document by Soviet dissidents which we reprinted. It referred to his role in uncovering the details of the massacre of working people in Novocherkassk by the regime in 1962. Moreover, there is a very simple reason why Solzhenitsyn does not remain in the USSR: he was forcibly expelled by the Soviet bureaucracy!

Cruelty for humanity

CONTRARY TO what was stated in the letter on the 'exploitation' (sic) of animals under capitalism (15 June), Trotsky did in fact specifically mention vivisection in his writings — he was firmly in favour.

This is a logical extension of both his and Lenin's perspective on morals, summarised in the famous cliché 'the end justifies the means — on condition that the means are effective'. The second half of this quotation is often forgotten but provides the key to its interpretation.

Of course, some acts of cruelty towards animals are unnecessary. For example, socialists condemn the production of cosmetics not because of toxic tests on animals but because such products are socially unnecessary and superfluous. (The myth of technological 'neutrality' has been covered in Socialist Challenge through the debate on nuclear power.) Likewise, all produce from the whale and seal trades can be manufactured synthetically.

However, substitutes for live animals in medical research are rare. If vivisection can take humanity one step nearer to its ultimate goal of liberation, through conquest of disease or contraceptive development, then it is worthwhile.

We are revolutionary Marxists, not liberal moralisers. If the means can effectively assist in achieving the end they are justified. To place the interests of animals before the interests of humanity is to fall headlong into the pit of bourgeois ideology.

MICK MARSHALL (Oxford)

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

NORTH WEST

- WARRINGTON** Socialist Challenge group meets regularly. Ring Manchester Socialist Challenge office for details. 051-236 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 5867 (daytime), or Steve 226 4287 (evening), or write to Manchester SC Centre, c/o 14 Piccadilly.
- PRESTON** Socialist Challenge supporters can be contacted by ringing Preston 54676.
- LIVERPOOL** Spike Socialist Challenge group meets every Wednesday evening at Noah's Ark pub, Spike, Liverpool 50m.
- SOUTH MANCHESTER** Socialist Challenge group meets every other Thursday at the Albert Inn off Winton Rd. Help sell Socialist Challenge between 11.30am and 1pm at Moss Side shopping centre or Longsight Market, Dickenson Rd. Further information from 361-236 2382.

LONDON

HARROW Socialist Challenge sup-

- porters meet regularly, details from PO Box 50, London N1 2PX.
- GREENWICH/LEWISHAM** Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly. Details from Ray on 01-459 1187.
- NEWHAM** Socialist Challenge Forums occur regularly. Details from PO Box 56, London N1.
- WALTHAM FOREST** paper sales every Saturday, 11am-noon outside the post office, Hoe St, Walthamstow, London E17.
- LONDON CPSSA** Socialist Challenge readers. We are establishing a CPSSA supporters group to work in the union and Broke Left. If you are sympathetic to Socialist Challenge's ideas, write to London SC organiser, c/o PO Box 50, London N1.
- HACKNEY** Socialist Challenge supporters meet fortnightly on Wednesdays at the Britannia Pub, Mare St, 7-30pm. Next meeting, 5 July. Why we're marching for political status for 15th prisoners on 8 July.
- CAMDEN** Socialist Challenge supporters sell papers every Saturday at Inverness St market in Camden Town from 11-3pm. Join us every Sunday 12-3 on the Garsnet pocket at the Oxford Circus branch and on Mondays at the EGA picket

- CAMDEN** Socialist Challenge groups meet next on 5 July with Dave Bailey on 'Workers control'. Venue from Neil on 01-359-0285.
- TOWER HAMLETS** Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper every Sunday in Brick Lane. Meet at the Nazrul Restaurant at 10.30am.
- HUDDERSFIELD** Socialist Challenge group meets next on Thursday, 8 July at the Friendly and Trades Club, 8pm, 'The Family'.
- HACKNEY** Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper regularly at Dalston Junction, Fridays (4.30-6pm) and Saturdays, Stamford Hill (11am).
- YORKSHIRE** **YORK** Socialist Challenge is on sale at the York Community Bookshop, 73 Walmgate or from sellers on Thursdays (12.30-1.45) at York University Vanbrugh College, Saturdays (11.30-3.30) at Cony Street. **YORK** Socialist Challenge group produces a regular social news bulletin. Any enquiries about the group or the bulletin to SC, c/o 43 Grosvenor Terrace, York.

