

# Socialist Challenge

**SOCIALIST POLICIES  
ARE THE WAY  
UNITE TO  
FIGHT  
THE  
TORIES**



# ELECTIONS

## THE WILD BUNCH

### Tory victory

By Dodie Wepler and John Ross

## A battle lost, but not the war



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)  
**WILLIAM WHITELOW**, Home Secretary. Said after the police riot in Southall that Labour Ministers had often failed to give their full support to the police and the judges. Defended Thatcher's statement that people in some areas of Britain feared being 'swamped' by immigrants with the comment: 'Fears do exist and the Conservatives intend to remove them'.



Photo: NEWS LINE  
**LORD HAILSHAM**, Lord Chancellor. Stated in a previous election that anyone who votes Labour is 'stark, staring bonkers', which about sums up his view of the working class. His Dumbleby Lecture two years ago was devoted to the theme that the House of Commons has too much freedom and that the powers of the House of Lords should be strengthened.



Photo: NEWS LINE  
**LORD CARRINGTON**, Foreign Secretary. His directorships include: Barclays Bank, which has extensive interests in southern Africa and dutifully purchased a sheaf of South Africa's defence bonds; and Rio Tinto Zinc, one of Rhodesia's four biggest profit-makers. RTZ's Rossing mine in Namibia supplies South Africa with its uranium.



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)  
**SIR GEOFFREY HOWE**, Chancellor of the Exchequer. As Solicitor General in Heath's government he helped to manage the Industrial Relations Court which jailed the Pentonville Five. Believes that 'the uniqueness of the individual and freedom of choice' will revive British capitalism. Directorships include Sun Alliance and London Insurance, EMI.



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)  
**SIR KEITH JOSEPH**, Industry Secretary. Monetarist. Says he's sick of 'these academics and politicians who have prescribed rubbish that redistribution is on the way. It has already gone too far and is reducing the standard of this country.' Heir to the fortunes of the Bovis construction company. Believes 'social class five' shouldn't have children.



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)  
**JAMES PRIOR**, Employment Secretary. Director of United Biscuits, which successfully prosecuted a Transport Union official for organising a 'secondary' picket of its factory during the lorry drivers' strike. Said during the election campaign that trade unionists 'had the right' to go to jail if they break the law.



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)  
**NORMAN ST JOHN STEVAS**, Leader of the House. Ecclesiastical and political correspondent of The Economist. Fervent anti-abortionist, whose new government post is likely to be of benefit to a Private Member's Bill seeking restrictions on abortion rights. Describes the new government as 'moderate right wing'.



Photo: NEWS LINE  
**FRANCIS PYM**, Defence Secretary. Says: 'On the question of Namibia, it seems to me that the South African government has recently shown moderation and good faith in the face of deplorable provocation and prevarication from the other side and accordingly deserves the help of the West.'

SO FAR, no tanks have been spotted on the streets of Great Britain, Margaret Thatcher has not brought generals into the cabinet; the unions have not been declared illegal.

The Tory victory is a setback for the working class but that's not the entire story, nor the end of it. There's the world of difference between talking politics, be they right, left or centre, and carrying them out.

The working class and the oppressed may find themselves on the defensive in the next couple of months but their capacities to resist remain impressive.

So what is in store for the Tories? First, there are severe economic prospects for the new government. Certainly no 'honeymoon' period is in sight. The international economic situation will undoubtedly pull the British economy into a downturn by 1980 whatever temporary 'recovery' we may see in the rest of 1979.

And, of course, the Tories will try to make the working class and oppressed bear the brunt of the crisis.

The Thatcher government is out to turn back the clock on the gains notched up by the working class in the post-war period. Living standards will fall with Tory increases in indirect taxes. They will attempt to end the right to a wide range of social services.

The Tory government will step up an ideological offensive to get women back in the home — probably beginning with an attempt to lower the time limit for legal abortions. State attacks on black people will be stepped up. There will be no let-up in the attacks on the Catholic masses in the North of Ireland. A more right wing and well-armed foreign policy will be the order of the day.

