

# Socialist Challenge

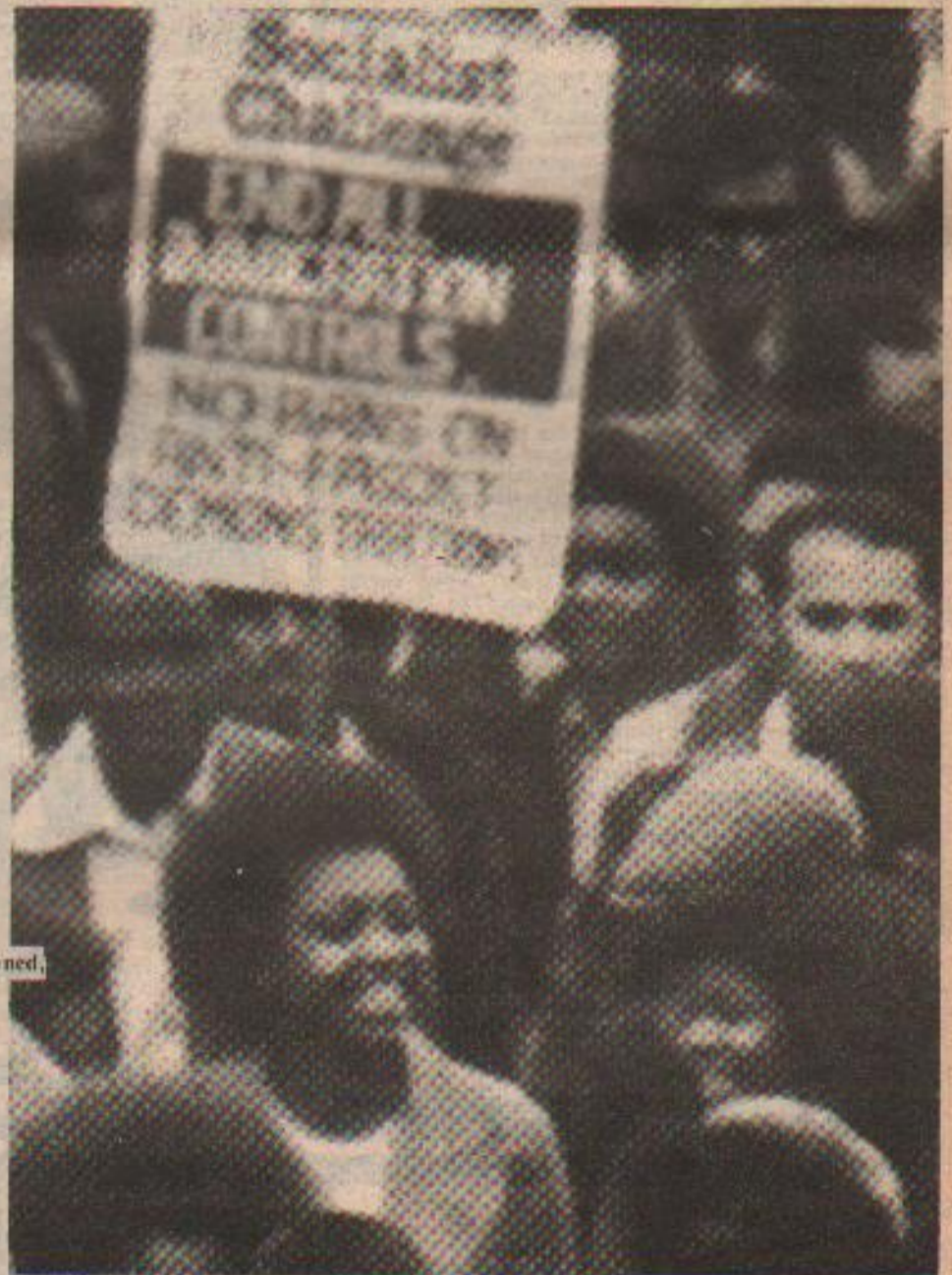
## NO PASS LAWS

## HERE! Reject the Select Committee report on immigration!

### A question of numbers

See pages 2-5

1. The gentleman talked, you remember,  
Of stemming the alien flood.  
'Our cities are being invaded,' he said,  
'Soon the streets will be rivers of blood.'
2. He said, 'Prejudice isn't the issue,  
And it isn't a question of skin,  
But it's surely a matter of plain common sense  
To stick by your own kith and kin.
3. 'We're breeding a nation of half-castes,  
Diluting the blood of our race.'  
His neck turned purple with passion,  
The veins bulged blue in his face.
4. It was all a question of numbers,  
Too many of them would appear  
To threaten Great Britain's traditions —  
Though just how, well, he didn't make clear.
5. The wise ones tut-tutted in chorus,  
For they quite disapproved of his views,  
But to be on the safe side they bolted the doors  
And carefully tightened the screws.
6. Now the blacks face a maze of restrictions,  
Enshrined in the Immigrant Acts:  
The rules cut off parents from children,  
And this is called — Facing the facts.
7. But still it's a question of numbers,  
Now the lady takes up the refrain,  
Her voice falls like dust in the desert,  
From her clearly superior brain.
8. She says, 'Soon they'll be swamping our culture,  
The culture that made Britain great.' What?  
No more Henley? No Lords? No weekends shooting  
grouse  
With the Duke on his country estate?
9. 'A few in their place would be welcome,  
But we can't have them coming in hordes.'  
And the wise ones assented in chorus,  
From the Houses of Commons and Lords.
10. They differed on clauses and quotas,  
On what figure the inflow might reach.  
But the blacks, they agreed, were the problem,  
And this was called: Freedom of speech.
11. 'Free speech,' said the judge, 'is my sermon.  
I declare that it wouldn't be right  
For me to put people in prison,  
Just for saying that black isn't white.
12. 'If you're worried about immigration,  
You must have the freedom to speak,  
But don't overuse words like 'niggers' and 'coons',  
Say, not more than three times in one week.'
13. Because it's all a question of numbers,  
The words echo out far and wide,  
And some spread them soft, like a smokescreen,  
They're the ones with something to hide.
14. And some spread them loud, like gang warfare,  
To the beat of the devil's own drum.  
In the head of a youth down in Hoxton,  
They fester like weeds in a slum.
15. 'If it's all a question of numbers,  
The fewer the better, it seems.'  
His mind was a swamp of frustration,  
There were rivers of blood in his dreams.
16. He yearned for the days of war glory,  
When Englishmen fought the good fight,  
Defending the white cliffs of Dover,  
So that Christmas would always be white.
17. Now Britain was second division,  
When they ought to be ruling the waves.  
'They're taking our jobs and our homeland,' he says,  
'Those bastards we once sold as slaves.'
18. In church, on Sunday, as usual,  
All dressed in their best they were there,  
The judge, the gent and the lady soared high  
On the wings of a hymn and a prayer.
19. Brotherhood was the Bishop's sermon,  
'All are equal,' he said, 'in God's sight,  
And to Him a black skin doesn't matter at all,  
As long as the soul is white.'
20. While the judge, the gent and the lady  
Were praying for guidance and light,  
The Hoxton youth gathered a lynch-mob,  
And they armed themselves well for the fight.
21. That evening they went on the rampage,  
They were flying the Union Jack,  
And the cries of the beaten and dying were drowned,  
By the screams of 'Send them all back!'
22. The papers were full of the story,  
There was no doubt at all where they stood,  
'A spell in the army for thugs,' said the Mail,  
'Would do them a power of good.'
23. When the lady read of the killings,  
Her face was filled with distress.  
'The trouble with our lower classes,' she said,  
'Is they've got no bloody finesse.'
24. 'I deplore this barbaric behavior'  
The gentleman said, 'I agree.  
Well, I warned them that this would be coming,  
But nobody listens to me.'
25. The judge was severe in his sentence,  
Said, 'Your motives might be of the best,  
But you not only set upon innocent folk,  
You did it on God's day of rest.'
26. Now the gentleman dreams of a peerage,  
The lady of ruling the land,  
And who knows what the good judge is thinking,  
In his Club, with his port in his hand?
27. But the Hoxton youth's bitterly brooding,  
Just a number in his prison cell.  
'They said we should cut down their numbers,' he thinks  
'So why are they giving us hell?'
28. Yes, it's all a question of numbers,  
The people who matter agree,  
But how many's too many, I wonder,  
And that too many might include me.
29. But if it's really a question of numbers,  
Perhaps the solution might be  
To sweep up the judges, the ladies, the gents,  
And drop them all into the sea.
30. Because if it's all a question of numbers,  
It's clear they should all play their part.  
Let them swim off to some desert island,  
And get off our backs for a start,  
And get off our backs for a start.



by Leon

Rosselson

# Editorial

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## The spreading cancer

AFTER THATCHER'S SPEECH WE HAD Enoch Powell's lurid threats. Now we have the report of the Select Committee. And in the background there is the thud of jackboots as the defenders of the 'master race' rub their hands and rejoice that Labour politicians are making their job easier.

Black people in this country have become a political football. They are being kicked around by the Labour Government and the Tories and occasionally being knifed by the racist hoodlums of the National Front. But they must not allow despair to take root. They have to prepare themselves to participate in a fight back against racism and immigration controls.

All those black 'leaders' who advise black people to stay aloof from the fight against racism are doing their communities a grave disservice. The best way forward to win allies in the labour movement is through active participation in all anti-racist and anti-fascist activities.

Elsewhere in this week's issue we make clear the racist character of the Select Committee's report. But much more is needed both within and without the Labour Party. For a start all those socialists active in the constituencies of the Labour MPs who sat on the Committee of Shame must take measures to select new candidates. A useful beginning would be to unseat the odious Syd Bidwell in Southall. He is an affront to the community he purports to represent.

### ACTIVITIES PLANNED

But in the Labour Party as a whole anti-racists must start an immediate campaign against the proposals of the Select Committee and the Immigration Acts and ensure that racism is the main point on the agenda of the next Labour Party conference.

Outside activities are already being planned. The Anti Nazi League's 'Carnival Against the Nazis' is scheduled for 30 April. It will be the first major action following the Select Committee proposals, and it will take place on the eve of the local elections. It must be supported by anti-racists nationally.

We will wage a campaign in our paper to build and support the Carnival so that it is seen as a real mass answer to the racist cancer which is spreading rapidly. There must be a real effort to make it the biggest protest against racism and fascism to date. It would also be a suitable way of commemorating the spirit of 1968.

## Hands off Eritrea

AFTER THEIR military victory in the Ogaden, the Derg leaders are preparing for a showdown on the Eritrean front. There is no room for confusion on this question. The Eritrean people in their overwhelming majority have shown that they do not wish to be part of a Greater Ethiopia. All socialists must support their right to self-determination.

The successful operations of the Eritrean guerrillas against the regime of Haile Selassie helped defeat monarchism and feudalism in Ethiopia. The Derg has clearly forgotten that fact. The Cuban Government will ignore it at its peril. In a number of statements the Cuban leaders have explained that they oppose a military solution to the Eritrean problem. They have repeatedly said that the matter should be settled at the conference table.

In our view there is only one thing to settle: the withdrawal of the Ethiopian army and the guarantee of Eritrean independence. For that is what the people want. The Cubans should be aware of this as they have helped to train one of the Eritrean liberating organisations. Portraits of Fidel Castro still adorn the walls of the offices of the Eritrean High Command.

We must make it clear that any Cuban intervention in Eritrea will be seen for what it is: a mercenary intrusion designed to serve the diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucracy. It will discredit Cuba in Africa and the prestige gained through its internationalist role in Angola will be wiped out in a matter of months. We hope that the Eritrean claims that Cuban 'advisers' are already in the garrison town of Asmara are false. If they are not we shall have to demand in no uncertain fashion: All hands off Eritrea.

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.

## Select Committee Report

# Next step repatriation?

The unanimous recommendations of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, issued last week, seek to institutionalise racism in British society.

Here we publish a statement by A SIVANANDAN, director of the Institute of Race Relations.

Through this Select Committee report, the bi-partisan policy on race and immigration — which has been rudely broken by Margaret Thatcher earlier this year — has been restored.

But the consensus that the all-party committee has reached is a consensus of the right — a consensus that not only shows a shift rightwards in terms of immigration control, but also in terms of organised state racism.

### EXTENSION

The report signals not a departure from Government policy but a logical extension of it. Immigration laws since the '60s have in part been about keeping out black labour that Britain no longer required, but they have also been

about transferring black immigration from 'settler migration' to 'contract labour' — the importation of so many units of labour as and when necessary — a system which incurs less cost to the State.

### HARASSMENT

Hence the delays and harassment of dependent wives and children joining their 'productive' head of household.

Now that the '71 Act has virtually ended new immigration, ways are being sought to deal with getting rid of those blacks already here.

The Select Committee Report, in a multitude of ways, opens the door to massive State attacks on black people — attacks which will affect, not merely their civil rights,

their economic livelihood, and their security, but also their right to family life in the UK.

The report recommends that children over 12 years old born abroad to those 'settled' here will not be allowed to join their parents and in the future, right of entry may be limited to those below school age. The whole system of arranged marriages will be scrutinised and the admission of husbands and fiancés is to be reviewed.

Dependants (other than wives and children under 16) should not be allowed to join their families here unless accommodation and means of support is approved by the authorities, and supplementary benefits would be denied them.

### CLEAR

The message is clear — black families are unwanted here. If you want family life, go home and have it.

There is another message in the report — settlement in Britain means becoming British, committing cultural suicide; forsaking what Britain defines as alien cultures and alien social relations.

The report states: '...we believe that the members of those minorities should themselves pay greater regard to the mores of their country of adoption and, indeed, also to their traditional pattern of the bride joining the husband's family.' In other words, if you want your culture and customs, go back home.

Perhaps the most damaging aspect of the report is the new emphasis on the harassment and surveillance of the black community. From the village in the Indian sub-continent to the British social security office, blacks will be checked, stopped and scrutinised.

### IDENTITY CHECKS

They will be cross-questioned many times by immigration officials as to whether they have a right to enter; police are to be given more resources and more powers to check for 'illegal' immigrants and overstayers; DHSS officials are instructed to carry out identity checks.

'Induced repatriation', Enoch Powell's phrase of yesterday, is a recommendation to the Government today — not in terms of positive inducements to go home, but as deterrents to staying here — creating an intolerable Pass Law society for black people in Britain.

## What they said about the report

**TOM LITTERICK, Labour MP:** 'It seems to me that the MPs have bent over backwards to accommodate to racist hysteria... Their report supplies fuel for racists. It baffles me that the report is unanimous, that there isn't a minority report.'

'It's all about black immigration. It doesn't point out that for the first time, last year saw a net immigration to this country from whites in South Africa. It doesn't mention that 80,000 white Rhodesians are eligible for entry. It says nothing about race relations.'

'This damned report is about coloured people, not about immigration as a whole.'

**ALEX LYON, Labour MP sacked by Callaghan:** 'A gift to racists. It will mean identity cards, arbitrary police checks, and other controls wholly alien to Britain.'

**LORD AVEBURY, Liberal spokesperson on race relations:** 'This is a thoroughly unhelpful document, pandering to the worst elements in society who have been trying to whip up hysteria about the trickle of immigrants now arriving in Britain.'

**THE ECONOMIST:** 'No mention is made of the contribution immigrants make to the welfare of Britain. No effort is made to correct the myths that they are scroungers and enemies of British culture.'

'Race relations will not improve until Britain can bring itself to welcome those whom it has, in effect, invited to come.'

**FINANCIAL TIMES:** 'It is surprising to find that the work of the Commission for Racial Equality, and indeed the institution itself are scarcely mentioned, and that race relations are scarcely discussed. That is the first shock of the report.'

'The second shock is the report's utter illiberality... The report carries the doctrine of closing the remaining loopholes to new and dangerous lengths.'

'There is a third shock in the language of double-think in which the report is written... It would have been more straightforward simply to have endorsed the views of Mr Enoch Powell.'

**DAILY MAIL,** which supported the fascist Oswald Mosley in the 1930s: 'Ten MPs have kept their heads and done their duty...'

'What will infuriate all those Establishment figures from the sanctimonious Mervyn Rees to the pompous Pratul Patel is that this all-Party Committee provides dramatic vindication for... 1. Mrs Margaret Thatcher 2. Mr Enoch Powell.'



## OUR POLICIES

Capitalism is in crisis. The leaders of the Labour Party and the trade 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; \* To oppose in class-collaborationism in the labour movement. These should be non-exclusive in character grouping together millions 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' as the USSR and Eastern Europe have discredited socialism in the eyes of millions of workers throughout the world. We are opposed to them and will offer full support to all those fighting for socialist democracy.

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

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

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

# IDENTITY CARD

**Issued by working people  
in the interests of working people.**

**No. 1**



Photo: MARK RUSHER (P.L.)

**Name:** Syd Bidwell.  
**Age:** 61  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Member of Parliament, Southall.

More than any other MP on the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Syd Bidwell is responsible for the committee's report. Only the chairperson of the committee attended more of its sessions than Bidwell, and Bidwell was one of those MPs who had an all-expenses paid trip to Pakistan, Bangladesh and India to research the report. Many immigrants saw Bidwell as their main hope on the committee. He represents a constituency with a large immigrant population, and as a former chairperson of the Tribune Group he has left-wing credentials. For instance, on 28 June last year he wrote to the Morning Star to comment on the Communist Party's draft of 'The British Road to Socialism'. Bidwell described this document as:

'Realistic and appropriate... I find negligible differences with editorial expressions of the Morning Star. Since the paper basically rests on the majority political positions of the British Communist Party, it follows that I find my differences with the Communist Party nowadays almost negligible.'