- HUDDERSFIELD** Socialist Challenge sales regularly Saturdays 11am-1pm in the Piazza.
- NORTH EAST** **DURHAM** Socialist Challenge Supporters Group. For data & contact: Dave Brown, 2 Pioneer Cottages, Low Pitlington, Durham.
- DARLINGTON** Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside Northern Rock on High Row, 11am-1pm.
- MIDDLESBOROUGH** Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside Boots at Cleveland Centre 11am-1pm. Socialist Challenge is also available from Harrisons (newspaper) in Linthorpe Street.
- NEWCASTLE** Socialist Challenge local supporters are active! If you want to join them, phone Pete on (0832) 29057.
- SOUTH/WEST** **SOUTHAMPTON** Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday from 10am-1pm opposite Post Office, Bargate.
- PORTSMOUTH** Socialist Challenge sales Saturdays 11.30am to 1pm Commercial Road Picnic.

SCOTLAND

- For information about the paper or its supporters, visit us throughout Scotland contact Socialist Challenge Books, 64 Green St, Glasgow. Open Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday afternoons. Phone for alternative arrangements (221 7481). Wide range of P.O. International publications.
- EDINBURGH** Socialist Challenge supporters group meets regularly. Phone George at 031-346 0465 for details.
- DUNDEE** information about Socialist Challenge activities from 84 Queen St, Glasgow. Join in SC sales outside Boots corner of Bebbin Street each Saturday, 11am-2pm.
- SOUTH/EAST** **COLCHESTER** Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper every Saturday outside Colers from 10.30am-1pm. Further information of local activities from Mike 11 Anglesia Rd, Wilenhoe.
- COLCHESTER** Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly. Details from Steve, 1 Abingdon Street.

- BRIGHTON** Socialist Challenge sales regularly on Saturdays at the Open Market, London Road, from 11am-1pm.
- WALES** **CARDIFF** Socialist Challenge Forum meets next on Friday, 7 July, at The Four Elms Pub, Elm Street — off the Newport Road. 'The Struggle in Ireland'.
- MIDLANDS** For details of activities of local supporters throughout the Midlands contact the Socialist Challenge Centre, 765 Digbeth High Street, Birmingham. (021) 643 9209.
- LEICESTER** Socialist Challenge group meets next on Thursday, 29 June, in the local Community Centre, 7.30pm. 'Nuclear Power'.



'Le Sherif'

The Gaullist guards who had to be bleeped out

LE SHERIF is one of the most controversial political films in recent history.

It is based upon the true story of the murder of an investigating magistrate in Lyons, writes RICHARD CARVER.

The film's director, Yves Boisset (interviewed on this page), suggests that this was because the magistrate had stumbled upon a conspiracy of right-wing politicians and the underworld, cemented by the Service d'Action Civique

(SAC), the Gaullist paramilitary organisation.

The result was bizarre. SAC took Boisset to court and got an injunction to delete all references to the organisation.

Boisset bleeped out the word SAC every time it came up, but audiences responded by shouting 'SAC' over each bleep!

SAC was formed when General de Gaulle came to power to avert a military coup in 1958. It was designed to combat the fascist terrorists of the OAS 'by their own methods'.

BODYGUARD

But SAC continued after the end of the Algerian war and the demise of the OAS. Today it is a bodyguard for Gaullist leaders like Jacques Chirac and, as *Le Sherif* shows, a political mafia.

The film shows how SAC works in tandem with its old enemies of the OAS to terrorise, and even murder, political and business opponents. Boisset says that American film was a strong influence on him — as for so many of his generation of French directors.

That is evident in *Le Sherif*, which uses the fast moving form of the Hollywood thriller. That form also presents an obstacle to a thorough analysis of the links between Gaullist politics and business.

But Boisset does allow himself a critical view of his hero and the judicial system. The high-minded magistrate crumbles under pressure to use the violent methods of a Dirty Harry.

It's a neat reversal of the stereotype of the independent cop, who normally represents the defence of capitalist justice against its erosion by 'liberal' values. This isn't the greatest political film ever made, but it's worth a visit.

Le Sherif is showing at the Gala Royal, Marble Arch, London.

NFT '68

FROM 2 to 12 July, the National Film Theatre in London is screening a season of French films on May-June '68. A leaflet with details of the programme is available from the box office: 01-928 3232/3.

HALF MOON THEATRE

27 Alie St, London E1, Tel: 01-480 6465.

ALFREDO GALVEZ — 12 Shifts of Gear.

by Juan Vera. A sensitive and human play about changes in a peasant village in Chile during the Allende regime.

Until 22 July, at 8pm.

'Palestine' Britain's incompatible promises

AFTER TWO years' research, Thames Television is presently screening its documentary 'Palestine'. In three instalments, it is being networked nationally and covers the period of the British mandate from 1918 until 1948.

Extensive use is made of archive film, supplemented by eyewitness accounts and the views of two historians, one Arab and one Israeli-Jewish. NIGEL WARD reports.