Above all, Thatcher's government wants to weaken the working class by attacking its mass organisations — with its first target as trade union militants and strikers.

When it comes to all these major policies promoted by Thatcher there are no serious objective differences of interest within the ruling class or Tory Party. The so-called divisions between Heath and Thatcher are of no importance for the working class.

Some ruling class representatives are worried about whether Thatcher will be able to carry through her policies without uncontrollable working class resistance, but that's quite a different question.

On issues where there have been some differences in the ruling class — for instance, incomes policy, aspects of monetary policy, on state subsidies to major industry — Thatcher will easily be brought into line.

In order to implement her policies, however, Thatcher will adopt different tactics than Heath did immediately after he formed his government. He ventured to openly proclaim his desire to attack the working class. He refused to meet the TUC for the first year and a half after he came to office, for instance.

However, his policy of confrontation with the working class was not even minimally prepared on a political level.

Thatcher will not make a similar error. She has learned from both the defeats of Heath and from the victories of Callaghan and Wilson. Thatcher wants to turn the consciousness created by capitalism into a weapon against the labour movement, and the Labour Party itself. And because of the relation of class forces she is forced to actively involve the labour bureaucracy in her project, rather than taking on the unions outright.

The familiar appeals from Callaghan to rally behind the nation will continue to be echoed by Thatcher. Equally, Callaghan's rallying calls on a variety of other

themes fit in with her project: calls to unity, not conflict; for the erosion of classes, not class conflict; to Parliament and common interests, not wreckers; and so on.

This kind of ideological offensive, coupled with direct sabotage and collusion with the bureaucracy of working class organisations, will be used to try and derail and weaken the working class and oppressed.

The economic, social and political policies of Thatcher form a coherent and potentially powerful reactionary plan. She maintains that the only way to inflict a genuine shift in the class forces on the working class is through a challenge to post-war political assumptions.

In other words, the working class and oppressed must begin to reject the idea that they have the 'right' to a job, to have their illnesses treated, or to have a home. Furthermore, it has to be drilled into popular consciousness that the rising numbers on the dole queues are really 'work-shy scroungers'. 'Mothers' or 'homemakers' will become the order of the day, rather than women trade unionists.

And when the working class merely exercises its democratic rights to organise in defence of its living standards through effective picketing, Thatcher will try and present them as 'hoodlums and thugs'.

To achieve this kind of change in popular consciousness, an intensive ideological campaign will be whipped up. Its beginnings have been evident in recent months. At every level, Thatcher will try to promote policies of divide and rule.

Heath's attacks were launched on a different basis. He did not fundamentally challenge the political basis of post-war years: the 'consensus' on the welfare state; 'full employment'; Keynesian economic strategy; 'liberalising' the legal system; and maintaining existing nationalisations.

Indeed, the response of the working class to Heath's administrative and organisation measures was fuelled by existing Labourist policies.

The scope of Thatcher's goals is far broader. And for all these reasons she represents a more formidable opponent in the political field than did Heath. She could well try and enhance the use of traditional class methods by using new innovations for reinforcing her attacks.

For instance, it would not be at all surprising if she began to use referendums to gain a 'democratic mandate' for moves against union struggles and the labour movement. A change in the voting system if the government fails is almost certain.

Having recognised the dangers represented by this coherent political attack, it would be quite wrong to think it can be carried through by the ruling class without meeting major struggles and resistance. The dark mood of despair and pessimism sweeping sections of the left has no basis if it rests on an assessment that the election represents a fundamental change in the relation of class forces.

Thatcher has not yet notched up any qualitative successes in the political offensives she chose to launch first. True, the political debate has seriously shifted to the right. In fact, the election campaigns waged by both the ruling class parties and the Labour Party have been further to the right than in any previous post-war election.

But this does not mean these policies have won wholesale acceptance from the working class.

For instance, Thatcher's notion that 'trade unions have too much power' may well have won some support amongst backward layers in the working class, but this is a far cry from agreeing to the full-blooded assault on working class organisa-

tions she is after.