Bidwell went on to write: '...over the past ten years or so, I have found it increasingly easier to work in joint endeavour with many members of the Communist Party in progressive campaigns — notably the struggle against racialism.'

Bidwell's history goes far to the left of the Communist Party. In March 1972, he spoke at a rally organised by the Socialist Labour League [now Workers Revolutionary Party]. In June 1975 he gave an interview to Red Weekly in which he urged Marxists to 'forget the romance of other countries — Russia in 1917 and so on' and join the Labour Party.

Bidwell himself was a former member of the Socialist Review Group, a forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party.

He was still in the SRG in 1963 when he sought the nomination of Southall Constituency Labour Party to stand as their candidate in the coming General Election. At the selection meeting Bidwell was asked his views on immigration controls, the

maintenance of which were the policy of Southall CLP. Bidwell said he was in agreement with such a policy. He was then summoned to explain this stand by the leadership of the SRG. Bidwell refused to do so and was eventually expelled from the group because of his support of immigration controls.

A later example of Bidwell's advocacy of immigration controls was at the 1977 Greater London Labour Party regional conference. On a motion on immigration advocating an end to all immigration controls Bidwell moved an amendment to delete that demand.

Bidwell's advocacy of such controls is in opposition to the official policy of the Labour Party as decided at its conference in 1976. This To All Readers of This Identity adopted the twin demands of Card: Bidwell must go! an end to all immigration controls and the support of the Labour Party, sacked by his black self defence.

By signing the Select Committee's report — indeed, if Bidwell claims to have written Southall CLP doesn't sack large sections of it — he is him, it is of utmost importance merely taking immigration controls to their logical conclusion.

After all there is no point

having controls if there aren't rigorous means of enforcing them, and 'internal checks' of immigrants would probably be the most efficient means of doing this.

Please Note: Syd Bidwell is a master of disguise. The main recommendations of the Select Committee envisaged the possible separation of parents from children and a much more extensive system of checking on immigrants, both when they enter the country and when they are here.

Yet at last year's Labour Party conference, a heavily disguised Bidwell proclaimed: 'The current harassment of coloured people at our ports and the different treatment of coloured people for family reasons has to go.'

If he won't go peacefully, if Bidwell claims to have written Southall CLP doesn't sack large sections of it — he is him, it is of utmost importance merely taking immigration controls to their logical conclusion.

constituency to oppose him at the next General Election.



## SAS stunner

IT SEEMS that every Western capital now has its own Special Air Service representatives. After their dazzling successes at Mogadishu and in last year's Dutch train siege, the inevitable Special Air Service soldiers are now in Italy defending democracy on yet another front.

But behind these latter-day crusaders lies a more sinister development. According to a Daily Mail report now confirmed by official sources, 30 governments took up a British Government invitation to participate in a series of 'seminars' on international 'anti-terrorist' operations.

The meetings, at the Bramshill police college, were designed to set up a network of more efficient exchange of information on 'subversives'.

Lips are tightly sealed as to who attended the meetings, but it is known that there were representatives of a number of Middle East governments, possibly up to ministerial level and certainly involving high-ranking civil servants.

And what did these foreign governments think of Britain's highly developed armoury of anti-subversion weapons, including the famous paralysis-inducing grenades used at Mogadishu? Stunning.

## Comedy of Errors

ROBERT MOSS is in favour of the repatriation of black people. Of course it will be voluntary. He told a radio interviewer some weeks ago: 'But I think that if we introduced voluntary repatriation I don't honestly think it would be to the detriment of the country.'

When the interviewer suggested that politics of this sort were more suited to the National Front, Moss replied: 'Well, the National Front, to be quite honest, only took over our policies, or took what were conservative policies, after the failure of the Conservative Party in the late '50s and Mr Heath had rather, not exactly left-wing views, but very liberal views on immigration.'

The Robert Moss in question is not the man from NAFF and The Economist, but his namesake who adorns the Conservative Party in Middlesbrough. Coincidences never seem to cease.

## Iron discipline

THE ELECTORS who voted for the far-left candidates in France turned out to be the best disciplined. The overwhelming majority transferred their votes

to the Communist or Socialist Parties. But not the Left Radicals.

Rouge, the daily paper of the Revolutionary Communist League [LCR — French section of the Fourth International] explained that the Left Radicals were the Trojan puppy of the right-wing parties and votes should not be transferred to them.

This had a dramatic impact in two constituencies, where the Left Radicals were defeated because the far-left did not transfer its votes to them. In one of these, Louviers, the joint LCR-PSU slate got 800 votes. The Left Radical was defeated by 320 votes. He has since joined the Socialist Party!

## Official Secrets are for sharing

THE ABC campaign — in defence of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell, who are being prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act — has launched a monthly newsletter with an initial postal circulation of 900 to campaign supporters. No doubt Special Branch (estimated strength 1,100) and M15, Britain's internal secret police (estimated strength 5,000) will be anxious to join the mailing list — if their friends in the Post Office haven't already done the necessary.

The ABC campaign has not been short of imagination or energy. Among the activities planned is for one of the defendants to stand in the forthcoming Wycombe by-election. The area is full of interesting installations and the Tory candidate is ex-M15.

An ABC support group has been set up in Newcastle, and is keen to undertake research into what the snoopers are up to in the area. One supporter, a local councillor, wants to find out about what she believes is a county communications centre. The group has contacts with Newcastle civil servants in the CPSA and the local Inland Revenue Staff Association.

The Government is evidently determined to hold on to its pernicious secrets. Last week Attorney Sam Silkin ordered the jailing for contempt of court of journalists on The Leveiler, which published the identity of 'Colonel B' — who just happened to give full details of his Army position in cross examination during the preliminary hearing of the ABC case.

Copies of the campaign newsletter are available c/o Time Out, 374 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1. A donation would be appreciated.



# Only whites need apply to The Club of Ten



Identity Card No 2

**Name:** Fred Willey  
**Age:** 67  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Labour Member of Parliament for Sunderland North.  
**History:** Fred Willey was a Minister in the Wilson Government. Since being sacked he has adopted more and more right-wing causes. He is a member of the Labour right-wing Manifesto Group and was a sponsor of the infamous Benyon Bill which

attempted to restrict abortion rights. He was chairperson of the Immigration Select Committee.

Willey is sponsored by the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs. He is a barrister and a company director. He has also written a book entitled *The Honorable Member*, and went to Cambridge University.

Most surprisingly, Willey is a member of the Save The Children Fund council. Perhaps he believes that blacks are all very well, as long as they stay in their place.



Identity Card No 5

**Name:** Tom Torney  
**Age:** 62  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Labour Member of Parliament for Bradford South  
**History:** Tom Torney is a Tribuneite and a former

bureaucrat for the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, whose members are among the lowest paid in the country.

Torney's only real claim to fame was his opposition to the nationalisation of Bristol Channel Ship Repairs, which waged a long and successful campaign to be exempted from the Labour Government's nationalisation plans for shipbuilding.

As well as supporting this campaign in Parliament, Torney was public relations consultant for International News Service, which ran the Bristol Channel Ship Repairs campaign.

Torney is also a Justice of the Peace and is sponsored by USDAW. He attended only 15 out of the Select Committee's 28 sessions.



Identity Card No 8

**Name:** Alfred Hall Davis  
**Age:** 53  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Tory Member of

Parliament for Morcombe and Lonsdale

**History:** Alfred Hall Davis has always had close links with the Tory leadership. To keep in with Heath, he claims to have a great interest in sailing. He is an associate of Thatcher, having been her Private Parliamentary Secretary from 1970-73. He has also been a Tory Whip.

Hall Davis has considerable business interests. He is a director in the giant brewery Bass Charrington, which last year made a profit of £99.7m.

Leaving aside Hall Davis's directors' fees, his shares in Bass Charrington netted him just under £1000 last year. It is well known that Asians do not drink as much as whites.



Identity Card No 3

**Name:** Eric Moonman  
**Age:** 48  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Labour Member of Parliament for Basildon  
**History:** Moonman came to politics via management. He was at one time 'human relations advisor' for the bosses organisation, the British Insti-

tute of Management. He is now a member of the right-wing Manifesto Group.

His attitude to race relations is shown by a speech he made in Parliament in November 1977, when he announced:

'I have been a member of the Select Committee on Race Relations for a number of years, yet this is the first time I have had to raise a matter of racial prejudice on the university campus'.

The cause of Moonman's only protest was not the raising of fees for overseas students in higher education, but ultra-left attempts to ban Zionist societies from colleges.

Moonman himself is an extreme Zionist, but he seems less concerned about the rights of other races. Of the 28 sessions which the Select Committee held, Moonman managed to attend only eight.



Identity Card No 6

**Name:** Dudley Smith  
**Age:** 51  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Tory Member of Parliament for Warwick and Leamington.

**History:** Unlike others on the Select Committee, Dudley Smith has had a consistent position on immigration. In December 1977, he said: 'I have always taken a certain view on immigration. I believe that it should be far more restricted than it is.'

He attacked in Parliament Rees' amnesty for 'illegal' immigrants. The Select Com-

mittee's Report demands that no more such amnesties are declared. Smith also criticised Labour's political broadcast attacking the National Front.

In July 1977, he asked the Government what evidence it had that 'immigration from the Indian sub-continent is now diminishing'. When an equivocal answer was given, Enoch Powell came to Smith's side to demand the Government spokesperson answer the questions.

Smith is a governor of Mill Hill public school, a director of an American multi-national, and a former journalist on the *Sunday Express*.



Identity Card No 9

**Name:** William Elliot  
**Age:** 53  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Tory Member of Parliament for Newcastle Upon Tyne  
**History:** A one-time rising star who never quite made it,

William Elliot was a junior Minister in the Home Office and a vice-chairperson of the Tory Party. He was also Tory whip from 1963-73.

He built up a family haulage business and is a former president of the National Council of Road Transport Clearing Houses, an employers' organisation.

Elliot is a former director in Leslie Grade films, and has been a director of Newcastle and Gateshead Water Company since 1971. He farms 300 acres in Northumberland.

All this may account for his limited attendance at the hearings of the Select Committee; Elliot managed 16 out of the 28, but he did avail himself of the all-expenses paid trip to Pakistan, Bangladesh and India on behalf of the Select Committee.



Identity Card No 4

**Name:** William Wilson  
**Age:** 64  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Labour Member of Parliament for Coventry South-east.  
**History:** William Wilson is a

Tribuneite who has in the past been associated with progressive causes, such as divorce reform and Troops Out of Ireland.

He has also been known as pro-Arab, although whether he will continue to be secretary of the Anglo-Jordan alliance after his joint authorship of the Select Committee's Report remains an open question.

Wilson comes from a legal background and he remains a practising solicitor. He is also a shareholder in Coventry City Football Club, which unlike other clubs in the Midlands has no black player in its first team.

Wilson also has a military background, being a former sergeant in the British Army. He is hard of hearing, and says little in the House of Commons.



Identity Card No 7

**Name:** Hal Miller  
**Age:** 49  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male

**Occupation:** Tory Member of Parliament for Brooms Grove and Reditch

**History:** A right-wing Tory, Hal Miller spent many years administrating the British Empire in Hong Kong. He was in the colonial service from 1955-68.

Miller is also a director of two textile companies and is a 'fellow' of the Economic Development Institution of the World Bank in Washington.

He had a perfect gentlemen's education, going to Eton and Oxford. In his spare time he is a rugby referee. All these activities may explain why he has made few speeches in the House of Commons.



Identity Card No 10

**Name:** Anthony Steen  
**Age:** 39  
**Colour:** White  
**Sex:** Male  
**Occupation:** Tory Member of Parliament for Wavertree  
**History:** Anthony Steen is associated with the trendy, social conscience wing of the Tory Party. He was educated at the fashionable Westminster public school and at London University.  
Steen has spent a number of

years serving the Empire abroad. He is a former lecturer for the Ghana High Commission and has been a consultant on employment and youth for the Canadian federal and provincial governments.

He talks a lot in Parliament about 'good works', and will tell anyone who listens that he has raised over £1m for charity since 1964. He is even a member of Voluntary Service Overseas.

Steen is a barrister specialising in landlords' rights.

# Black residents to be deported Home Office home breakers at it again

REPATRIATION of recent immigrants to this country is not so far away. As the Select Committee returned its report on the 'immigrant problem', the Home Office was showing that it has already found a way of 'solving' it.

Since 1955, Sarah Kusah from Sierra Leone has lived in Britain for a total of 14 years. But this has not stopped Merlyn Rees signing a deportation order and setting the Metropolitan Police to hunt her down.

JUDE WOODWARD interviewed Sarah Kusah and Cecil Gutzmore of the Black People's Information Centre in West London.

One evening last month, as Sarah Kusah sat down to supper with her children, the police arrived at the front door of her flat in Paddington.

The Home Office's deportation order had been issued a few days before. She did not open the door.

For 20 minutes, the police knocked, banged, and kicked. When they finally left, the family pulled on their coats and made off into the night. A friend came by the next day to clear up the half-eaten supper and collect the family's clothes.

Any resemblance to life in Nazi Germany should not be discounted.

## ESTRANGED

It is no longer surprising to hear of black people being deported from Britain as illegal immigrants. In the case of Sarah Kusah, it is clear that she has been tricked into her present situation.

When she entered the country in 1973 to rejoin her estranged husband, the Home Office issued her with a visitor's entry visa, with clearance for a limited period only. Presumably the immigra-

tion officials were showing their customary suspicion of any marriage that might allow a black person to live in this country.

This is the crux of the matter. Sarah Kusah's husband left Britain in 1974 after separating from his wife. Mr Kusah had been resident here for 23 years when he left to go to Ghana. Sarah, as a dependent relative, should be entitled to permanent residence in Britain, even under the present oppressive laws.

Her two children were born in this country, and even the Home Office admits that they are not illegal immigrants. The children want to stay. Letitia, who is 16 and preparing for her O-Levels, says: 'I live here. This is my home and I've got my friends here.'

Her brother Benjamin is now 14. When he last lived in Sierra Leone he was only 8. He has grown up here and has no desire to leave. If their mother is forced to leave, both children will have to join her or else go into care.

Sarah Kusah's husband left the country in 1974 to go to Ghana, and now the Home Office claims there is no evidence that she ever had a

husband, let alone one that had residence rights in this country. Sarah points out that her marriage was ended by a separation order in the British courts. She even showed the Home Office the papers.

After the family's hasty departure from Paddington, they eventually returned when a letter, collected from the house by a friend, informed Sarah that she could stay in the country until the end of this month.

She is not going to leave her home again. 'Before I was a bit of a coward,' she explains, 'but now I am going to fight. I'm tired of running away as though I was a criminal.'

She has begun her fight by approaching the Black People's Information Centre for help, and they are organising press releases and attempting to gather support for a picket of the Home Office. The BBC's Nationwide team has made a film report, but so far this has not been screened.

## NOT UNUSUAL

When the producer of the programme was contacted, he denied all knowledge of the film having been made. Perhaps a rather convenient 'accidental loss' in view of the 'sensitivity' of the immigration issue at the moment.

Cecil Gutzmore, a black community worker, points out that Sarah Kusah's case is not in itself unusual. The information centre was satisfied that she had a legal right to stay in Britain and are hopeful of being able to convince the Home Office of this.

But frequently there are cases

where the law is quite clear, and very harsh, and people had no choice but to leave the country, their families, and their homes. Cecil Gutzmore gives an example of a woman in Ipswich who had left her daughter at school in the Caribbean when she came to this country, as she feared that racism here would prevent her obtaining a good education in Britain.

The daughter stayed in the Caribbean until she was over 16, and thus lost her right of residence in Britain. Now she is here on a short visa doing further education. But the last time that she received an extension of her visa it carried a pencilled note which read: 'This does not give you the right of permanent abode.'

It seems unlikely that she will receive a further visa to allow her to stay with her mother or finish her education.

When Sarah Kusah brought her children to Britain for the second time, after spending six years in Sierra Leone, an immigration official pleasantly asked her, 'After taking the children out of the country, what right have you got to bring them back here?'

Sarah Kusah was a bit too upset by this to say: 'Every right in the world'. But the way things are going, is the right of residence, even for those born here, safe for long? The Home Office has 'humanely' offered to pay for her children to go back to Sierra Leone with her. Yet they are not illegal immigrants, even in the Home Office's eyes.

How far are we from Powell's £5,000 inducements to 'persuade' immigrants they are better off elsewhere?

## GMWU BANS FASCISTS

THE THIRD largest union in Britain — the General and Municipal Workers — has threatened National Front activists in the union with removal from office and a ban on participation in union affairs.

Following a long debate on the NF at an executive council meeting, a statement has been drawn up which specifies a procedure for dealing with members of fascist organisations.

The executive states that it 'does not propose introducing a crude political ban on any party affiliation of our members'.

But it singles out the fascist outfits 'because the opinions of such organisations are diametrically opposed to every fundamental principle of trade unionism'.

Members are advised to use the GMWU's rule 43.11 which enables regional and higher bodies to impose sanctions on those 'acting contrary to the policy of the union or against the best interests of the union'.

The union has also issued a leaflet on 'Race Relations at Work'.

## RACIST COURTS

THE CASE OF Soraya Ali, now facing 18 months imprisonment, provides new evidence of racist discrimination by Manchester police and courts, reports KRANTI LALL.

Two incidents are involved. Soraya Ali first received a 12-month sentence for 'causing actual bodily harm' by 'biting a policeman's arm' at an anti-monarchy rally. Her second court appearance led to three concurrent 6-month sentences for assault and two counts of possessing 'offensive weapons' on an anti-fascist demonstration last October.

The 'weapons' in question were an eighteen inch stick and a Jif lemon. Her sentence contrasts with a fine for a local NF member recently convicted of possessing a rifle, two pistols and stolen ammunition.