Even at this stage, the producers have a problem. A major factor in the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 was the expulsion of the Palestinians, through Zionist terror or the threat of it.

But with one exception, no film is available to portray this enforced exodus.

It is left to ex-British Army officers to relate how Arabs poured out onto the roads from Jaffa and Haifa — 'It was a case of sheer terror'. 'This was the time to go and get the hell out of it as fast as they could'.

With Israel established, many of these Arabs would never be allowed to return home; those that did would not even be able to till the land they once owned.

SURFEIT

There is a surfeit of film available of the fresh-faced Zionist idealists setting out to 'reclaim' the land; there are no films of the Palestinian farmers who had tilled the soil for centuries. However, many important facts in the Palestinian case do emerge in the commentary.

The main failings of the documentary lie elsewhere. The programme consists of statements of the views of the various protagonists; it is not, as Thames TV claims, a debate on the Palestinian question.

For the Arabs, their case appears as a simple one. They have owned and worked a land for centuries — now they are not conquered but expelled from their homes and land. To justify their practice, the Zionists are forced to use a different kind of argument.

They claim Palestine for the Jews today by virtue of the history of their biblical co-religionists. Starting from this time, the Zionists claim the Jews were forced from Palestine by the Romans, longed ever after to return and have been at the mercy of anti-semitism ever since.

The claims of the Jews and Arabs proceed at two different levels, so this revision of Jewish history and accommodation to anti-semitism go unchallenged. In addition, much use is made

of film of Nazi Germany and the death camps.

Many Arabs and supporters of the Palestinian case will think this not only excessive, which it may be, but straightforward Zionist propaganda.

HOMELESS

But the holocaust did have a profound effect on Jewish psychology and to a lesser extent, on Western opinion. We who advocate the Palestinian case should attempt to understand this phenomenon rather than conveniently dismiss it, as we have tended to do in the past.

By refusing a confrontation of Arab and Zionist cases and by dealing with a limited historical period, the effect of the 'holocaust' film is simply to induce pity. The viewer is left to pity the unfortunate Jew and the homeless Arab.

Or, as the British politician Lord Peel reports: 'It is fundamentally a conflict of right with right'. Promoting such a view allows the Zionists to escape the burden of their

crimes and leads to the belief that the Arab-Israeli conflict is insoluble.

One point that is striking in *Palestine* is the British role. Incompatible promises of self-government are made to Arabs and Jews alike in an attempt to defend British colonial interests. The army uses Arab hostages, including the Mayor of Nablus, in front of convoys and government buildings to discourage Arab attacks.

Arab houses are indiscriminately blown up because 'there was nothing else we could do'. Portraits of the British colonial administrators almost turn into high farce.

Of course, the movie newsreels of the time could only spew forth about the rotten lot of poor old Tommy.

There are other weaknesses in *Palestine*. Leading Palestinian families, like the El Husseins, who were involved in deals with the Zionists and other Arab notables escape with little criticism of their complicity and ineptness.

ARGUMENTS

While these programmes are a serious attempt to deal with their subject, anti-Zionist militants will need to have a prior analysis of their adversary if they are to use the facts and arguments that are presented.

The first part of *Palestine* was shown on Tuesday. The second part is next Tuesday, 4 July, 10.30pm to midnight. And the third part at the same time on 11 July but check to see if there are regional variations in transmission times.



PALESTINIANS forced to flee in 1948.



YVES BOISSET

Interview with Boisset

Tell me about why you made *Le Sherif* and the problems with SAC afterwards.

I made *Le Sherif* to examine certain things which are happening in French society. The scenario was in part inspired by the murder of District Attorney Renaud in Lyon, but I didn't want to make a film specifically about that.

There are, anyway, a lot of differences between the film and that case, the most minor of which is that Renaud was in his 50s and Patrick Dewaere, who plays Fayard, is not yet 30.

What I had in mind was putting into question certain ideas about justice, just as the young district attorneys are now doing throughout France.

Not questioning justice itself, exactly, but the ways in which it is applied. In the process of putting the film together, I learned a good deal about the connections between worlds which are supposed to be separate in our society: the business world, the political world, and the criminal underworld.

I learned a lot about the connections of all of that with certain conservative elements in French society, among them SAC — a right-wing paramilitary organisation which was supposed to be defunct.

When the film was finished, we were taken to court by an obviously not defunct SAC, who claimed we had defamed them; that we had suggested they were all either not-too-bright criminal types or (and this amused me) cops.

The court decided that we had to take out all references to SAC in the film. Instead of reshooting or redubbing, we just bleeped out each mention of SAC with a sound.

The film is based on a case that happened in Lyon, yet you didn't make the film there. Why?