Similarly, more may agree there are 'scroungers' in growing numbers, but this doesn't add up to a general acceptance that wide sections of the welfare state should be dismantled.

If there is one thing the election re-asserted it is the fact that combativity of the class has not been fundamentally defeated, and the existing commitment to defend basic gains and rights has not been broken. Some sections of workers were even involved in struggle during the election campaign.

The Tories became defensive when they were accused of aiming to lower living standards through indirect taxation, to dismantle the welfare state, and so on.

This kind of response indicates the limits of Thatcher's victory. It is true that the working class experienced set-backs in 1975-8. But there has been no qualitative defeat. The unions have grown in membership — evidence that they continue to be seen as organisations of basic defence.

Despite defeats in sectors hit seriously by unemployment — construction, shipbuilding and so on — active militants haven't been smashed or integrated into the bureaucracy.

Ford workers and lorry drivers showed that the bosses could be defeated by serious struggles waged by strong groups of workers. In the public sector, setbacks were inflicted but new struggles around comparability are on the agenda. The bourgeoisie has no confidence that it can win a major confrontation which would involve groups of workers like the miners.

Furthermore, there have been big social forces — especially amongst youth — organised by the Anti Nazi League and the anti-racist struggle. And while women's gains have been under attack, the one sharp move to limit the 1967 Abortion Act was met with rapid mobilisations.

It is this class relation of forces which determines perspectives for struggle. Ultra-left bravado that the Tory victory is irrelevant is useless. The fact that the working class was unable to overcome the effects of its leadership and prevent Thatcher forming a government will be felt by sections of the working class as the setback it is.

The Tory victory gives confidence and clear advantages to the ruling class. Nevertheless, the recent struggles of the working class and oppressed, and their general political consciousness, combined with the rapid unpopularity which Thatcher will meet, all create a tendency towards struggle. In Scotland, where the Tories have no mandate whatsoever, this can only be reinforced.

It would be idle to speculate on the exact form and tempo of the coming struggles. But the general perspectives are clear: whatever the initial delays while Thatcher collaborates with the union leaders, tens of thousands of workers and oppressed will enter into struggle against Thatcher's policies. Revolutionaries should prepare now for struggles which will finally involve central sections of the working class.

This dynamic clearly does not call for the shift to the right in political approach which is apparent in the left — from the Labour left through the Communist Party, to the far left. Thatcher's victory is a setback but not at all the end of the war.

Any rightist political stance based on an analysis that a fundamental defeat has been suffered cannot be justified. And it certainly won't provide the fighting lead that is needed for the confrontation between the classes which is clearly on the agenda.

IF YOU HATE THE TORIES, DONATE TO THE FIGHT BACK



# Our first youth rally Revolution!



THE BRITISH press, the education authorities and even the army in Ireland seemed determined to prevent the Revolution rally, held in London last weekend, being a success.

All their best efforts were doomed to failure. The rally went ahead, was well-attended and enjoyed by all.

By Jude Woodward

The organisation of the rally faced one problem after another.

When the Sun discovered that the rally was taking place our troubles really started.

Their front page article, headlined 'Revo kids make a date with Marx' was good free publicity, but it didn't please the administration of City University where the rally was booked to take place.

The Vice Chancellor of City University cancelled Revolution's booking because he thought Tariq Ali's presence at the rally would be inflammatory.

So with little over a week to go, Revolution had no venue — but all the indications were that many young people were planning to come.

The rally was saved, twice over, by the Student Union at the prestigious Institute of Education in Central London.

The Students Union agreed to allow the rally to go ahead in their student building.

We all breathed a sigh of relief and began to puzzle over how we would get the people who arrived at City University down to the new venue.

But then the Principal of the Institute decided it wouldn't look good if the rally took place at such a famous educational institution, and he too wanted the venue cancelled.

But this time the authorities didn't get their way.