Soraya Ali spent 6 weeks in a remand centre before she was allowed bail. During this time she was threatened that she was 'liable for deportation'. Labour councillor Andrew Fender has referred her case to the International Commission of Jurists.

## MAY DAY EVE

ON MAY Day Eve the Anti Nazi League will be holding a Carnival against Nazis in London.

It will begin with a Rally in Trafalgar Square, and will then move off, led by the Tom Robinson Band, Steel Pulse, (a reggae band) and the Punk group X-Ray Spex to Victoria Park in East London for an open air concert.

This will be four days before the local elections, when the National Front are putting up 1,500 candidates.

The Carnival is jointly organised by the Anti Nazi League, Rock Against Racism and the Hackney Community Relations Council. It promises to be a really exciting event and a good climax to the energies that will be put into countering the National Front's propaganda in the run-up to the elections.

Hopefully many people from all over the country, who are concerned to fight against the racism of the Front will come and take part — young people, trade unionists and others.

Anyone wishing to find out more about the event should phone Paul Holbrow [Organising Secretary] Anti-Nazi League on 01-734 5456 or Peter Hain [Press Officer] on 01-622 9977.

## BANS RALLY

VERY FEW people realised the full importance of Commissioner McNeen's Public Order Act ban on marches in London, judging by the small number who turned out for the meeting to oppose the ban, in Camden Town Hall on 22 March.

There were only 150 people in a hall which would have held over 1,000 and most of these were from the SWP, the IMG and other left groups, although there were some independents represented, most noticeably the Women Against Racism and Fascism.

The meeting was addressed by speakers representing a wide spectrum of forces that oppose the ban on marches.

The point was made that perhaps more people would have been attracted to the meeting if the Organising Committee had put forward a clearer plan for mass action against the ban.

Unfortunately the people who attended knew the threat presented by the ban. The meeting did not offer these people any positive ideas as to how they could really build a fight against the bans and ensure that one could not be so easily imposed again.

It was a start — but one which must be drastically improved upon.

## GLASGOW ANL

AN AUDIENCE of 300 attended a rally to launch the Anti-Nazi League in Glasgow, reports CHRIS BAMBERY.

Despite front page treatment by the Sunday Mail for National Front activity in Glasgow and Edinburgh schools, and a growing number of Nazi attacks on Asian temples and shops in Edinburgh, Glasgow has only a limited history of anti-fascist activity.

The local trades council was informed by its secretary, John Reidford, at its last meeting, that 'racism is not a problem in Glasgow'. Any violence, he added, was caused by 'gangsters'. Not surprisingly, the trades council's anti-racist committee is renowned for its inactivity.

Stewart MacLennan, from the Civil and Public Servants Association, announced unanimous support from his office representatives — including supporters of the SNP and Tory party — for the setting up of the ANL. Such unity, he argued, could be best maintained through the setting up of an active and democratic delegate-based ANL in Glasgow.

## BOLTON DEFENCE

Bolton Defence Campaign needs witnesses and photographs of any incident on the 10 February Anti-Nazi picket of Bolton Town Hall.

Any donations towards the fines should be made out to Bolton Trades Council (Defence Fund), and sent to Dave Siddle, BDC, c/o 70 Stewart Street, Bolton.



SARAH KUSAH (centre) and her children Benjamin and Letitia: 'Now I'm going to fight'



## Lambeth by election debate continues Disunited campaign a hindrance

A mass meeting of nearly 140 last week voted overwhelmingly to run a class struggle candidate in the forthcoming Lambeth Central by-election. RICHARD CARVER reports.

The meeting on Wednesday 22 March was the second in a fortnight to discuss running a candidate on the Socialist Unity platform — the first was broken up by police because it was too large!

The news of the first meeting had got around, a large hall booked, and still more local people were attracted. Only two voted against the proposal to stand a candidate, with a small number of Socialist Workers Party supporters abstaining.

It was agreed to postpone the election of the candidate and the campaign committee until a further meeting this week, to allow time for local organisations to consider nominations.

### FAST MOVING

Things had moved fast between the two meetings. The West Indian Block, a black organisation claiming a membership of 500 in Brixton, which had previously said it supported the Socialist Unity programme, suddenly decided to pull out and support the Liberals!

It claimed that the Liberals were the only party to oppose the Select Committee report on Immigration — a poor excuse considering the Socialist Unity (and SWP) position on immigration is not in doubt.

The real reason is more likely to be Socialist Unity's insistence that all posts in the campaign, including the candidate, have to be elected. The West Indian Block wanted their own nominees in all the important positions.

Some members have already

expressed their disgust with this spectacular turn, including Len Walters, who was to have been the WIB's nominee for candidate. He has left the organisation and pledged his continued support for Socialist Unity.

### SOCIALLY

Whether other WIB members will follow is hard to predict, for the WIB, like many organisations in the black communities, is organised socially rather than politically and has only a small active membership.

One black organisation which has consistently backed Socialist Unity in Brixton is the Croydon and Brixton Collective, a small revolutionary organisation, but with a fair measure of local support.

Lloyd, their speaker at last Wednesday's meeting, said that blacks have always looked on the revolutionary left with a certain cynicism; 'You have never shown us what to do — only what not to do.'

He was talking about the amoeba-like consistency of the far left: 'The task of unity on the left is the most difficult task anyone can embark upon.'

### INDIFFERENCE

But he stressed the opportunities for a united far left in the Brixton by-election.

The Labour Party in the area is on the wane and the previous MP, Marcus Lipton, had regarded the constituency with 'benign indifference'. Lloyd even suggested that Socialist Unity could win the



LEN WALTERS: resigned in disgust at the WIB-Lib pact.

Photo: MARK RUSHER (IFL)

seat.

Speakers from the floor set their sights lower but were equally enthusiastic about the prospects of the campaign. International Marxist Group and Big Flame speakers, and many non-aligned and Labour Party militants rejected the argument of Tony Bogue, the Flame/SWP candidate, that 'you can only have unity in action in concrete situations. We don't necessarily mean socialist unity in elections.'

Local teacher Betty Hunter argued that this fell into the electoral trap and that revolutionaries stand in elections to fight for a programme that can build united action around the struggles and campaigns in the area.

And Vanessa Wiseman of Lambeth Trades Council rejected the SWP's implication that there was no activity in the area to base the campaign on.

That was an insult to the many militants who had been active in the area for years. Speaker after speaker stressed the importance of a democratically organised campaign, saying this was important to present an alternative to the parliamentary system. Whether elected or not the candidate had to be accountable to mass meetings in the area.

They asked the SWP to put its candidate up for selection before the meeting. SWP members answered that the meeting was unrepresentative and many people there were from outside the constituency.

Bob Pennington, National Socialist Unity Organiser, denied the charge, but added that he welcomed the broadest support for the campaign from outside the constituency as well as from inside it.

## 'Build a united campaign in Lambeth'

ACCORDING to Linda Quinn and Danny Phillips (Socialist Challenge, 23 March) the 'SWP has a stronger base in the Lambeth area...than any other revolutionary organisation'. So everybody should support the Flame/SWP candidate, Tony Bogue. That mixture of perverted logic and braggadocio gets us nowhere.

The truth is that no revolutionary organisation in Lambeth, or anywhere else for that matter, has the full support of the majority of advanced militants, never mind the real base of the working class. The first job in the Lambeth by-election is to get a campaign off the ground that will unite not just the revolutionary left, but militants from every section who want to fight the pro-employer, racist policies of the Labour Government.

This is why Socialist Unity called two meetings in the area to discuss the by-election. These meetings were attended by 98 and 138 people respectively, and included comrades from black organisations, the women's movement, squatters, independent trade unionists, Labour Party members and people from a number of different revolutionary groups.

### RESPONSIBLE

The second meeting voted to stand a candidate on the Socialist Unity programme. Participants correctly insisted that such a candidate would be responsible to all those who supported the campaign, and that all supporters of the campaign would have a right to nominate and vote for a candidate of their choice.

This is what Linda and Danny despairingly describe as the 'unique democratic' procedures of Socialist Unity. In contrast, the Socialist Workers Party offers us their own version of democracy which boils down to: 'We have

selected Tony Bogue, now you lot come and work for him!'

Perhaps this approach to democracy explains why over 100 people voted for the Socialist Unity proposals, two comrades voted against, and the SWP delegation abstained.

### RECRUIT

Danny Phillips, when he spoke, made it clear why the SWP stands in elections when he said, 'Elections are not about the struggle... The independents — who were in the overwhelming majority at the meeting — clearly could not help but see that the SWP thinks elections are just about recruiting members to Flame/SWP.'

That approach does not inspire people who quite rightly would object to tramping the streets of Lambeth for three weeks in order to recruit members for the SWP.

It certainly left cold those who want to do things like build a strong united anti-racist movement in the area, make the issue of women's rights a central feature of the campaign, and fight against the rising numbers of unemployed, especially amongst young black people.

And it was uninspiring for those black brothers and sisters who want to organise a strong, independent black movement, but reject the idea that it should be simply an appendage of one or other of the revolutionary organisations.

It is still not too late for us to have a united campaign in Lambeth in which Flame/SWP can play a vital role.

We appeal to Flame/SWP to help us build a united campaign in Lambeth. JOHN BORAN (Lambeth IMG organiser)

## Abortion & Glasgow

JAMES WHITE, with his anti-abortion Bill in 1975, gave us a whiff of what to expect from Labour in Glasgow. The Tories can never be expected to stand up for a woman's right to choose.

And now the Scottish Labour Party, which told us it was going to be a very different political phenomenon, has stepped into line with a predictable 'rabidly anti-abortion' position, in the words of one Glasgow pro-abortion campaigner.

Eve Oldham, from Glasgow National Abortion Campaign took the campaign's petition for a day-care abortion clinic in Glasgow — an abortion no-go area — to Shona Farrell, the SLP candidate in the coming by-election in Garscadden.

'We were amazed by her response', Eve says, 'particularly considering that Jim Silvers, the party leader, has always taken a pro-abortion stand. She got very angry and accused us of deliberately making trouble by raising the abortion issue.'

Glasgow NAC is continuing its campaign during the

by-election by mass leafleting and holding a public meeting, where the SWP candidate, Peter Porteous, will speak. So far the Communist Party candidate, Sammy Barr, has not made any public statement on abortion.

Glasgow NAC Public Meeting

'Abortion and the By Election — What You Are Voting For?'

NAC Speaker: Jenny Oswald

All candidates invited  
5 April, 7.30pm, Langfauld's School, Glasgow.

## Edinburgh stripshow stopped

Edinburgh University, a bastion of male chauvinism in Scotland, has been forced to yield to the pressure of the women's movement and give up some of its worst sexist excesses, reports ANN HENDERSON.

A picket was held from mid-afternoon, with support from women's groups and left political organisations. After one of the women had been

interviewed on local and Scottish radio, protestors arrived from Stirling as well.

Later the bar was occupied, and the venue for the strip show was changed. But not before 300 chauvinists had showered the women with abuse, cold beer and the occasional glass. The new venue was also occupied, and the show finally had to be cancelled.

The women's group spoke with the stripper, and ensured that she would not lose her fee as a result of the protest.

Sexist events like the strip shows, which men usually see as 'harmless entertainment', have to be fought, particularly when they take place in union bars and halls. The example of the women in Edinburgh should encourage other women to take a firm stand against such sexist abuses in their unions.

## Oxford nurseries

OXFORDSHIRE's Tory Council has been mounting an attack on education at all levels, and has met with angry resistance.

ANITA RICHARDS



reports on the occupation of the South Oxford nursery class to prevent its closures.

Parents occupied the nursery class on 22 March — when they arrived to collect their children they announced that they were going to stay.

Since then the nursery has remained open, with most of the usual children looked after by unemployed teachers, parents and other helpers. At a public meeting the day after

the occupation began it was resolved to keep the nursery running into next term and to demand that the council continues paying wages for the staff.

Oxford council has millions in reserve funds and has recently turned down a rare offer of financial help for nursery provision from the Government. The council must be forced to take a more responsible attitude to the needs of parents and children in the area.

The campaign is about the need of all mothers — and fathers — for safe, free care for their children while they work or study, or are simply at home during the day — not just those parents and children who already have places in the South Oxford nursery.

Resolutions, donations and requests for information to: Michelle Flood, 35 Alexandra Road, Oxford. Tel: 0865 725234. Cheques payable to Oxford City Nursery Campaign.

# The Communist Party and Feminism - a reply

Several weeks ago (Socialist Challenge, 2 February 1978), three members of the Communist Party, Bea Campbell, Jane Roberts and Caroline Rowan, criticised the positions of the International Marxist Group on women's liberation and socialist feminism. They made three basic criticisms.

These were: (1) Our model of the family was crude. We never analysed the 'conditions of existence' of the material oppression of women within the family. We had no 'politics now' for the family, sexuality, personality.

Our reply to this allegation is simple. The women's movement has contributed more to an analysis of the specific oppression of women under capitalism in one decade than Marxism has done in a century. This is particularly the case with sexual politics. Of course much of that analysis has drawn on the work done by Marxists on the economic oppression of women and the sexual division of labour; political oppression, discrimination, etc.

To repeat the formulae of the women's movement on the pervasive character of women's oppression and to announce that it must be integrated into a revolutionary practice is one thing. Changing the practice of the Communist Party is another. We are not arguing that the far left groups are perfect or pure. Far from it. In fact the whole of the left has to re-assess its attitude to women. The CPGB is incapable of making that change as a party because its reformist strategy cannot create the preconditions for women's liberation.

## 'GINGER GROUP'

(2) The second accusation against us was that we refuse to accept that the WLM has an autonomous political future. We collapse it into 'a ginger group of the labour movement under the guidance of a revolutionary elite.'

We refuse to accept this sleight-of-hand argument. Autonomy for us means that a movement determines its own tactics and forms of struggle against oppression. It decides its own future. We accept that fully.

But is it sufficient merely to state that and sit back? Is it not the case that in the process of fighting for their demands many women come to an understanding that their oppression is ultimately structured by a specific mode of production, known as capitalism? That therefore their struggle must encompass a fight against this system. Should not revolutionary women argue against those who believe that women's liberation is possible under capitalism?

We presume that Bea, Jane and Caroline would agree that they should. In which case why the snide references to 'ginger groups' and 'revolutionary elites'?

## SOCIALIST STRATEGY

What we are doing is suggesting that socialist women should fight for a socialist strategy for women. This does not mean reducing them to 'ginger groups'. But women will need allies in their struggle and the fact that the leading agency for achieving social change remains the working class means that an alliance with it will be somewhat crucial. Surely this is not too scandalous an idea for comrades in the Communist Party.

(3) Lastly our entire strategy is questioned. Our view of the revolutionary process is considered cataclysmic. Bea, Jane and Caroline say that we see ourselves as the spearhead of the revolution and the ignorant masses as mere fodder. This is a patriarchal strategy and must be rejected by feminists.

This is an absurd caricature of our positions which borders on deliberate political dishonesty.

It is true that one group on the far left (the Workers Revolutionary Party) has an economic attitude to women and a manipulative view of revolution. But to tar everyone with that brush is absurd. Our view is in the tradition of classical Marxism. We

## VAL COULTAS explains the position of the International Marxist Group on the relationship between the Women's Liberation Movement and revolutionary politics.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

believe that revolutions are made by the movement of social classes. Their success is assured by the existence of a revolutionary party based and rooted in the class which is strategically decisive — the working class. But without the movement of a class as a whole, there can be no revolutions.

Bea, Jane and Caroline argue that the CP's strategy is premised on the creation of a new mass political formation. We are accused of being mechanistic, mindless dogmatists, incapable of perceiving the revolution as a process. Unable to distinguish between differing levels of consciousness. Refusing to understand that there can be 'an equal and democratic relation between political forces', in particular the WLM and the revolutionary party. Leninism is denounced as 'hierarchical'.

We reject these charges. Lenin's arguments for building a mass revolutionary party and its tasks were precisely to combat the ruling class on every level, including the level of ideology (racism, national chauvinism, sexism and so on).

The Leninist party seeks to develop the self-activity of the working class and the oppressed layers in society and channel their energies in a struggle against the bourgeoisie and its State.

## NEW IDEAS

Why is such a party needed in Britain today? Because the mass organisations (the Labour Party and trade unions) reproduce bourgeois consciousness within the working class. This is hardly surprising as the horizons of these organisations are narrow, limited in scope to reforms within capitalism.

Mass consciousness will be changed by a two-fold process. The masses will learn and assimilate new ideas through their own experience, but unless and until there are active revolutionaries already fighting for these ideas and offering a strategic alternative, this mass consciousness will rapidly recede.

That is why Leninists argue for the existence of a revolutionary party, structured to conduct a permanent struggle against the bourgeoisie on every level and ultimately challenge its hegemony by showing the possibility of creating autonomous structures of working class power, independent of the bourgeois state and organisationally independent of any one political party. We are the most consistent defenders of autonomy against the bourgeois state, but on every level.

## SAME ROLE

The forms taken by a revolutionary party vary from country to country. The comrades will surely agree that it is somewhat difficult to function in Chile, Argentina, Brazil or Thailand in the same way as we do in Britain, France or Italy. For socialists opposed to the regimes in the USSR and Eastern Europe the problems posed are, again, of a different order.

The function of Leninist parties in all these countries, however, remains the same.

## NO FACTIONS

The model of the Communist Parties has been historically counterposed to Leninism. It has been based on the pattern developed by Stalin. True much has altered in recent years. The 'Eurocommunists' are committed to pluralism, even after socialism. But inside their own parties: no tendencies, no factions. It is a bit cheeky for women belonging to a party whose internal regime is structurally undemocratic to accuse us of being hierarchical.