There were more problems involved than advantages. Let us just say that certain political elements, as well as the criminal world, made clear their displeasure over the subject of the film, and it looked as if we might have problems.

They threatened you?

Well, there were warnings. We shot the film in Saint-Etienne, where there is a young and dynamic local government that helped us a good deal. Anyway, what happened in Lyon is true everywhere in France, so shooting the film in another town without naming it makes it more universal.

You know, when we shot the sequence in which Fayard is killed, we shot it at night. We were making noise, of course, in a residential neighbourhood.

Maybe it wasn't anything to do with the subject of the film or with SAC or anything else. Maybe people were just sick of us and wanted to sleep.

Nevertheless, bullets flew — almost like in the scene we were shooting. We threw ourselves flat on the ground, bullets being bullets, no matter why someone was shooting.

Socialist Challenge

HOW BRITISH TROOPS IN IRELAND BREAK THEIR OWN RULES

Exclusive

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE publishes here the 'Yellow Card' instructions given to every British soldier serving in the North of Ireland.

These instructions are meant to govern when soldiers are allowed to open fire.

Publication of the 'Yellow Card' has been banned in Britain. An attempt by the National Council of Civil Liberties to publish the card in its book *The NCCL Guide to Your Rights* was prevented by the Government in August 1977.

Publication, said the Government, was a breach of

Crown copyright.

But a report on the banning in the *Irish Times* added that the document was 'restricted' under the Official Secrets Act, and that printing the card is prohibited under the D Notice system.

Socialist Challenge publishes the Yellow Card in the aftermath of the killing by British troops of three members of the

IRA and a passerby in Belfast last week.

There is conclusive evidence that these killings broke the Yellow Card rules in at least three ways. But people in this country have been denied such information because publication of the rules themselves are banned.

For the full story turn to page 10.

IRISH DEMONSTRATION

End the Torture, End the Silence
Political Status for Political Prisoners

9 July, London. Assemble Marble Arch 2.30pm.

OUR FUND DRIVE

STANDING ORDER AUTHORITY

TO Name of your bank
..... (Branch) (Address)

Dear Sirs, Please make payment to the debit of the account specified as per details given.

A/C to be debited (Your name)
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Payee: 0179678 (Our Account number) at Lloyds Bank, Islington Branch, 19 Upper Street, London N1 0PJ.
Our sorting code number: 30.94.57.

First Payment Due And continue until further notice

Amount Frequency

This order cancels all previous orders to the same payee and will continue until written notice to the contrary is received by you.

..... Your signature.

THE APPEAL in last week's paper for our supporters to dig deep into their pockets met a great response. In seven days £304.83 came in. That is the highest weekly fund drive total since *Socialist Challenge* was launched, but today we need it more than ever.

One supporter contributed nearly a third of the week's total from an inheritance.

The writer John Berger, whose works include *The Seventh Man* and *Painter of Our Time*, sent a contribution to the paper, but also commented: 'With my best wishes for the paper, which goes from strength to strength.'

To help save the paper we have stepped up the campaign for regular bankers order donations. All our subscribers were written to last week requesting that they make such a

contribution. Already we have eight new monthly donations.

A bankers order form is printed here. All you have to do is fill it in and return it to *Socialist Challenge*.

APOLOGIES

Our apologies to our Scottish supporters. In last week's paper we rapped their knuckles for failing to contribute to the fund drive. However last June it was agreed they would use money they raised to keep the Glasgow *Socialist Challenge* offices open.

This week our thanks to:

Anon	4.00
J. Fletcher	5.00
Huddersfield readers	20.00
J. Kush	2.00
D. Vulliamy	1.00
J. Berger	15.00
A. Newton	21.00
World Cup lottery	6.70
Camden supporters	8.03
Anon	.50
D. Russell	2.00
C. Henrick	100.00
H. De Ley	10.00
M.B.	5.00
M. Chanon	5.00
Leicester stamps	15.00
P. Purton	30.00
M. Shinn	1.00
J. Gaskell	10.00
C. Stoneman	5.00

Hull readers	2.80
S. Engineer	10.00
R. Ashan	26.00
TOTAL	£304.83

INFLATION

With this the overall total has now reached £1915.14 and another slab of wall has been removed to reveal the mystery quote. In the previous quarters our goal has been £1800. That has been well beaten, but to survive with inflation today we have had to raise the target to £2500.

In the last few days of June we need nearly £600.

Summer sub - £2

Want to be sure of *Socialist Challenge* for the summer?

There are two easy ways to be sure of receiving *Socialist Challenge* every week during the summer. At that time it may

be difficult to obtain the paper regularly because our sellers or you may be on holiday.

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

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

Domestic special offer: July-September, £2

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.



DO NOT STOP BUYING
—Karl Marx