The students at the Institute — more power to their elbows — held an emergency general meeting and occupied their own Union building so that the rally could go ahead.

The rally began at lunchtime on Saturday and soon the hall was filled with over 300

supporters, 75 percent of whom were school students, young workers and young women.

After milling round the bookstalls for a while and eating picnic lunches, everyone broke up into workshops to discuss various questions facing the youth.

The films *Blacks Britannica* and *Home, Soldier Home* were particularly popular and provoked wide ranging discussions about racism, fascism and Ireland.

While these discussions were going ahead attempts were being made to sabotage the rally from a long distance.

In Ireland, Bernadette MacAliskey, who was due to be the main speaker at the rally in the afternoon, left for Belfast airport to catch the 12.30 plane to London.

At the airport she was stopped by the British army. They asked her two questions: 'What are you going to do in England?' and 'What time is your plane?'

They kept her sitting at the roadside waiting until they saw the London plane take off, then she was released.

But even this couldn't destroy the rally, it just helped to bring home to the people present the repressive nature of the British state in Ireland.

A statement from Bernadette was read to everyone present which pointed out that the action of the British security forces in preventing her leaving shouldn't surprise anyone who knew anything about the situation in Ireland.

Pat Watkins, a youth from Cardiff, explained why he decided not to join the army.

He was due to enlist at the end of April, but after going to one of Pat Arrowsmith's

election meetings on Ireland he changed his mind and decided to join Revolution instead.

Barney Mokatle, a Soweto student, talked about the events in South Africa in June 1976, and gave concrete evidence for the truth that the youth will be the audacious spearhead of the revolutionary movement in South Africa and all round the world.

The final speaker was Tariq Ali, who pointed out that in Cuba, Vietnam and most recently in Iran the youth have played a decisive role in carrying forward the struggle for liberation and socialism.

The rally ended with a tremendous cheer for the students of the Institute for fighting to allow the rally to go ahead.

The women's group in particular, who interrupted their own conference to take part in the general meeting which decided to occupy, were thanked for showing their solidarity with the fight for youth rights.

Some measure of the success of the rally can be taken from the fact that over 100 membership cards for Revolution were sold and the collection raised over £200.

The final problem facing the day's events — a venue for the social in the evening — was solved at the eleventh hour when the students of Middlesex Poly in North London offered their student union.

Coaches were laid on and everyone was ferried to North London.

The band Charge provided PA equipment and so they and the students at the Poly were also in line for a vote of thanks for their help.

The gig went ahead as planned with The Straits playing, everyone danced, had fun and celebrated with militant cheers the fact that it was the anniversary of Marx's birth.

A fitting day for an event marking such an important step towards creating a revolutionary youth organisation, to revitalise and carry forward the struggle for socialism.



# ELECTIONS

## SNP support plummets

# Scotland's minority party - the Tories

By Des Tierney

THE MOST significant feature of the election results in Scotland was the collapse of the Scottish National Party's vote.

The SNP's share of the vote fell from over 30 per cent in the October '74 election to just over 17 per cent last week. The party's Parliamentary representation has plummeted from 11 MPs to two.

The interpretation of this result is not too difficult to make.

Labour's policy on the assembly and its championing of the Scottish Development Agency won Labour votes throughout 1978. Its stunning by-election victories in Garscadden and Hamilton foreshadowed its success in Scotland in the general election.

Surprisingly, the referendum result on devolution and the subsequent failure of the Labour government to get the Scotland Act implemented did not slow down this process.

The Labour Party was able to go into this election as the party of devolution and point to the SNP as the party which gave Thatcher her chance by supporting the Tories in the no confidence motion.

More than in most parts of Britain, the working class in Scotland fears the Tories' economic policies.

It is difficult to find any substantial employer throughout the central belt of Scotland who hasn't depended on government intervention in

recent years.

The suspicion that the SNP was prepared to put this at risk weighed heavily with voters.

The second reason for the SNP collapse was that their traditional supporters, sections of the rural population and the middle classes, showed — by their rejection of the Scotland Act in the referendum — that their flirtation with the idea of Scottish independence was over.