True, the CP today permits its members to say many different things. So does the Labour Party. The point is that all power lies in the hands of the leadership. Public debates are good, but their effect can, at best, be cosmetic for they cannot challenge the overall strategy of the party. The axe to the root, comrades. Your failure to fight the undemocratic and hierarchical structures of the CP reduce your

credibility as the champions of autonomy.

We do not claim that the structures of a Leninist party are perfect. All we are suggesting is that an equation between Leninism and the functioning of either the CP or groups like the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) is utterly misleading. Any party worth its name learns from the masses, assimilates new ideas and modifies this or that aspect of its functioning accordingly.

The development and growth of the WLM has meant that the left has had to learn many new ideas and transform its practice. True this has been done in an uneven fashion. We still have a long way to go. At this very moment a discussion is taking place within the IMG on many of these questions. The Fourth International has published for debate a lengthy policy on socialist democracy. Comrades in the IMG who argue for the importance of sexual politics or the establishment of women's caucuses are not an isolated, powerless 'cultural vanguard'. The issues on which they win support for their ideas will determine the attitude of the organisation as a whole, not just a few of its components.

## AMBITIOUS

Bea, Jane and Caroline suggest that the CP has assimilated the political impact of the WLM. This is an ambitious claim. One has only to look at the CP's practice. Does the CP's student fraction struggle alongside those women who demand the right to self-organisation within the students unions? No! Does the industrial base of the CP combat the numerous manifestations of sexism in the unions and Trades Councils? We would be interested in reading about such examples.

The practice of the Communist Parties in those countries where they are mass parties is very revealing. In Spain, the PCE calling itself 'The party of Women's Liberation' has attempted to control the autonomous movement through its own women's organisation, the MDM, and suppress any criticisms on the question from its women membership. It has also refused to take up demands of amnesty for women political prisoners because of its desires to outbid the PSOE in respectability and its strategy which involves alliances with monarchists. The Italian CP even vacillated on the divorce referendum, let alone on abortion, and forms an alliance with the Catholic Church. What price then the equal and democratic relation between political forces?

## MUCH WEAKER

In Britain because the CPGB is much weaker than its European counterparts and social democracy is particularly strong, this compromise takes a specific form. In the women's liberation movement many CP women argue that women's oppression is the product of a distinct

'mode of reproduction' that reproduces patriarchal ideology separate from the mode of production from which class exploitation flows.

## TUC CHARTER

Thus the feminist struggle is not only autonomous from the class struggle it is separate from it, to a large extent. How separate it is and where it is linked is rarely specified. Such a theoretical analysis has much in common with a radical feminist approach to women's oppression. Its conclusion is to concentrate feminist activity in building the WLM and challenging patriarchal ideology.

Parallel to this, in the labour movement the CP uses the backward consciousness of the working class to justify not only accommodations to racism (socialist immigration controls) but also accommodations to sexism. Hence its support for the original TUC Charter, which extolled the role of women as mothers and nurses, and the CP's counterposition of the reformist demands of the Abortion Law Reform Association.

Thus the CP has a split opportunist strategy in Britain — it accommodates radical feminism in the WLM and radical economism in the labour movement. The ideological struggle that Bea, Jane and Caroline have waged in the CP may have changed a few ideas in some CP members' heads, but it has definitely not changed its overall practice.

## NOT SEPARATE

For us, the struggle for women's liberation cannot be separated from the struggle for socialism. In no way, however, can the struggle for women's liberation be reduced to the struggle for socialism.

This affects our attitude to struggles of women today and during the revolutionary process itself. The right to control our own bodies is not something we are willing to precipitate compromises on. Nor do we advocate that women should run alongside us in a revolutionary putsch. Every revolutionary crisis in history has produced a proletarianisation in society that poses the question of which class rules — whether it be Spain in 1936 or Portugal in 1974.

An autonomous women's liberation movement in a situation where two classes are organising against each other would be faced with a very clear political choice. The masses of women would be involved in bourgeois representative democracy because bourgeois democracy gives equal rights to people who have unequal social positions. And women are very much at the bottom of the pile. We are clear which side we will take when that process begins. Where will Caroline, Bea and Jane stand?

## OPPRESSION

Finally, we would add that the charge of elitism and hierarchy that is made in the article by Bea, Caroline and Jane rebounds on them. The strategy of Leninism attempts to give the masses a political voice. They are denied that voice in bourgeois society through bourgeois institutions which not only exploit them economically but oppress them politically. Hence, for example, bourgeois elections are advocated as the main chance for the masses to exercise their political power. Through lack of choice, lack of information, control of propaganda, lack of accountability we know that the masses have very little power to influence their representatives.

Soviet power breaks through this manipulation by giving the mass of people control over political choices in their lives. By making concessions to bourgeois institutions the CP tie the masses of the oppressed to the most hierarchical and undemocratic structures that exist in our society in Spain, the monarchy; in Italy, the Church; in Britain, Parliament. In doing so they deny the masses of workers, women, blacks, an independent political voice. What could be more elitist than that!

## As Dromey 'calls off' strike The twists and turns of Grunwick

JACK DROMEY, the secretary of Brent Trades Council, has played a leading role in the long-running Grunwick strike. On Tuesday he announced that the 19-month strike would be over in 'six to eight weeks'.

Dromey spoke without the authority of the union involved — APEX — and without the authority of the strike committee on which he sits. In the light of Dromey's statement, JONATHAN SILBERMAN examines the lessons of Grunwick.

On hearing of Dromey's statement, a spokesperson for APEX told *Socialist Challenge* that as far as the union was concerned the strike would continue indefinitely.

So the latest twist to the strike is that APEX general secretary Roy Grantham and the rest of the union bureaucracy now appear more militant and determined than the organiser of the mass pickets, Jack Dromey.

What, then, is Grantham up to? What explains Dromey's willingness to call it a day? And most importantly, can the strike still be won?

### STRIKE PAY

The strike committee has placed its energy and resources at the disposal of ACAS — leafletting the scabs on their way to work, flyposting around the factory, announcing meetings for the scabs, and setting up some kind of a polling station through which a 'more representative' ballot of the workforce could be conducted.

Grantham is willing to shell out strike pay to wage a fight for the continuation of the strike. The London APEX District Council was able to call a 'mass picket' on 14 March without fear of disciplinary action by the union. And Grantham is prepared to speak at the solidarity conference on 14 May.

This turnaround by the APEX leadership is because the Employment Protection Act is

central to the strategy of the trade union leadership as a whole. While the conduct of the Grunwick strike is firmly placed within the legal channels that these leaders love so much, Grantham is able to adopt a more 'militant' image because he fears no repetition of the explosive events of last summer.

The APEX leaders have managed to regain control of the strike primarily through bureaucratic manoeuvres in union with the rest of the trade union leadership, especially Tom Jackson and the Postal Workers executive.

During the mass picketing last summer, Grantham joined forces with the TUC — and the Labour Government — to try and cool down the situation. They wrung an important concession from the strike committee: that the 'Day of Action' on 11 July would only be a limited mass picket followed by a TUC-backed demonstration.

This tactical victory was followed through when they secured the calling off of the 8 August mass picket. This was critical. Through threats of all sorts — including withdrawal of strike pay — Grantham and Co managed to diffuse the momentum of the mass action.

### EXPLOITATION

The Trades Union Congress in September agreed on a general resolution which meant nothing specific. The hundred strike-ers and the strike



Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

committee officers were suspended from APEX when a hunger strike was held outside the TUC headquarters. The officers of the London district of the UPW were fined a total of £1400 for their part in the solidarity boycott.

These manoeuvres enabled the APEX leaders to launch an assault on the strategy put forward by Jack Dromey, secretary of Brent Trades Council and the dominant political force in the strike committee. Dromey acted far

better than most secretaries of trades councils would have done in the same situation.

But Dromey's whole strategy was to collapse when the official leadership refused to move. Their open sabotage meant that only a preparedness to organise independently of the bureaucrats stood any chance of success. Dromey went in the reverse direction.

First, place all hopes in the resolution at the TUC. Then, the more the TUC failed to carry out the sentiment expressed by Congress, the more Dromey pushed the strike committee into placing demands on the TUC.

The hunger strike was Dromey's idea. Instead of recalling the solidarity conference as mandated by the South-east Region of the TUC and pressured by the strike committee, Dromey postponed it to December. Here was an opportunity to provide a forum for organising real solidarity action. But it was eventually called off altogether.

The mass picket on 7 November was not followed despite the police violence and the renewed interest it generated. The collapse of Dromey's line was self-evident when he announced at Brent Trades Council that through the trades council he should organise a rally in January at which the end of the strike could be announced.

The strategy put forward by Jack Dromey of 'pressure the bureaucracy to move left' has been shown to be erroneous in the heat of the class struggle. The Communist Party backed Dromey's strategy to the hilt. The CP is very influential on Brent Trades Council.

### ISOLATED

The policy of the Broad Left, and the silence of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions on the question of Grunwick ever since the trade union leadership made it clear that they had no intention of mobilising the strikers, have been shown to be completely inadequate.

The only strategy which had any chance of winning the strike from the beginning was one that involved organising the strike and its supporters independently of the bureaucrats. The very strength that the strike committee demonstrated was its own militant and democratic organisation.

Had it been left to the APEX leadership, the strike would never have taken off in the way it did. It was the strike committee and the backing it received from Brent Trades Council which was decisive.

The same applies to winning support for the strike and organising support action. It was the Cricklewood sorters who were in the forefront of the boycott, and this had to be organised against the UPW executive and the TUC. That was why the call for support committees based on the labour movement was so important and why the call for a national solidarity conference was crucial.

### CLEAR CUT

Only by demanding that the bureaucrats take action and going ahead without them if necessary could the strike be won. It still can.

What constitutes victory? Trade union recognition is enough for Grantham. That is why he is relying on ACAS, which has no powers to impose reinstatement of the sacked workers.

If the Grunwick workers cannot achieve reinstatement after being on strike for 19 months, what are other workers going to do?

Only recognition and reinstatement is a clear cut victory at Grunwick. George Ward has announced that he would sell up before reinstating the strikers. We believe him. The future of trade unionism in Britain is at stake for Ward and the NAFF. So it should be for the labour movement.

If Ward is prepared to sell up, the Labour Government must be forced to nationalise Grunwick without compensation and place the factory under the control of an elected and democratic workers committee.

That's a political alternative to the political line of relying on ACAS and the labour relations legislation. It's a real alternative to the line of Dromey and the CP in simply trying to force the class collaborators to the left. It's the position for which *Socialist Challenge* has consistently fought.

This policy can still achieve victory. It will need a massive amount of effort. It will not guarantee success, certainly at this late hour. All that we can say is that all the alternatives will guarantee defeat!

## Oil rigs electricians

# 'A new model for struggle'

A small but important piece of labour history was made in the departure lounge of Aberdeen Airport on 21 March, reports PAT KANE.

For the first time, scab electricians — flown from Manchester — were not allowed to cross the Mather and Platt picket lines to board their flight to the Brent oil field.

The implications of this type of militant action by oil workers are enormous for the oil companies. The offshore oil industry remains one of the last and largest sectors of British industry that is still non-unionised.

The oil industry is organised to prevent any link up between the different sectors: offshore production and exploration, and the land-based refining and distribution.

The tactics of the striking electricians have cut right across these divisions.

Their flying pickets have not only been fighting to win their own dispute but have taken the strike into the labour movement, demanding support for the right to strike and organise in the North Sea.

In the North Sea, most of the services are provided by

sub-contractors like Mather and Platt, with the real control of the oil production in the hands of a tiny crew of oil company personnel. The Brent field where the M&P electricians worked is a good example of the way this system works.

### SHELL

Brent is operated by Shell Esso, and in the summer months there can be anything up to 230 workers on board. They can be employed by 15 to 20 different firms, all carrying out essential services on the platform.

The controllers of the operation are the 20 or so Shell Esso employees: these are the key personnel for the oil industry. They are isolated from the rest of the offshore workers by better living conditions on the platforms and integrated into the management by participation schemes that would be the envy of the rest of British industry.

The improvements in pay and conditions that have been

won by Mather and Platt have had their effect on the awareness of oil workers. The first wave of the oil rush is over and most offshore workers now realise that they will be working in the North Sea for the next 12 to 15 years.

The construction industry has been the worst section for bad living conditions, high accident rates, and instability of employment. But the workforce in the North Sea is far more stable now with a resulting rise in shop steward organisation, and attempts to gain similar conditions to those they had on shore.

The M&P dispute is not only important for the oil companies, but represents a test for the different views in the labour movement on how to win union organisation offshore.

Tony Benn, the Energy Minister, and the trade union leaders, believe that the oil companies will respond to pressure at a national level and that the platforms and rigs can be unionised through negotiation. In fact, unionisation through government intervention has been negligible. So far only two small

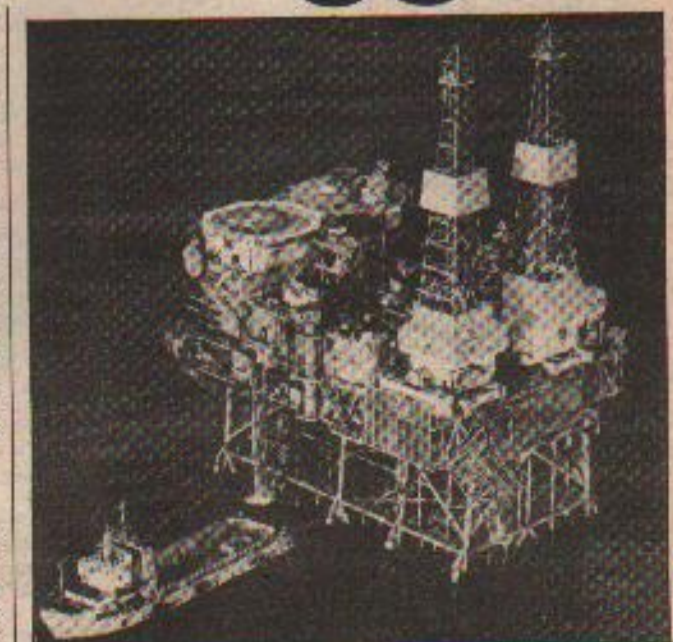
drilling companies have been unionised this way — Atlantic Drilling and Kingsnorth UK. With a General Election likely this year, the oil companies are simply waiting for their friends in the Tory Party to dismantle the arrangements that Benn has made with the trade union leaders.

There now exists a different model for offshore workers: the experience of the Mather and Platt dispute, and the strikes in the Fisher and Ninian fields last year. The success of these workers in unionising is the result of their willingness to take mass action to achieve their demands.

### REFUSAL

What has primarily hampered support for the Mather & Platt electrician's strike is the refusal of support from the leadership of the Electricians' Union. This has made the boycotting of supplies to the oil fields and support for the mass picket far more difficult.

Over the past two weeks, the Aberdeen support committee, along with militants from Blow Out, a group of local rank-



and-file workers, have been campaigning for official backing for the strike. Aberdeen Trades Council has been forced to reverse its decision not to support the strike and will be sending an emergency resolution to the Scottish TUC

seeking support for the Mather and Platt workers.

With the support of the trades council, the task of organising a mass picket of Aberdeen airport is now a real possibility.



# British Steel - the road to viability It's blackmail! say steelworkers

Almost a year to the day since the British Steel Corporation's Port Talbot electricians came out on strike over manning levels and pay at the new Sinter plant, Eric Varley, in the Government's White Paper — The British Steel Corporation: The Road to Viability — has whipped the carpet from under British steelworkers.

Socialist Challenge spoke with three of the strike leaders about their views on the Government proposals.

Wyn Bevan is convenor of Port Talbot BSC electricians; Tom Lyons is secretary of the Port Talbot branch of the EETPU, the Electrician's Union; and Les Sexton was secretary of the strike committee and is now with TASS, the clerical section of the Engineering Union.

Tom Lyons: Of course we are very disappointed. Not only about the hundreds of jobs we are going to lose at Port Talbot, but about the thousands of jobs that are going to be lost nationally. It is not development and expansion, it is 40,000 jobs down the drain. That's what 'development' means these days.

Les Sexton: It is a very short-sighted plan. Varley says we must wait until market conditions improve. But when the economy does improve it will be too late.

The BSC is giving its technology and money to develop steel-making in the Third World. And when steel demand increases, it is Brazil, Mexico, and South Korea that will be producing the high quality steel.

Wyn Bevan: Well we are pleased that we are to get the new continuous cast plant at Port Talbot. That's the sort of investment we appreciate as it will mean about 100 new jobs. But overall the report is a terrible disappointment.

## SHELVED

During last year's strike the £835m development plan for Port Talbot was shelved. Since then the electricians have been blamed constantly for loss of money.

Les Sexton: We were the villains of the piece. But they haven't even dared to mention us in the report.

Wyn Bevan: The electricians have been completely vindicated. It is true we lost BSC £28m in production but they are losing £500m this year. They can't explain that amount away by blaming it on our strike.

The shelving of the big plan would have gone on even if there had been no strike. In the 70s a lot of money has been put into Port Talbot — deepwater harbour and depot, two coke ovens — but nothing like what was envisaged in the long-term plan in the late 60s. That's been ditched.

Last year, the Government offered £250m for a new strip mill. The BSC refused to pick it up. The mill site is ready and a lot of the plant had been prepared by contractors. BSC held off.

Even the new Sinter plant which was at the heart of last year's nine week strike is still inoperative. This week negotiations broke down against between the craft unions and the BSC.

Recognising last year's defeat, the unions have agreed to operate the plant by present working conditions and planning levels. But BSC has refused even this.

Management are seeking a group-work agreement whereby craft workers have to carry out the work of other trades. Apprentices are to be trained for all trades, thus limiting specialist skills.