Their fear of the Scottish working class and its powerful organisations has brought them back to their traditional dependence on the union with England.

The SNP faces an uncertain future. It is, as has been pointed out by Tom Nairn, a bourgeois nationalist party without the support of the bourgeoisie in a country which is dominated by the working class.

Will the SNP continue as the party of 'Scottish nationhood under the Crown', reflecting the fantasies of the middle classes?

Or will it be able to grasp the potential of the Scottish working class and its anti-Westminster aspirations?

The collapse of the SNP vote allowed both the Tories and Labour to celebrate this election.

Certainly for the Labour Party its increase in the share of the Scottish vote by 6 per cent and the return to the calmer waters of 'British' politics offers it some comfort.

The demand for the assembly

could be seen by some of the Labour Party's more opportunist members as a way of attacking Tory policies, and fuelled by the discontent of the Scottish working class could lead to a massive anti-Tory, anti-Union movement.

Such a movement would cause great difficulties for the Labour Party in Britain.

Similarly, with Labour receiving 42 per cent of the poll in Scotland, the Tories 31 per cent, the Scottish Tories' celebrations could be cut short.

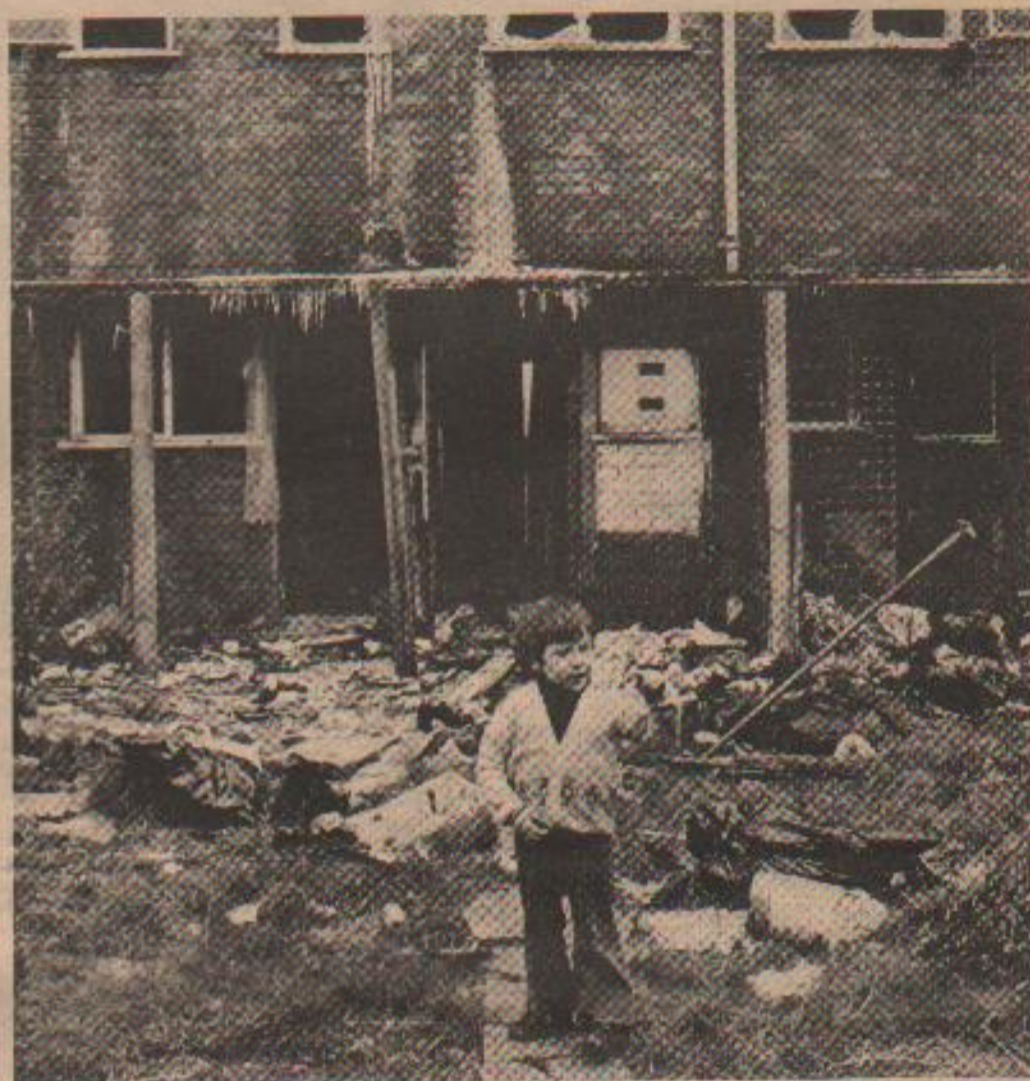
As a minority party in Scotland, whose policies have been decisively rejected by the Scottish electorate, the Tories will have the difficult — perhaps impossible — task of implementing them.

They are pledged to cut the power of the Scottish Development Agency and the regional incentives for employment. They have also pledged to bury the Scotland Act.

The prospect of their succeeding in these projects without the working class fighting back is remote.

A footnote on the Scottish Labour Party. Despite the large personal vote of Jim Sillars and the quite significant vote in the Paisley constituency formerly held by the SLP, the loss of the two seats spells the end of this party.

Sillars has already said that 'after 20 years in the fight for socialist policies in Scotland' he has decided to look for another occupation.



Housing like this is common in Scotland and elsewhere

## Views from the left

# ★ Morning Star

The one that's different

UNDER the headline 'The Thatcher rampage can be stopped' the Communist Party Morning Star last Saturday analysed the reasons for Labour's defeat. It correctly analysed: 'The election result is a serious setback, but not a reason for defeatism. The forces exist which can throw back the Tory onslaught.'

It noted of its own electoral results that 'in the majority (of cases) our vote went down and this is a setback. We shall need to examine the reasons for it in

the coming period.'

The reasons in fact are well contained in the same issue of the Morning Star. It said: 'if the left alternative policy of expanding the economy and challenging the domination of the big monopolies had been adopted, jobs would have been provided, prices kept down and democracy extended.'

In fact if the CP's policy of refusing to nationalise the core of industry had been followed, raging inflation would have been the result.

Furthermore, while the

Morning Star denounces 'the right-wing Labour leaders... (who) have abandoned Socialist aims', it has not a word on the 'lefts' who were supposed to be the hope in 1974. What about Scanlon and Jones, criticism of whom was supposed to be 'splitting' in 1974? They were the most active allies of the Labour right.

As usual the Morning Star's comment on the election shows it has forgotten nothing and learnt nothing.

# WRP not to blame for Latham defeat

THE defeat of Tribune MP Arthur Latham by 106 votes in Paddington has highlighted the question of when the far left should stand against Labour.

Tunji Banjo, the Workers Revolutionary Party candidate, got 117 votes — more than the margin of Latham's defeat.

Labour Party supporters and Latham himself have blamed the WRP for the defeat. Banjo gave an alternative explanation:

'Mr Latham is trying to blame us for his failure in the election...'

'Callaghan betrayed the working class who put him in there with their votes — and it is he who has let the Tories get in.'

Banjo is absolutely correct. We question the tactical wisdom of standing in a marginal seat and it is unfortunate that Latham lost, but he would be better advised

to look at why the Tribune Group raised nothing in the way of opposition to the policies of the Callaghan leadership — policies which lost them the election.

We should resist all attempts to make the WRP a scapegoat but that does not change our attitude of voting against WRP candidates.

The reason for standing candidates against Labour is to provide a focus for resistance to the policies of the Labour leaders — thus also stimulating the anti-Tory struggle.

We said before the election that the WRP's sectarian refusal to support, for example, the autonomous women's and black movements meant that there was no reason for voting for it.