Even on wages, the BSC has insisted upon unacceptable conditions. To get the pathetic 10 per cent the unions have been asked to reduce manning, accept work-sharing and agree to a new disputes procedure which says that in disputes a status quo situation is to apply, (that is, no strikes).

And a national disputes committee of 50 per cent BSC, and 50 per cent national union officers is to be brought in. The wages increase was due January. The next meeting is scheduled for 3 April. Also at Port Talbot, the crane drivers have been in dispute for two months.

Rather than settle, BSC has imported 40,000 tons of steel and will import more.

No small part of the problem is the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation whose general secretary is Bill Sims.

Having already agreed to the loss of tens of thousands of production workers' jobs during his reign, Sims has recently completed a wages deal at Port Talbot giving a five to seven pound increase on incentive bonus.

Before they get the money, the production workers must produce extra tonnage and lose another 450 jobs. For the new Sinter plant, 250 craft workers are to get the chop.

Wyn Bevan: Even the new

continuous cast plant is conditional on agreement on international manning levels and guarantees that there will be no delays in commissioning when the plant is complete — another no strike clause.

This is straight blackmail. But the unions have been weakened. Production workers have been put in BSC's pocket. And the craft unions — some of them like Port Talbot electricians, very strong at plant level — have had no support nationally. So each plant is left on its own.

The new 'quality steel' concept in the White Paper consolidates another trend. Tin plate workers at Velindre and Trostre have a more certain future, even if it is to be with imported steel. So they are less inclined to rock the boat.

Les Sexton: BSC's long term predictions must be grim or they would invest now. They are just not telling us. In British Leyland 30,000 workers are being axed. Now in steel, 40,000 more are to go.

Is this the strong economy, we have all been making sacrifices for? They are just being deceitful. 'We are hoping for an upturn', they say, but when it comes there will be no means to meet it.

Compare it with shipbuilding in the 50s when the Government didn't invest and the industry got left behind. Callaghan is saying North Sea Oil is to be used for industrial development. Well after this report just what does he mean?

Tom Lyons: This sort of thing also has an effect on workers in other countries. Those socialists who argue for nationalisation are being betrayed by a supposedly socialist government. Our health service used to be envied by workers all over the world.

Where are we now?  
Wyn Bevan: The blame is squarely on the shoulders of this Labour Government. The Parliamentary Select Commit-



tee stressed the importance of a new strip mill in Port Talbot. That has been ignored.

Varley and Villiers are still not telling all. The Select Committee said information was being kept secret. The whole thing is a mess.

The BSC Planning and Marketing Service which fills two buildings predicted a £250m loss. There is going to be £500m.

After Villiers' announcement of disaster a few months ago there were no directives to make savings. BSC blames the recession, the EEC, Comecon, dumping, and even the electricians. It is poor planning, poor management, over centralisation and so on.

So what little is left for steelworkers: at East Moors, 3,100 jobs are to go next month; at Ebbw Vale, a slow death is promised; at Shotton, well the stricken Shotton works do not

even get a mention in the report.

A thousand workers are to go at the Duport works in Briton Ferry. Like Port Talbot big plans for Shelton, Stoke on Trent, Hunterston, and Ravenscraig have all been shelved.

Between them, the BSC and the Government have decided the British steel industry will never keep up with the world market. For all their years of poor investment and short term planning they pay no price. 'Sack the lot of them' says Wyn Bevan, 'not 40,000 more steel workers. We have no control over world markets'.

A day of action is reported to be planned in Scotland. But more lobbies and conferences would be a sick joke. Well what about a national shop stewards conference?

Wyn Bevan: It seemed the right thing to do when Monty

Finneston announced years ago. We set up the National Steelworkers' Action Committee to fight closures.

We got no union backing and ended up leaving Shotton to fight on its own. It's a bit depressing.

Things are bleak indeed. Meanwhile BSC has set up a new company — BSC (Industry) Ltd. In the same week it condemned the British steelworkers, BSC took a full page in the press.

'To us it's an ex-steel works. To you it's a gold mine'. BSC offered industrialists 'highly flexible financial inducements', a 'skilled workforce', and 'fully serviced industrial sites'.

In short, deserted steel works and thousands of jobs are up for offer. No doubt the steelworkers will be blamed for that company being a loss-maker too.

# Merseyside - growing mood of resistance

At a special emergency meeting called by Liverpool Trades Council on Wednesday 23 March, over 100 delegate shop stewards discussed the disastrous situation facing the labour movement on Merseyside, reports JACK BEAUMONT.

The threat of closures and redundancy now affects about 10 factories including Leyland Speke, Lucas, Bird's Eye Kirkby, Courtaulds, GEC, Dunlop, Massey Ferguson, Cammell Lairds, Tate and Lyle and more.

The meeting was held to prepare for the conference on unemployment called by the Trades Council for Sunday 9 April which could become the biggest and most important yet organised locally, with the likely participation of the Leyland and Lucas Aerospace combine committees.

Eddie Loyden, left Labour MP for Garston where the Leyland Speke plant is located, arrived late from the House of Commons. He reported he had exhausted the parliamentary process by getting a meeting

with Callaghan and other Ministers to ask for more funds, for a Minister from Merseyside, and planning agreements for British Leyland and Lucas in Liverpool.

Roger O'Hara, Merseyside Communist Party district secretary called for left action to get rid of the 'myth of militant Merseyside' created by the media. He appealed to the liberal Liverpool Echo for an alliance with small business to bring investment back to Merseyside.

Two hundred women workers at the SD Centre, Knowsley, had given a clear lead by occupying their plant against closure, it was reported by their steward to the meeting.

Dave Thomas, of Leyland Speke, recounted a growing mood of resistance to closure there with a mass meeting, called for Saturday 8 April.

Statements of support had been received from Canley, Castle Bromwich and Swindon, where TR7 production was to be transferred from the Speke plant.

The discontinuation of the TR7 will affect nine Leyland plants in all, and Thomas called for a resistance to all closures. The Speke stewards in the No. 2

plant, have now set up an action committee in the plant to fight the closures.

Calls for action at the conference will range from more lobbying and demonstrations — including a May Day demonstration — and a right to work march to London. Other solutions included bringing down the Labour Government or re-electing it with socialist policies.

The Liverpool Trades Council conference on Sunday 9 April must adopt a clear policy for fighting against further redundancies: for worksharing without loss of pay; for alternative planned production, based not on profitability but social need; for Government finance under workers' control; for occupations of factories against all closures; and for democratic work-place based action committees in factories and areas to fight for this programme.

Liverpool Trades Council Conference Against Unemployment, Sunday, 9 April, Everyman Theatre, Hope Street, Liverpool. Credentials from Liverpool Trades Council, 70 Victoria Street, Liverpool 1.



# 'Let our movement be a red wind'

## Tokyo airport struggle

THE Japanese Government's plans to open the new Tokyo international airport at Narita this week were smashed along with the main control tower.

10,000 local farmers and their supporters clashed with riot police. One group of demonstrators drove a truck through police lines into the control tower com-

pound, letting others into the tower to destroy radar and radio equipment, light control systems and other aircraft guidance equipment.

A correspondent from Japan reports on recent developments in the 12 year fight to save peasant land and the environment from the Government's clutches.

went into action again on 1 March, the first day Japan National Railways tried to transport jet fuel. Police were lined all along the 70 kilometre route from Kashima port to the airport.

Local railway engineers declared a half day strike on 1 March and a month-long boycott of all trains carrying jet fuel.

### DUST

Two thousand workers, students and farmers gathered in the railway yards that morning. Thousands more rallied in Narita in the afternoon despite a ferocious wind and dust storm.

Issaku Tomura, chairperson of the Farmers' Opposition League, said: 'This wind is what the farmers call a "red wind" (because of the red dust). Let our movement be a red wind too — a wind that'll knock the riot cops and Government right off their feet.'

No fuel was moved that day, and on 2 March only one train carried fuel. They had planned to move seven trains a day.

Further opposition to the new airport has come from workers at the present international airport at Haneda. A group of porters, baggage-handlers and other workers organised a union in December to oppose the move to Narita. Many of them stand to lose their jobs if Haneda closes its international terminals.

The Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Japanese section of the Fourth International) is playing a leading role in the struggle.

Some ultra-left groups concentrate almost exclusively on isolated 'guerilla' actions. They are unable to organise a mass protest movement, partly because they insist on using 'uchigeba' (internal violence) as the way of settling political differences with other tendencies in the workers' and students' movements.

### SECOND

The JRCL explains the need to fight the 'second stage construction plan' and support the 20 farmers who still hold land in the second stage construction area.

Without the second stage it won't be able to take international traffic since it only has one runway.



Last May the Government dealt a blow to the anti-airport movement by having the police tear down the steel tower built by the farmers to obstruct the single runway.

The farmers declared 'They can't tear down the tower in our hearts', and with the help of student groups and labour unions started two new buildings. The more sophisticated was a four-storey concrete building supporting a steel tower.

At 6am, 6 February, the riot police attacked the buildings' defenders with water cannon

and other equipment. The struggle around the tower continued until 8 February.

### REBUILT

When the police did finally succeed in removing the tower they were unable to destroy completely the structure supporting it and, by the end of February, the building had been reconstructed as a three storey structure to which a tower can be added when necessary. The second building had also been rebuilt.

Thousands of riot police

# Foreign migrants in South Africa A tide of black slaves

SAM MHLONGO continues his discussion of the prospects for revolution in South Africa with a look at the foreign migrants in the mining industry, and the urban black population.

MINING compound hostels are within the neighbourhood of the mines which are several miles away from the urban black ghettos.

So black miners rarely come into contact with urban blacks. It is an offence for urban blacks to enter any mining area — especially the compounds where the miners live. Regardless of their country of origin migrant workers have stayed aloof from the episodic struggles against capitalism and white oppression.

### IGNORANCE

This has its roots in their ignorance and superstition imposed by a rustic life and the fear of deportation under the migratory labour and pass laws.

It is in the interests of the neighbouring black ruled republics that apartheid should continue since its defeat would rapidly bring an end to the migrant labour system.

### DEVELOPMENT

Since the 1960s only Tanzania and Zambia have rescinded the British colonial agreements with South African mining companies to recruit migrant labour.

The migrant labour question in these countries is linked with development programmes, which are directly or indirectly under the control of South African capitalists.

Investment in these countries will only be tolerated as long as it does not disturb this cheap labour traffic into South Africa.

Dependence on South Africa for employment of workers from these neighbouring territories could be broken by revolutionary agrarian programmes since the majority of their peoples are rural. But there are not yet revolutionary organisations to carry through such a programme.

Like the Afrikaners the urban black population has rural origins. But whereas the Afrikaners shared a common language and culture, the blacks belonged to different and often hostile formations — hence the separate struggles against first the Boer incursions and later British imperialism.

### PRIMITIVE

There have been no black united fronts in the past one and a half centuries.

According to the Oxford Dictionary the term tribe means: 'A group of primitive

clans under recognised chiefs...' Such groups do exist in the urban areas but they are tiny compared with the modern and urban blacks.

### TRIBE

All tribespeople in urban areas are migrants, though not all migrants are tribespeople. The tribespeople in any urban area regard themselves as there temporarily — their aim is to return to the tribe.

When the government or whites say they know what the blacks want and are acting in their interests, they mean the tiny proportion of blacks who belong to tribes.

So it is not surprising that the tribal Bantustan leaders have agreed to participate in the separate development 'experiment'. It is in this light that the various Bantustan 'parliaments' have to be seen.

The tribal factor is still strong enough in the mines to

be exploited and fostered by the government and mining companies.

Bourgeois democracy does exist in South Africa — but only for whites. This has stunted the growth of a strong black petty bourgeoisie. There is no black bourgeoisie.

The black petty bourgeoisie is made up of professional intelligentsia, traders, commercial employees and civil servants. Black traders — African and Asian — do not present a united front against apartheid.

The African trader is grateful to apartheid since it has eliminated the Asian traders from the African areas through the Group Areas Act of 1957.

The large supermarkets are in the central city areas and, of course, white-owned. They are not easily reached by black ghetto dwellers and so pose no immediate threat to the African trader.

### PROTECT

So the African traders have largely kept out of the struggles against apartheid. When they have taken part it is to protect their businesses.

The Group Areas Act brought ruin to Asian traders. The Asian population of South Africa is small — 668,000 out of a total population of 25 million.

Most Asians are in Natal and the Durban neighbourhood. In the Transvaal and Cape Province the few Asians generally belong in trading families, but were forced to close their businesses because there was no population left to trade among.

### COURT

Those who failed to re-establish themselves when they were forced out of the African areas had to seek jobs elsewhere, swelling the ranks of the black working class. Those traders who had enough cash took their cases to the supreme court, despite the heavy odds against them.

At the same time a significant number began to support the African National Congress (ANC). Their overriding aim throughout was the scrapping of the Group Areas Act which had brought them to ruin.

\*Next week: black workers and the trade unions.

## What's Left

HACKNEY: 2 rooms in flat available from April. Phone Robin or Vera on 01-938-3559 for details.

BRITTON SOCIALIST Club film, 'Praise Marx and Pass the Ammunition', (Film, UK, 90 minutes, colour) at 8pm 31 March, Canterbury Arms, Canterbury Crescent, London SW9. Adm. 50p.

ZIONIST OPPRESSION of Oriental Jews (Sephardim) in Israel. Speaker: Robin Ezra, an Israeli lecturer. Sunday 2 April, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London. Organised by London Area British Anti-Zionist Organisation (BAZO), c/o 58 Old Brompton Road, London.

MARX'S CAPITAL And Today's Global Crisis, a new pamphlet by Raya Dunayevskaya with an introduction by Harry McShane. Includes critique of Mandel's introduction to Capital and of Tony Cliff on Lenin. £1 from 17 Hornsey Park Road, London N8.

TRADE UNIONS AND APARTHEID: What can we do? Public meeting with speakers John Forester (AUEW) and Ron Peterson. Workers' Unity (SACTU). 7.30pm on 31 March in Town Hall Basement Theatre, Manchester.

HAMMERSMITH Socialist Unity is holding a meeting on Thurs. 30 March at 7.30pm to discuss standing candidates in the May local elections. Venue: Hammersmith Town Hall. All welcome.

ROADGANG (Socialist Feminist Touring Theatre) requires a Musician/Performer. Start £52.55 per week. Write with full details (skills, driving etc.) to 13 Swinburne St. Gateshead Tyne and Wear.

F.L. LITHO LTD, 328/9 Upper Street, London N1, urgently needs an experienced Touch Typist or someone

willing to learn. 35 hour week, £55. Please apply, enclosing full curriculum vitae, before 31 March, to the manager at the above address.

'FOR A SOCIALIST AFRICA' badges, ideal for selling to your workmates during the Anti-Apartheid month of action in March. Or End Immigration Controls' badges. Put yourself on the other side of the class lines from Callaghan and Thatcher. Use them during the run up to the local elections. 15p each plus 7p p&p, or 11p each for orders of ten or more. From J. Wilson, SC Badges, PO Box 90, London N1 2XP. Cheques payable to J. Wilson.

PIRATE JENNY Theatre's play 'So is Winning by Shana Connaughton about Tyndale teachers is still available on certain dates in the coming months. May: 3,4,6 in South, 27 in Manchester. June: 8,10 in London, 14,16 in Home Counties, 20,24 in Yorkshire and 27,28 June and 1 July in Birmingham. If you are interested in booking the play for any of these dates contact Pirate Jenny immediately on 01-489-2292.

UNITED TROOPS OUT Movement open meeting for all London supporters and everybody interested in building the movement. 7.30pm Fri 7 April, St Clements Building (1st Floor), LSE Houghton St, London.

WORKING WOMEN'S Charter Campaign: National Conference Planning meeting. Open to all willing to help. 2pm 2 April, General Picton pub, Wharfedale Rd (off Cavendish Rd) London N1.

TROOPS OUT Movement Forum: 'The Irish Socialist Movement and the Struggle Against British Imperialism'. Speaker: Sean Hallahan. Mon 3 April, The Rockback, Tottenham Court Rd, London.

AUBREY BERRY Campbell Defence Committee benefit, 8pm on 2 April at Dingwalls, Cannon Lock, London NW5. Bands playing will be Yachts and Swill. Also raffle and draw. Tickets are £1.50, £1 for claimants.

'INTERNATIONAL Socialists and Revolutionary Unity': report, back from 11 Feb Conference in London of ex-IS members and others by Steven Marks. 7.30pm, 1 April at Swithmore Centre, Woodhouse Square, Leeds.

LIBRARIES AND RACIALISM Day school. 11am-5pm Sat, 8 April at the Library Association, Ridgmount St, London WC2. Speakers will include the Children's Rights Workshop, Centre for Urban Education Studies, Black Bookshop Association, and the Anti-Nazi League. Registration Fee £1. Crèche available if notice is given. Contact Dave Keen, 20 Cedars Ave, London E17.

WOMEN'S ONLY PARTY in aid of Irish Women United, with Clapperclaw and Patsy's Disco. 8pm-12midnight, Fri 14 April at Waterloo Action Centre, 14 Baylis Rd, London SE1. Adm. 80p claimants 50p.

ART AND RESISTANCE: talks, events, film and exhibits accompanying the Chinese Patchwork exhibition at the Air Gallery, 125 Shaftesbury Ave, London WC2. 15 March to 1 April. 23.25.30 March. Film Chile: The Most Painful Hour at 1.00pm and 6.30pm. Sat 25 March, 2.00pm. Guy Bolt on democratic form and content in popular art today. 4.30pm. Jane Gomez on the history of popular theatre in Chile in this century, plus his own experience of forming theatre groups in Chile.



'FIGHT RACISM' badges, sell them to your local anti-racist committee friends and all anti-racist activists to show Thatcher and the NE what you think of them. 15p each plus 7p p&p or 11p each for orders of 10 or more. From J. Wilson, S.C. Badges, P.O. 50 London N1. Cheques payable to J. Wilson.

Workers' unity against Giscard

# Brief harmony is over

First there were six months of bitter polemics. Then there was one week of patched-up harmony. Now the parties of the Union of the Left in France have fallen out once more in the wake of their second round defeat in the elections. MARTIN METEYARD reports from Paris.

The Socialist Party (PS) accuses Communist Party (PCF) leader Georges Marchais of 'having done the right a favour'; the PCF underlines the 'overwhelming responsibility of the Socialists'; and the bourgeois Left Radicals are on the verge of a split.

All they seem agreed on, in fact, is the need for immediate talks with President Giscard d'Estaing. This is a scandalous betrayal of the millions of workers who voted against Giscard's policies only days earlier but now find themselves once more reduced to the role of dazed spectators on the sidelines.

DISARRAY

At stake in all these goings-on — but rarely mentioned — is the kind of response which the workers' movement makes to the not-so-new government of the right. For the election result was not a crushing defeat for the working class, although it has produced considerable demoralisation and disarray.

There is still a willingness to take action against the government's austerity measures. But it has to be organised — and on a united basis.

Workers' unity, however, is the last consideration which has guided the actions of the reformist parties in recent months.

To go back a little, why did the split between the parties of the Union of the Left take place last September? The reason advanced was that it had not proved possible to reach

agreement on updating the Common Programme first signed in 1972.

There were differences between the Communist Party and its partners. A particular bone of contention was the number of concerns to be nationalised, and the fate of their subsidiaries.

However, these differences still remained within a common framework of gradual reforms involving no direct challenge to capitalism itself. And even had they been of a broader nature, that would still not have justified what was to follow.

The principle which revolutionary Marxists fight for is this: the fullest discussion of programmatic differences must not prevent unity in action against the class enemy. Neither the PS nor the PCF took this into account in their polemic.

The PS simply refused to have any public discussion with the PCF about programme because that would have made it more difficult to pursue a class-collaborationist course once in government. Its stand for mutual withdrawals in favour of the best placed left candidate after the first round thus depended on dehousing programmatic questions.

The PCF, for its part, made such withdrawals after the first round — in other words, unity against the candidates of the right — dependent on programmatic agreement.

It did this for purely sectarian reasons: to maintain its dominant position in the working class against both the growing influence of the PS and the emergence of a

permanent far left current. This explains its continual leftist demagoguery against the PS's 'shift to the right'.

Most importantly, throughout this polemic, both the PS and the PCF spat in the face of workers' unity by seeking to strengthen their alliances with dissident sections of the bourgeoisie represented in the Left Radicals and the Progressive Gaullists. Our condemnation of this hanky-panky with forces which have no organised links with the workers' movement has already been borne out with the decision of a section of the Left Radicals to pull out of the Union of the Left and cuddle up to President Giscard d'Estaing.

FIRST ROUND

Once the first round was over the parties of the Union of the Left saw that some agreement was necessary if only to protect their parliamentary positions. But this rapid turnabout could only induce cynicism among tens of thousands of militants deceived by the terms of the previous polemic.

Furthermore, there was no central meeting in Paris, no co-ordinated mobilisation by the different union federations, and the response at a local level was patchy. Still there were some signs of hope for the future.

For instance, during that week I went to a local meeting in Paris called to support two Union of the Left candidates (one Communist, one Socialist) in neighbouring constituencies. Held in a small school gymnasium it had not been very well publicised — yet over 500 people packed in.

And the speakers were not simply the local PS and PCF leaders plus the predictable Left Radical and Progressive



Young people in Paris demonstrate against the Government's phony job creation scheme.

Gaullist. Also invited to explain their position from the platform were three far left candidates in the first round, members of the United Socialist Party (PSU), Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), and Communist Committees for Self-Management (CCA). Representatives of the two main union federations, the CGT and CFDT, also spoke.

The spirit of open debate this produced — with the LCR and CCA speakers heard out when they attacked the alliance with the Left Radicals and Prog-

ressive Gaullists — marks an important break with the past anti-democratic practices of the reformist parties. For this meeting was no isolated occurrence, but was mirrored in 30 or 40 towns and cities.

This change has taken place because the crisis of perspective for the workers' movement is now shaking up both the PS and PCF. Different options are being advocated not simply at the base of these parties but also at the level of their leadership (there are three currents inside the PCF

political bureau, for instance). This offers an unprecedented opportunity for revolutionary Marxists to win a hearing among workers who still support these parties; to demand a debate on programme with their leaderships while at the same time insisting on unity in action against every attack by the capitalists.

Through this process — which will be slow at first — the opportunity to bring down Giscard which was lost in the elections can still be achieved in struggle.

Stalinist slurs on Czechoslovak dissident

# Anti-Semitism rears its head

TWO LEADING supporters of the Charter 77 human rights manifesto are now under 24 hour surveillance in Prague.

They are Trotskyist Petr Uhl and former Praesidium member Frantisek Kriegel.

In the second of two articles MARK JACKSON looks at Kriegel's career and explains why the authorities are so afraid of him.

THE Czechoslovak bureaucracy calls Dr Frantisek Kriegel a Zionist and international adventurer. Zionist in this context means Jewish.

Anti-semitism has been a feature of Stalinist slander since the 1930s. It played a major part in the Slansky show trial in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s.

At negotiations between the Czechoslovak and Soviet party leaderships just before the August 1968 invasion Brezhnev called Kriegel 'that Galician Jew' who ought to shut up.

The invasion itself was accompanied by a flood of anti-semitic propaganda. The personal attacks on Kriegel got so bad that the Praesidium of the Czechoslovak Parliament felt compelled to protest.

The label 'international adventurer' refers to Kriegel's internationalist activity. He served with the Republican armies in Spain in the Civil War as a military doctor and from 1940-45 in a similar capacity with the Chinese Red Army.

After 12 years in the Communist Party and state

apparatuses in various positions concerned with health, he went to Cuba as a health adviser.

Anyone with such a wide international experience is automatically suspect to the chauvinist Prague bureaucrats.

From 1966, when he became a member of the party Central Committee, Kriegel began to play an important part in politics. He pushed for change from the very first.

At the October 1967 plenum of the Central Committee he was one of the few who voted to continue the discussion of political strategy at the next plenum, putting political problems before sacred demands for party unity.

KIDNAPPED

After the Warsaw Pact invasion on the night of 20 August 1968, the occupation forces kidnapped leading Prague Spring supporters in the Party Praesidium to Moscow. Kriegel was one of them.

Moscow had counted on forming a puppet government



Prague: no longer scarred by Soviet tanks, but the repression lingers on.

and getting their supporters back in control of the party. This, backed up by half a million troops, would allow them to rearrange the situation to their liking.

But mass resistance was so powerful that no-one was prepared to act as a quisling.

The 14th party Congress met secretly and ratified Alexander Dubcek's policies and elected Kriegel to the Praesidium. At this point the kidnapped leaders themselves came to Brezhnev's aid.

They signed the Moscow Protocols which bound them to annul the validity of the 14th Congress, take measures to curb the mass media, stop attempts to form independent political organisations and remove the people most hated by Moscow from leading positions.

Only Kriegel refused to sign. The Soviet leaders tried to keep him behind in Moscow, but the other Dubcekites refused to leave without him.

There was a report that the Soviet leaders were considering an 'anti-Zionist' trial, with Kriegel as a defendant.

Kriegel was one of only four National Assembly deputies to vote against the treaty ratifying the Warsaw pact presence.

So he was one of the first Czechoslovak leaders that Moscow wanted to get rid of. He was removed from the Praesidium at the end of

August 1968. At the end of March 1969 rioting broke out in major Czechoslovak cities after a Czechoslovak ice hockey team beat the Soviet Union. The incidents were used to force the removal of Dubcek and his leading supporters from the leadership.

Even before the reshuffle, Moscow pressured the Dubcekites to introduce wide restrictions on civil rights and publish self criticisms. But Kriegel made a defiant speech at the May Central Committee plenum, defending his own actions and accusing his accusers of leading the country into disaster.

The text circulated widely in Prague and became a political manifesto, calling supporters of the Prague Spring to put an end to the retreat. Kriegel was expelled from the party the following month.

Since then Kriegel has been active in the socialist opposition and was one of the original signatories of Charter 77.

The anti-semitic attacks have re-appeared and so have the references to the 1950s show trials. On 2 March 1977 Radio Prague claimed that Kriegel had been recommended for party membership by Ota Sling, one of the 50s defendants, who had been 'exposed and convicted as an enemy of socialism, a Zionist and a capitalist agent'.

# Easter 1917, 1978

THIS EASTER marked the 62nd anniversary of the Easter Rising in Dublin.

Comparatively few took part in the Rising in 1916, but those who did were the main figures in the Republican and Socialist movements. Not least among them was James Connolly, probably the greatest Marxist these islands have produced.

Connolly's greatest hope was that the rising would 'light a fire that would spread across Europe', and he was to stress 'we are out for economic as well as political freedom'.

The Easter Rising and the Provisional Irish Government lasted just over a week and after brutal suppression by the British they seemed a complete failure. Yet once the leaders of the Rising — including Connolly — were executed, the support for the ideas they were fighting for won acceptance among the majority of the Irish people.

Seventy per cent of the Irish population voted for Sinn Fein in the 1918 general election, and by so doing, for an all-Irish Republic. That wish was denied in 1921 with the partition of Ireland.

## NOTORIOUS

So the story goes on, and the execution by Britain of those fighting for that Republic continue.

In commemoration of 1916 we reprint below a recent address made by T. George of the Irish Republican Socialist Party in Long Kesh political prison in the North of Ireland. The speech was made in commemoration of one of the

latest victims of British imperialism:

Today we pay our last respects to our murdered comrade Thomas Traynor, the latest victim of the British war machine in Ireland. He was gunned down in circumstances which leave only the question of whether it was the action of Loyalist gunmen or an SAS murder squad.

Since then we have witnessed the usual coverage of his murder by the press and television who class it as yet another 'sectarian killing'. Let us brush aside these diversions and red herrings which British propaganda has so skillfully built up when they use terms like "sectarian killing", "Catholics dead" or "Protestants dead".

They seek to give the impression that there are numerous tribal feuds continually fought in the Six Counties and that they are the peace makers. The world is told by the British press that the conflict in the North is a highly complex one, involving many factors and not a little insanity. In this way they lie with every news bulletin.

The truth is that the issues are crystal clear. The British wish to maintain their stranglehold on Ireland. The Republican



Irish Citizen Army on parade before the 1916 rising; described by Lenin as 'the first Red Army in Europe'.

forces are fighting to drive them out and free the Irish people. Successive British governments have brainwashed the Protestant population into believing that unless the nationalist people are suppressed the Loyalists will lose their privileged way of life.

The Loyalist politicians are

used as the mouthpiece of the real British policy, and the Loyalist gunmen are the unpaid and unencumbered members of their occupation force, their murder tools. Thomas Traynor's death was first planned, not in some back-room of a Protestant estate, but in the more sinister rooms of

Downing Street and Whitehall.

We must recognise the root cause of this conflict and once we have recognised it then all our endeavours must be directed towards removing it. This is no time to be carried away by the emotion of the hour and think that an eye for an eye policy will resolve the

immediate problem. To think this is to become another tool of the British war machine.

We, as socialists and Republicans, have identified British imperialism as the root of the problem.

Once it is torn out, the branches of fanatical Loyalism will wither and die. Remove the British presence and the so-called Loyalists will for the first time be forced to see the reality of their situation and will no longer be able to live in their British created dream world.

The deaths of Thomas Traynor and Colm McNutt are clear indications of the latest and most brutal stage of the oppressors' campaign. Planned assassinations, collaboration with reactionary murder gangs and attempts to terrorise the people into submission are well practised methods of counter-insurgency forces. They signify a very agonising period for the people and particularly for those who actively oppose the British regime but they also signify the last methods of coercion the oppressors have left.

It is vital that both our enemy and our objectives are kept clearly before our eyes for the enemy dearly needs a sectarian clash to divert the mounting pressure from it.

It is the duty of all Republican socialists to strive for the only truly fitting memorial to all the dead of this campaign and all that have gone before. We must ensure national liberation and build socialism in our country. We cannot deviate from this path.

## Six Counties top infant mortality rate

THE NORTH of Ireland has the highest infant mortality rate in Western Europe.

This is the shock finding of a survey carried out by the Belfast based Workers Research Unit and just published in its latest bulletin.

Figures quoted in the bulletin show that while Sweden has an infant mortality rate of 9.6 per thousand births, England and Wales 14.2, and the South of Ireland 15.0, the rate in the North of Ireland soars to 19.1.

Infant mortality refers to the deaths of children aged one year or under. The Workers Research Unit survey points to marked differences within the North of Ireland itself. In the western area of the Six Counties, where Catholics are in a majority, the infant mortality rate is 24.8, while in the Protestant-dominated

northern area the rate is 18.1.

Examining the reasons behind these figures, the unit comments: 'We are not being as crude as to say that British politicians are evil men pursuing a policy of genocide. No, but the fact is that the higher rate in Northern Ireland, like the higher unemployment, the poverty, the underdevelopment of the West of the Bann area are all symptoms of the domination by Britain.'

British imperialism in the Six Counties has meant underdevelopment relative to Britain — and part of that underdevelopment is a higher infant mortality rate.

'Workers Research Unit, Bulletin No 3. The Bulletin also includes articles on gays in the North of Ireland, US investment in Ireland and the connections between the National Front and North of Ireland Loyalists. It is available from 52 Broadway, Belfast for 70p post paid.

## 200 march in London

OVER 200 people turned out last Sunday to commemorate the 62nd anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising.

The rally, which was originally planned by Sinn Fein, the organisers of the Commemoration, to be a march, was marred by the fact that the London Police at the last moment refused the platform originally promised. The numerous speakers were forced to address the crowd through a hand-held loud-speaker.

Speakers included representatives of Sinn Fein, Prisoners Aid Committee, the United Troops Out Movement, and a number of left-wing

organisations which support the struggle of the Republican movement against British imperialism in Ireland.

Jacqueline Kaye, of the PAC, stated that the most fitting memorial to those who had given their lives in 1916 would be to participate in the movement to free all the prisoners of war in Ireland and for the independence of Ireland.

While everyone there accepted this, the remarks of various speakers showed that there remain important differences about how this is to be accomplished. However the broad range of organisations represented indicates that the potential for such a movement exists.

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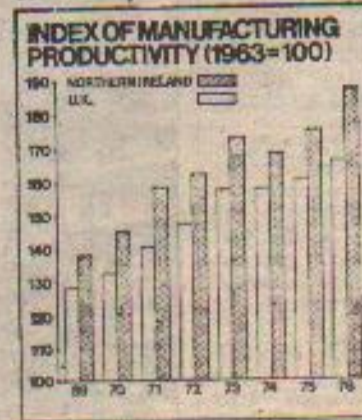
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new plant, the Government contribution can be a discounted 93%, including grant and tax concessions. For R & D it can be as high as £250,000 on any project.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

it will pay you to take a longer look

This contrast between what the British Government says about the North of Ireland, and what its rule means for Catholics there is taken from the latest edition of *Troops Out*, the paper of the United Troops Out Movement. Also in the March issue are articles on the Easter Rising, on the history of

Army involvement in Ireland, the fight for political status in the Long Kesh and Armagh and on the recent Socialist Feminist Conference. *Troops Out* is only 10p and is available from: The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1. To receive by post send an extra 10p.

A blue hat does not make a peacekeeper

# UN out of Lebanon!

The ice-blue headgear of the United Nations troops may be elegant and becoming, but it is not a very effective disguise, writes RICHARD CARVER.

This is not said in sympathy with the 'thankless' task facing the troops now occupying Lebanon, but because a blue hat and a laurel leaf emblem does not change a French paratrooper.

These are the UN shock troops, the first from a security council country since Field Marshal Carver led 'our lads' into Cyprus.

The paras, led by a veteran of the anti-Algerian war, found themselves in a scrap as soon as they arrived. Much of the British press treated the incident with amusement but there was not much to laugh about.

The French — who imagine their previous colonial occupation of Lebanon gives them privileged status — tried to kick a Palestinian garrison out of a fort in Tyre and replace it with the near defunct Lebanese Arab Army.

Palestinian refusal was greeted with cold steel, which the French, with impeccable imperialist logic, think is all the natives understand.

## THREAT

The incident is important because it reveals the threat posed by the presence of imperialist troops.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation avoided serious casualties during the Israeli invasion. It would be ironic if it now found its forces dispersed by the 'peacekeepers'.

The other side of the UN presence is its pathetic weakness. As long as the force stays at the present level and the PLO leaders don't give in to pressure, it will be incapable of stopping Palestinian military resistance in the occupied zone and into Israel itself.

Equally the UN can bring no military pressure to bear on the Israelis. In short it has no

function other than selective repression of the population as part of a wider diplomatic game.

## ACRIMONIOUS

That contest has been thrown wide open by the tensions within Israeli society. Prime Minister Begin's Washington visit — where Lebanon was hardly discussed — was acrimonious and inconclusive.

Begin now faces a challenge from his own Defence Minister (doubtless with tacit US backing) to set up a national government. The opposition to Begin extends far beyond the confines of the Knesset (parliament) to a large section of the population sick of fruitless war-mongering.

Begin's popularity was at its peak at the time of his talks with Egyptian President Sadat, when an embattled and war-weary population finally glimpsed an alternative.

The trouble is that it is Begin, not his opponents, who is the consistent Zionist. The Zionist theory of the state of Israel is based on the most obscure of biblical justifications for the occupation of Palestine — there is no other.

Begin was able to shroud modern Zionist realpolitik — genocide against the Palestinians — beneath traditional Zionist rhetoric about a biblical Israel extending to the Litani river in southern Lebanon.

His consistent Zionism too explains his obdurate defence of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai settlements against any US attempts to compromise.

Some commentators have tried to present Begin's failure in Lebanon in military terms: the failure to use lightning tank strikes or the absence of commando and paratroop raids to cut off the Palestinian retreat.



But militarily the operation was perfectly attuned to the mood of the Israeli population. Heavy artillery pounded Lebanese villages and their inhabitants to pulp, to avoid Israeli casualties.

Israeli opposition has nothing to say on the murderous attacks on civilians. What it is worried about is the effectiveness of the operation and the continued combativity of the Palestinians.

Begin's real failure was not on the battlefields of 'Fatahland' but round the negotiating table in Jerusalem and Cairo. A separate peace with Egypt is imperialism's preferred solution, leaving the Zionist state intact and assigning a role to the Arab ruling class.

The Arab states themselves still favour such a solution — not just Egypt, but 'rejectionist' Syria too. Syrian troops stood by and watched the Israeli's murderous march northwards.

The PLO leaders have been slow to learn the lessons of the Lebanese civil war, when the Syrian army massacred thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese leftists.

Yassar Arafat and friends

might ponder the fact that it was the Syrians who drove the Palestinian camps down into southern Lebanon where they were exposed to the attack which finally came a fortnight ago.

And it was the Syrians who imposed the partial disarmament of the camps.

If they are to resist the occupation of Lebanon by Israeli and imperialist troops, the Palestinians will have to set about repairing the badly frayed links with the Lebanese masses.

If they are to win, it will have to be through an alliance with the oppressed masses of the entire Arab East.

And there is a struggle that must win.

# Palestine solidarity underway

FOR MANY months, events in the Middle East have confirmed the need for international solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation.

Nowhere is this more necessary than in Britain. Britain has played a vital part in ensuring the division and repression of the Arab nation. Today, within the Labour Party and the student movement, there is a very strong, organised pro-Israel and Zionist current.

The invasion of Lebanon gives us a golden opportunity to begin to fight these currents. The ferocity of the Israeli aggression and their refusal to give any ground to Sadat have made many people doubt the old myths — that Israel was a safeguard against anti-semitism and was defending itself against attempts by the Arabs to push the Jews into the

sea. We have to take the opportunity to explain the real nature of the Zionist state and why it will always act to repress the struggles of the Arab peoples for their national liberation.

The first step in building a Palestine solidarity campaign was taken last week when British and Israeli socialists and Arab students agreed on a series of actions to protest the Israeli invasion. These include:

- \*Fighting to get an emergency resolution to the National Union of Students conference and campaigning for the release of Ramas Al-Rhuse, ex-president of the Lebanese Students Union.
- \*24 April: Mass Rally at Conway Hall from 7pm to 10pm.
- \*14 May: National Demonstration

To plan these and other

activities and to prepare publicity material for the labour and student movements, there will be a co-ordinating meeting on Friday, 7 April from 7pm to 10pm in the Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London (Holborn tube).

It was agreed that the activities would be organised on the basis of the slogans:

- \*Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Southern Lebanon.
- \*No United Nations ratification of the Israeli occupation
- \*End Israeli attacks of the Palestinians and Lebanese
- \*For the right of the Palestinians to struggle for their national liberation.

For further information, contact Nigel Ward, Tel. 01-570 4700.



## In Brief

**SOUTH AFRICA:** March is the trade union month of action against apartheid, and in some areas there has been impressive rank and file support.

In **COWLEY** the TGWU 5/60 branch at British Leyland body plant, supported by the AUEW, blocked all CKD exports to South Africa. The branch called a meeting on South Africa and distributed a leaflet through the whole plant.

At the **GEC Traction** plant in **PRESTON**, which has extensive South African interests, the Joint Shop Stewards Committee demanded a meeting with management to get information on the conditions and trade union rights of GEC's black South African workers.

The local **APEX** branch supported this action and called on its national executive to convene a meeting of branch delegates from firms with South African connections.

At **ROVER SOLIHULL**, as in Cowley, there has been a black on South African exports and in **MANCHESTER** there is a public meeting planned for 30 March, with local trade union speakers and a speaker from the South African Congress of Trade Unions.



**EGYPT:** Panic in the City of London last Wednesday as the news came through that President Sadat of Egypt had been assassinated. The dollar fell 1.25 cents against the Swiss franc and the price of copper jumped by 14 pounds a metric ton.

Order was restored when it was discovered that someone had misheard the name of Jesus Haddad, the Madrid prison governor killed by GRAPO guerrillas.

The Israeli blitzkrieg in Lebanon is featured in the latest issue of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, along with a report on new repressive moves inside Israel itself.

Other articles in this issue [Vol. 16, No. 12] include a first analysis of the French election results; a document 'For Socialist Democracy in Poland' by a group of clandestine oppositionists; an analysis by Livio Maitan of the 'Three Worlds' theory which guides Chinese foreign policy; further reportage on the US miners' strike; and articles on the Swedish CP conference, the blacklisting of worker dissidents in Czechoslovakia, and the first stage of the Colombian elections.

There is also a short report on recent elections in one of the Swiss cantons, where Trotskyists won 10.66 per cent of the vote, polling as high as 29 per cent in one town!

Single copies are 30p plus 10p p&p, but why not take advantage of the favourable subscription rates: £9 for one year (48 issues), £5 for six months (24 issues), or £2.55 for an introductory offer of 10 issues. All new subscribers before 31 March will also get a free copy of Inprecor No. 19 (New Series) devoted to the world economic situation. Write now to Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. All cheques/POs should be made out to Intercontinental Press.

## A planned paper

WE ARE seriously concerned about what we see as a failure in *Socialist Challenge*. This is the seeming lack of a political conception over reporting of issues and disputes by local groups. Last spring the IMG was going to build a network of correspondents/amateur journalists at local and regional level.

But *Socialist Challenge* has been with us for nine months now, and we find that the Editorial Board has launched an appeal for another journalist, 'essential if we are to carry out the kind of coverage and presentation which we — and many readers — want to see' (*Socialist Challenge*, 2 February).

What will be the function of the new journalist? To spend her or his time doing the work that local groups should be doing? As revolutionaries we want to further the struggle for socialism internationally, including within our own areas. This means that it is politically extremely important for all local *Socialist Challenge* groups to discover and report on events and issues in their areas, so that the paper can help us locally and so that we are in a better position to help struggles forward. (This will also hopefully help eliminate factually incorrect reporting from London, such as Dodie Wepler's highly inaccurate reference to the South Wales haulage strike in a recent issue of the paper.)

But all this needs to be done systematically, which just isn't happening at the moment. Either the comrades in London are sweating away until 3am writing articles themselves because areas haven't sent any in, or we find that articles sent in from local groups are not printed, and no reason is given as to why not.

Let's have a clear conception given by the Editorial Board as to the role of local journalists, and let's see the new journalist employed training us and building local and regional structures of reporting. The present Fleet St. type organisation must be replaced by a properly planned paper with maximum involvement from all the different areas, or political opportunities will continue to slip away from us.

ROY DAVIES (Swansea), DEREK DAVIES, ROSS OLIVER, PAUL HIGHFIELD (Cardiff)

## Confused

I AM CONFUSED by the page 2 article by CPS in the 9 March issue of the paper on The Big Tax Dodge of Leasing. Many projections and inferences do not appear proven by the analysis of the facts presented.

For example, before 1970, normal practice you say was to 'depreciate corporate assets over a number of

years', while since 1970 new investments are set against profit in the first year for tax allowance purposes instead of over a period of years while their values depreciate.

How does this represent a total tax saving of 52 per cent on the investment when it is only the period over which tax allowances are made which would seem to have changed?

On the other hand, tax allowances are protected against inflation by capital being released and reinvested, which is not mentioned.

Being neither an economist nor an accountant, for me and many others, facts left out of the analysis of leasing make the conclusions seem to come from thin air.

For instance, the lessor may get a tax allowance on purchasing equipment, but are not the rentals received by the lessor not taxed? Doesn't a bank only need to hold 8 per cent cash for any loan it makes? Would it normally be practice for a bank to be taxed 52 per cent on that money if it doesn't loan it?

Does it make a difference if transactions are made through a subsidiary? If so, how? Don't firms with low profitability use leasing (i.e. become lessees) in order to receive the equivalent of the tax allowances they were getting pre-1970?

Lastly, you say that increased investments under this system will increase unemployment, but you also point out that 'Investment has remained low in spite of the incentive.'

Would you please help us all to understand these problems by in future supplying sufficient facts in your analysis to permit a critical reading by militants not necessarily expert economists.

P. HATFIELD (London)

## Danger—nuclear reactions

I WAS AMAZED to come across the very argument in the 2 February *Socialist Challenge* that are used in Germany against the anti-nuclear movement by the atomic industry and the government on the one hand and the CP, defending reactors in the Soviet Union and Eastern Germany, on the other.

It is deplorable that in the traditional 'impressionist' fashion we are adapting to current national moods, instead of really finding out about the questions concerned and arriving at a coherent line.

It is none of our business to decide whether or not there will be nuclear reactors in the classless society. We don't know what further scientific developments will occur that might make them safe, and we won't be alive by then anyhow.

Still it is not at all reasonable to



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

claim, the way Carl Gardner did, that they will have to be used just because they have been invented: though socialism will have to draw on the scientific achievements of former ruling classes and their servants, there is no compulsion to use them all.

The 'realm of freedom' will allow for sensible decisions on the desirability of these achievements, and there should be many that will be rejected (such as the latest developments in torture, just to give a crude example). As for radioactivity, it isn't even fully under control, since it can be started but not stopped.

There is no desperate need to take risks with it either, as there is no such thing as a shortage of energy in the near future. This, like the 'oil crisis' of some years ago, is mainly bourgeois propaganda to cover up the fact that at the moment nuclear energy as well as the production of reactors for the world market offers special economic advantages to the bourgeoisie.

In its anarchic fashion capitalism wastes most of primary energy, and if it was used more economically there would be ample for some decades at least. In the long run the problem will have to be tackled within the context of the overall decline of resources, which is really more serious. Alternative sources of energy are already being developed, such as solar power stations in space.

As to the dangers of radioactivity, both comrades display a remarkable degree of innocence. Their implication that the poor muddle-headed ecologists are getting reactors and bombs mixed up doesn't make them look much better. Fast breeders can behave rather like bombs, and a full scale accident in a breeder or a reprocessing factory would indeed be something on the level of Hiroshima

and Nagasaki. It's impossible for me in this letter to point out all the dangers involved, but the idea that nuclear energy is particularly safe is simply absurd.

Of course, if you consider 'dirty' in terms of what you can see and smell nuclear energy is clean, because we have no senses that respond to radioactivity. Besides, the effect of continued low-scale exposure, such as cancer and heredity changes, appear decades and generations later so that the connection can't be proved.

Certainly it is easy to point out reactionary pettybourgeois tendencies within the anti-nuclear movement in order to discredit it. But in virtually any movement there are bound to be currents that try to correct the present by turning history's wheel backwards instead of forward. Staying away for that reason would be rather sectarian. It is the task of revolutionaries to win a majority for the correct political line within the movement.

I think *Socialist Challenge* could contribute to the discussion if it didn't just publish political statements on the matter but if it supplied some sound information on how reactors work and precisely what hazards are involved, perhaps in the form of a serial.

ALAN LUDEN, (Tubingen, Germany)

## Democracy and the ANL

OF COURSE Mick Gosling is correct to defend the call for a democratically structured Anti-Nazi League and to make the point that the many instances of sectarian behaviour by the ANL in no way justify any reciprocal sectarianism by the anti-fascist movement.

Perhaps it should have been made clearer that the anti-fascist movement have had to put up with some appalling behaviour on occasions. But in making some correct points Mick also makes some errors. Mick does not grasp that there exists a relationship between the political basis of the ANL and its lack of democratic structure.

The political basis of the ANL is seen, with the minor caveat that it 'could be improved', as being adequate and in line with Trotsky's theory of the united front against fascism: in essence, this can be compressed to the formula of uniting 'with the devil himself'.

On the latter point, it is perhaps unnecessary to point out that this formula suffers from a certain imprecision.

But let's concentrate on the 'adequate' programme of the ANL. It is possible to agree with Mick that an alliance body does not need an analysis of racism, fascism and immigration.

Nor should it possess what is

effectively a full set of revolutionary demands. The 'kitchen sink' approach that some of the revolutionary left use is designed to 'expose the revisionists' rather than build the anti-fascist movement. But it is necessary to establish a clear position on the key issues.

Cde Gosling correctly praises the ANL for mobilising in Ilford. This was not done because the ANL had adopted any position on the bans, but because the full timers of the ANL do have a programmatic position on the crucial issues. This situation does not lead to real if limited unity with the reformists, but to manipulation.

Democratic decision making has to be avoided since it would raise contentious issues. Thus the lack of democratic structure within the ANL is a function, at least partially, of the inadequate programme of the ANL.

It is also possible to be less hopeful as to the overall impact of the ANL than Mick. Certainly much useful work has been done but, in the long term, this may be vitiated by the 'front organisation' nature of the ANL. This prohibits it from becoming a genuine organisational expression of the anti-fascist movement.

What is worrying is that the degree of manipulation involved may end in an explosion that lands us not back at square one but at square minus one. It is for these reasons that the answer to the question as to whether the ANL has helped the anti-fascist movement has to be an equivocal 'yes', and that it is so crucially important to build the joint National Coordinating Committee and ARAFCC conference on 3 and 4 June.

ANDREW JENKINS (Nottingham)

## Youth and left unity

IN ORDER to form a 'united left' you agree that it will include members of every section of oppressed society: unions, gay people, women and the labour movement as a whole. But does not this include youth liberation?

Correct me if I'm wrong but there appears to be little evidence of your supporting youth liberation, although *Socialist Challenge* articles all appeal to my views. My sympathies lie with you and the International Marxist Group.

The policies of the National Union of School Students include campaigns against sexism, fascism, and racism, and heavy-handed authority.

A united working class struggle is needed that includes all oppressed sections of the community. This is essential for a working class victory. With unity we shall win.

And could you please include youth liberation in the 'Our Policy' section of *Socialist Challenge*? Forward to socialist democracy!

BEN CRIBB [Abergavenny NUSS organiser, personal capacity]

## Socialist Challenge EVENTS

### NORTH WEST

WARRINGTON Socialist Challenge group meets regularly. Ring Manchester Socialist Challenge offices for details: 061-236 2552.

GREATER MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge School students who support the paper and would like to get involved in anti-fascist activity please contact Chris 273 5947 (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 54616.

SOUTH MANCHESTER Socialist Challenge group meets every other Thursday at the Albert Inn off Wilmslow Rd. Help see Socialist Challenge between 11.30am and 1pm at Moss Side shopping centre or Longsight Market, Dickenson Rd. Further information: from 061-236 2352.

LIVERPOOL Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly on Wednesdays at the Dolphin, Canning Place.

### YORKSHIRE

HUDDERSFIELD Socialist Challenge group meets next 6 April and

fortnightly thereafter. 7.30pm, Friendly and Trades Club, Northumberland Street, (opp station).

LEEDS Socialist Challenge meets Thursday 30 March, 7.30pm, Friendly and Trades Club, Northumberland Street, (opp station). Meets again on 6 April and fortnightly thereafter.

BURY Socialist Challenge group meets Wednesday, 5 April to discuss Socialist Unity, 8.15pm, Wheatstone, Whitehead, next to Whitefield bus station.

### NORTH EAST

DURHAM Socialist Challenge supporters group meets regularly at Big Jug Pub, Claypath, Durham City. Details from J. Fox, 41 The Avenue.

BARLINGTON Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside Northern Hock on High Row, 11am-1pm.

MIDDLESBOROUGH Socialist Challenge sales on Saturdays outside Boots at Cleveland Centre, 11am-1pm. Socialist Challenge is also available from Harisons (newsagent) in Linthorpe Street.

### WALES

SWANSEA Socialist Challenge group meets every other Wednesday at 7.30pm in St Helens Inn, Vincent St, Swansea. All supporters welcome. Next meeting 12 April.

### SOUTH WEST

SOUTHAMPTON Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday from 10am-1pm outside Ubowe Bar Post Office, Bargate.

BRISTOL Socialist Challenge group meets next 4 April, 7.30pm, The Swan, Sokes Croft, Bristol.

### SOUTH EAST

COLCHESTER Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper every Saturday outside Colers from 10.45am-1pm. Further information of local activities from Mike, 11 Anglessea Rd, Wivenhoe.

COLCHESTER Socialist Challenge supporters discussion meeting, Thursday 6 April, 'Racism, fascism and how to fight it', 7.30pm, Labour Party Hall, North Chapel Street. More details from Steve, 1 Abigail Street.

BRIGHTON Socialist Challenge Forum, Tuesday 4 April, 5pm. What sort of revolutionary paper do we need? Resource Centre, North Street.

### SCOTLAND

For information on Socialist Challenge contact Scottish Socialist Challenge bookshop, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow (Tel: 041-221 7481). Open weekdays 10-4. Late closing Thursdays at 5pm. Wide range of Fourth International publications.

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

EDINBURGH Socialist Challenge meetings every second Wednesday. Contact George Kerevan, 12 Merchiston Grove, Edinburgh. Tel: 031-346 0456.

ABERDEEN: information about Socialist Challenge activities, ring Jim on 43096 (after 6pm).

### MIDLANDS

For details of activities of local supporter contact the Socialist Challenge Centre, 76B Dogbal High Street, Birmingham. (021-643 9209)

LEICESTER Socialist Challenge supporters meet fortnightly at the Nightingale Community Centre. For details ring 0533 25954.

WOLVERHAMPTON Socialist Challenge Forum, Tuesday, 11 April. 'Women and the struggle for socialism' Speaker: Alex Hall, translator of many of Kollontai's works. The Vine, Stafford Street, Birmingham. 7.30pm.

BIRMINGHAM Socialist Challenge Forum, Wednesday 5 April, 7.30pm, Australian Bar, Hurst Street, Alexandra Kollontai. Speaker: Alex Hall.

### LONDON

NEWHAM Socialist Challenge Forums occur regularly. Details from PO Box 50 London N11.

BRENT Socialist Challenge Open Forum. Supporters meet every other Monday. Next meeting, 10 April, 7.10pm at Anson Road School, Anson Road, NW2. Speakers from Socialist Challenge Editorial Board, Big Flame and Workers League.

LONDON CPSA Socialist Challenge readers. We are searching a CPSA supporters group to work in the union and Broad Left. If you are sympathetic to Socialist Challenge's ideas, write to London SC organiser, c/o PO Box 50, London N11.

HARINGEY Socialist Challenge supporters group meets Monday, 3 April, 7.30pm, 'France after the election', Murray Smith, West Green Community Centre, Stanley Road, N10.

HACKNEY Socialist Challenge readers meeting, Tariq Ali. The light against racism', Tuesday, 4 April, Britannia Pub, Mare Street, next to Town Hall. Meetings will be fortnightly thereafter, 7.30pm.

### SOCIALIST CHALLENGE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Saturday, 29 May is the date of the first national conference of Socialist Challenge. It takes place at the time of the paper's first anniversary, when continuing attacks on the working class make left unity imperative.

The one-day conference will open with registration at 9.45am at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. The Editorial Board proposes to begin with a broad discussion on the project behind Socialist Challenge, and the need and basis for revolutionary unity today.

The role of Socialist Unity, in promoting the fightback and laying the basis for regroupment amongst revolutionary workers will also be discussed in the morning.

The afternoon will be taken up with an assessment of Socialist Challenge and plans for the paper's development. A national Socialist Challenge committee — to which the editorial board will be responsible — will be elected, and proposals for practical work of Socialist Challenge groups and regional meetings at its supporters and correspondents will be debated.

Emergency resolutions to be printed next week, will call for support for the international tribunal on Britain's Presence in Ireland and for the paper's Bahro defence campaign already underway.

The Editorial Board proposes that every writer of the paper should have full voting and speaking rights. Comrades of the Workers League, the International Socialist Alliance, the Libertarian Communist Group are especially encouraged to attend. Big Flame is invited to send a delegation with speaking rights.

To ensure there is a full discussion leading up to the conference, the Editorial Board has decided to allocate one half page in the paper every week for contributions of 500 words — a further longer contributions — maximum 2000 words — will be published. The deadline for submissions is 17 April.

Nominations to a national committee of Socialist Challenge — which the present editorial board proposes should meet quarterly to determine the overall policy of the paper — will be accepted from this issue. They can be sent to the editorial board with 200-word motivations for publication prior to the Conference.

A politically representative editorial board should be elected by this national committee, but so that new forces prepared to come on the board can be integrated, its members would be invited to those already on the national committee.

Members of the editorial board will be touring local supporter groups in the coming weeks to motivate the resolutions from the editorial board to appear next week. If you would like to invite one to your area then ring us at 01-356 8149.

# '1900' 45 years in 4 hours Bertolucci's compromise

1900 is a film about politics and about history. Bertolucci's latest film is the result of two pressures. The main politico-historical influence is that of the Italian Communist Party. The money has been supplied by Hollywood.

The combination is not, however, without some merit, writes MYRA TREVELYAN

The subject of 1900 and its central preoccupations are, in a curious way, not irrelevant to problems of contemporary politics. Replying to questions from *Socialist Challenge* at the London preview, Bertolucci admitted that it was an unfinished film.

He wanted to make a sequel, but 'the situation is so confused that I don't know what I could say.' One can sympathise with that sentiment.

## TAPESTRY

The tapestry on which Bertolucci weaves his account of Italian history from 1900-45 is the rural richness of Emilia in the Italian countryside.

Through the eyes of three successive generations of landlords and peasants, we see the changing face of rural Italy.

The first generation: relation between landlord and peasant are guided by a semi-feudal paternalism. Second generation: the landlord gets more nasty and the peasants organise themselves into unions and learn the art of withdrawing their labour.

Third generation: the impact of fascism on the countryside.

Bertolucci's third generation landlord Alfredo (Robert de Niro) accepts fascism, but retains an ambiguous and repressed half-sexual, half-political relationship with the third generation peasant Olmo (Gerard Depardieu) who be-

comes a member of the resistance and the Communist Party (PCI). He is the political leader of the local anti-fascist struggle.

## WEAKNESS

Bertolucci explains that the film is about 'contradictions' which exist on every level. That is true up to a point, though the central contradiction in Italian society — that between the urban workers and the capitalists — is simply absent.

There is no reference to the factory occupations which shook the main industrial centres of the country. This is a real weakness in the film; without a comprehension of what was happening in the cities it is not possible to explain the rise of Mussolini's fascist bands.

The local landlords and their agents who set fire to the House of the People in 1900 were reflections of what was happening in the cities. Thus the leading fascist Attila (Donald Sutherland) almost approaches a parody, with fangs and all.

## SEXUALITY

The attitude to sexuality in the film is either traditional or extremely ambiguous. Thus homosexuality is something which has to be repressed, hidden away. Was I alone in thinking that the incident with a prostitute was Bertolucci's symbolic refusal to confront the issue head-on?

Alfredo and Olmo both go to bed with a prostitute. The landlord and peasant united by the penis? Possibly. But the problem is that the peasant can't get an erection. Just as they are on the verge of 'fulfilment' the prostitute becomes the victim of a violent fit of epilepsy.

The film is clearly weak on sexual politics and in a country where the Catholic Church is so powerful this is a serious defect.

## COMPROMISE

The compromise with Hollywood involved hiring Burt Lancaster, Sterling Hayden, Robert de Niro, and Donald Sutherland to play leading roles. This is not a major disaster, but it does lead the film an 'epic touch' which was unnecessary.

The compromise with the PCI leads to an extremely ambiguous conclusion: the ruling class is shown committing suicide, hurried to death by a persistent opponent. This is sheer utopianism.

However, the film should be seen. It provokes thought and discussion on a number of important questions. To argue that its weaknesses make it worthless is to ignore the real world. The number of 'mass' films which discuss politics and history from a broad left position are few and far between.

Bertolucci has made a serious attempt to do so. One does not have to agree with all its aesthetic and political positions to enjoy it.

1900 is showing at the Classic cinema in Oxford Street, London. It is in two parts, with a separate admission charge for each.

# Maulkorb für Filmemacher



AN IMAGE of struggle. The headline on the poster reads: 'Muzzle for film-makers'. It refers to a campaign which began in 1971 when a group of film-makers from Berlin were invited by the Wuppertal city council to make four short films on cultural and social themes as part of a cultural week that was to be held in the city.

But three of the films were rejected. The reason: they 'lacked objectivity'; in other

words, acceptable politics. Not satisfied with this exercise in censorship, the Wuppertal councillors then demanded the return of the money they had granted the film-makers.

The Düsseldorf state court and Berlin city courts backed up this demand, ruling that the films did indeed show a lack of objectivity. The back of the poster lists the names of over a hundred media and cultural workers in West Germany who have condemned this assault on

cultural freedom.

The poster is designed by Ernst Volland, whose photo-montages are well-known among the left in West Germany. Volland taught photo-montage at a university — until he was sacked a few months ago for producing a poster on Schleyer, the kidnapped boss whose Nazi past the West was so anxious not to reveal.

Volland's work is shortly to be exhibited in Britain.

# Punk: politics of leisure

## COMMENT

UNLIKE RICHARD CARVER I haven't seen *Jubilee*, but I've listened to a lot of punk music. From his article (16 March), I suspect Carver's musical experience is limited to old Rolling Stones records at parties. Out of all he writes comes the stale smell of left philistinism towards any cultural development that doesn't match up to its notion of 'class struggle'.

There is politics in punk, but it's a politics of leisure, not of electoral programmes or workplace struggles. And leisure is important, since it's one of the places where capitalism operates to reproduce the relations of production in people's hearts and minds.

In varying and often contradictory ways, punk has represented a refusal of the passive, consumerist role assigned to kids by the dominant apparatus of popu-

lar music. The best punk rock has subverted the placidity and conformity into which rock had sunk by the mid-70s. The Sex Pistols *God Save The Queen* was far more deadly than half a million 'Stuff the Jubilee' stickers.

People like Carver should stop and ask themselves why it is that, apart from the CND era, the left has managed to make no impact on the whole

series of 'anti-authoritarian' youth cultures over the last 20 years.

I would suggest it's because the general attitude has been both abstract and arrogant, an inability to recognise political contradictions when they don't take familiar worker v. boss forms, and an unwillingness to accept that sometimes we need to learn from those who aren't blessed with Transitional Programmes, even punks.

DAVE LAING [Bradford 13]

**The Other Bookshop**  
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Two new Victor Serge books

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# Shorthand notes on perfection

by GEOFFREY SHERIDAN

COMPETITIONS can be a give-away, ideologically speaking. Miss World and the rest parade women in one of the prisons of their oppression: their bodies singled out for a mass gaze.

Nurse of the Year selects another role: women in the uniform of the lady with the lamp, bringing health and solace to the sick and injured.

And so to the London Evening News's search for the Perfect Secretary.

The entries for this competition, submitted by bosses, eloquently express a key role of secretaries; as hand-maidens to men whose status, efficiency, and frequently their ability to function at all would otherwise vanish.

The entries speak for themselves. A selection follows.

'Without Christine, my life would be much less complete.

She is aware, seemingly by natural instinct, of all the many and devious ways in which I must be protected: from my debtors, my friends, my relations, and — yes — even my wife.'

'The lovely Rosemary is not only an excellent secretary but a punctual and skilful chauffeur. she can be relied on to take me to the airport at five in the morning and collect me at eleven at night.'

'Hazel arrives at eight instead of our normal time of nine so always seems to have time to stop and talk over people's personal and business problems as well as running the department smoothly and efficiently.'

'Naturally Jane's shorthand and typing are immaculate but the real difference between her and dull perfection is her giggle. Our Jane is wonderful because she makes us feel that we are wonderful.'

## Medley

by STEVE MACDONOGH

### KULTUR KAMPF

In his elegant apartment, the Professor talks endlessly about cultures. I mention the masses; he sulks, and I leave.

### SUCH QUESTIONS SPOIL HIS DIGESTION

Over dinner we discuss a school of poets the Professor favours. I ask what social class they represent. He chokes on an olive.

### QUANTITY INTO QUALITY

For hours we argued over Trotsky and the fox. As I was leaving, the cistern overflowed. We parted laughing.

### AT THE MATCH

The eminent don knew nothing of soccer. All the same, he yelled wildly for the underdogs. 'It's the British sense of fair play', he explained. 'Yes', I said, 'We have some experience of that.'

# Socialist Challenge

Students to meet in Blackpool

## 'We need to break the Tory Broad Left alliance'

Delegates representing 800,000 students meet in Blackpool for the opening of the annual conference of the National Union of Students on 2 April.

As well as debating such major issues as student union autonomy, grants and racism, delegates will be drawing the lessons of a year which will go down in student history as the lowest point in collective action for a decade. REDMOND O'NEILL and COLIN TALBOT report.

For the union's national executive, president Sue Slipman's year in office has marked a significant step forward for the NUS. The combined efforts of Tory student leaders and the Communist Party/Labour Party 'Broad Left', has resulted in aspects of NUS policy being dropped — such as the 'no platform for fascists' stand — around which the press whipped up so much hysteria.

### OVERSEAS

NUS is now consulted by the Department of Education and Science before colleges are closed and overseas students deported. In short, 'responsible' student unionism is on the advance.

### FRUITFUL

But for the majority of students the last year has not been so fruitful. Teacher

training colleges continue to close, grants have been slashed in value and availability, and thousands of overseas students who have survived discriminatory fees now face expulsion from the education system through racist quotas.

### CORRIDORS

Such is the price for the executive's strategy of institutional harmony and 'responsible' student unionism. The executive's advance into the educational corridors of power has not succeeded in defending students' interests, has allowed the *de facto* sacrifice of the autonomy of student unions and has politically disarmed the student movement in the face of the racist and fascist offensive in society.

### ERSTWHILE

In electing the national

executive, delegates at Blackpool will need to draw a balance sheet of all this. In particular erstwhile Broad Left supporters will have to decide if they will continue to sanction their leaders' open alliance with the student wing of the Tory Party.

In opposition to this the main theme of the major far left group, the Socialist Students' Alliance, will be for left unity around socialist policies, defending the NUS and breaking the Tory/Broad Left Alliance.

### DISARRAY

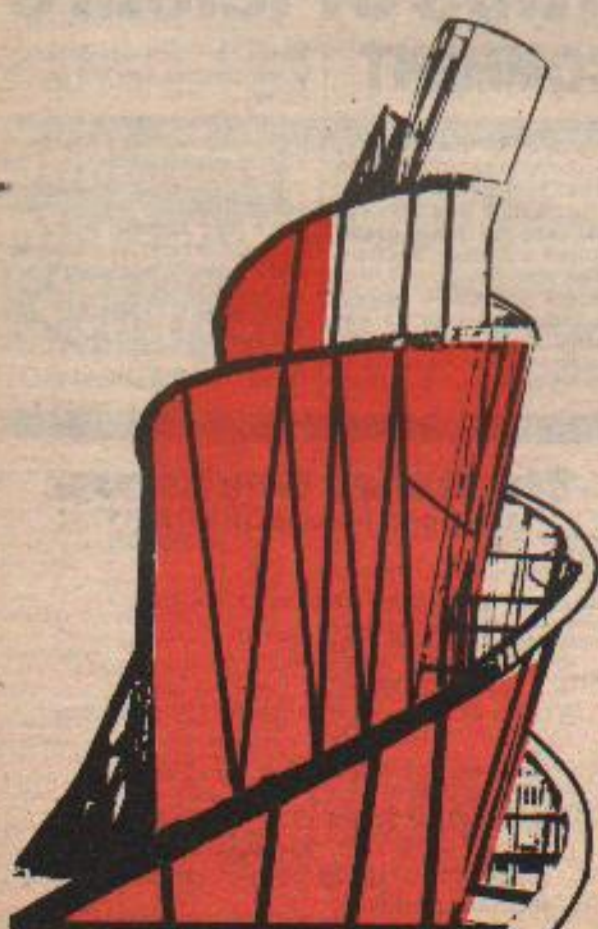
The SSA believes that the disarray and confusion on the student left can be overcome on the basis of reassembling all those willing to back class struggle policies. Such an alternative is gaining credibility especially with those students who have paid the highest price for the year of inaction.

### WHO?

The SSA slate for the executive election includes: president, MICK ARCHER; deputy president, COLIN CAMPBELL; treasurer, LEWIS DAVIS; vice-president education services, TREVOR GARDINER; vice-president welfare, ALISON DOWNEY; vice-president areas, ADRIAN SIMPSON; executive officers/committee members, PAULINE ROE, VON McCLEARY, MICK ARCHER and COLIN CAMPBELL.



## OUR FUND DRIVE



WITH A FEW days left before the end of the month, we were still short £324.29 for our regular Spring fund drive. This week's total of £112.63 was below target, although with Easter holidays the post has been irregular.

We are looking forward to a bumper postbag in the next couple of days.

Our emergency appeal to enable us to install a small press saw a new lease of life. Three donations brought in £121. Our supporters in Oxford again delivered the goods. Since the paper was launched last June, these readers have been the most energetic and unfailing in their ability to raise money for the paper.

To date, their contributions alone have totalled £176.06. Here is a target our other local groups can set their sights on. Oxford's ingenuity seems boundless — socials, film shows, booksales, jumble sales and even trips on the river.

A regular Canadian supporter rushed over £100 to our fund drives. £75 for the emergency appeal and £25 for the regular fund. Along with the very welcome cheque came these comments: 'I am impressed by the reporting quality and the extent of the discussions taking place in the paper...'

'This money comes from my savings. Do you realise that inflation reduces them by nearly 1 per cent a month? I look upon donations to strike funds, newspapers, and political groups as a means of robbing the inflators — capitalists — and also as an investment: Socialist Victory Bonds.'

'The revolution will deliver a house much sooner than capitalism — so that is where my money goes!'

In recent weeks, sales have been rising. The 9 March issue, which contained the surplus value on 'Irish jokes', continues to sell well. The Irish

Post, a weekly sold in the Irish communities in London, mentioned what an excellent article this was, and this has brought in orders for that issue.

Meanwhile, sales in WH Smith's London shops have taken off. After a steady start, sales have risen in the past two weeks. The 16 March issue cleared 30 copies at Kings Cross and Charing Cross, and 27 at Victoria. In the ten shops the total was not far short of 150.

The trial ends in a fortnight. We will keep our readers informed of the reaction of this distribution monopoly. For the fund drives our thanks to:

#### For the Tatlin tower:

C Dorling	0.50
J Graham	2.55
Anon	1.00
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D. Reams	1.00
N.G.	23.98
Stirling supporters	2.50
R.W.	55.00
Customer's change	0.10
Canadian supporter	25.00
TOTAL	£112.63

#### For the emergency appeal:

Oxford supporters	35.00
Anon	10.00
Canadian supporter	75.00
TOTAL	£121.00

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Complete and return to:  
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