The campaign has borne us out. When it came to the biggest mass struggle of the entire election campaign, in Southall, the WRP as usual was nowhere to be seen.

### Coming soon!

OUR PAPER will be carrying the biggest and best debate on the way forward under the Tories. Unity in action will be the theme. But what sort of action do we need?

Among those invited to contribute are Tony Benn, newly-elected Labour MP Ernie Roberts, and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party,

Tony Chater, editor of the Morning Star, takes up the debate next week.

Other points of view will also be coming in from the trade unions, the women's movement and the black movement.

Also in next week's Socialist Challenge an on-the-spot report of the women's movement in Iran.



NEWS LINE continued its account of the ruling class preparation to launch a civil war. Seen as particularly sinister is the refusal to recall ten year-retired R.A. Butler, and the decrepit octogenarian Macmillan to the Cabinet.

'Mrs Thatcher's Cabinet announced at the weekend bristles with rabid right wingers and ex-military officers...

Thatcher's Cabinet marks a complete break with previous post war Tory governments. There is not a trace of 'Supernac' or R.A. Butler in this administration.

'Even Edward Heath, the author of the hated Industrial Relations Act, is considered too radical and "soft" to get a place.

'The ex-Tory leader, deposed by Thatcher, is still blamed for "bowing to the unions" in February 1974 during the miners strike.

'Instead of calling a General Election, Thatcher and her friends believe that Heath should have stuck to his guns and used the police, the armed forces, the courts and

emergency powers to crush the miners.

'Thatcher's class-war Cabinet is proposing to put this policy into action without very much delay.'

All this might seem merely alarmist nonsense if it were not used to justify the WRP's campaign against such campaigns as the ANLs on the grounds that they were 'provocations'.

Meanwhile on its inside pages News Line continues its campaign of praise for the leaders of Iraq in their drive to murder thousands of Communists and workers.

Perhaps News Line considers Thatcher not radical enough in some respects?

WRITE US A LETTER — AND ENCLOSE A DONATION

# ELECTIONS

## SU election campaign

# The sound and the fury

SOCIALIST Unity ran 10 candidates in the general election. It also sponsored and supported the campaigns of Independent Socialist, Pat Arrowsmith, and Brendan Gallagher, who stood on a Troops Out of Ireland platform.

**Socialist Challenge** asked BOB PENNINGTON, national organiser of Socialist Unity, how he assessed its work in the election.

We decided to stand candidates because we wanted to fight for the return of a Labour Government and put forward the case for a socialist alternative.

The way that the overwhelming majority of the left MPs ran their campaigns fully justified that decision.

Although a few, and they were very few, like Ernie Roberts, Ken Livingstone and Ted Knight, did publish manifestos that raised the issue of socialist policies, almost without exception, the rest of the left buried their differences with the right-wing leaders and tamely campaigned on official policies.

Even the supporters of **Militant**, which is the best organised force in the ranks of the Labour left failed to put forward a real socialist alternative.

By standing candidates we were able — in a limited way — to show militants that there were alternative socialist policies to the class collaborationist programme of the Labour leaders.

We realised that many of the people who agreed with our programme would still vote Labour. That did not matter to us.

Shop stewards in places like Birmingham and Manchester, who time after time told our

canvassers: 'Yes, I agree with what you are calling for, but I must vote Labour to try and keep out the Tories', were won to policies which they will fight for in the trade unions.

Winning support for such policies was always vital with Labour in power — with the return of the Tories, it is even more vital.

We decided from the very beginning that it was important to combat racism, not simply by propaganda but by mass action. Without doubt we had some successes in this respect.

We were able to play a big role in mobilising for the Leicester demonstration against the National Front.

In Southall, where thousands of Asians took to the streets against the Nazis, Socialist Unity was right to the fore in this campaign. Tariq Ali, the Socialist Unity candidate in the area, became one of the leaders in the fight against racism.

In Bethnal Green and Bow, Socialist Unity was the main mobilising force in the demonstration against the National Front. This demonstration was sponsored by over 20 organisations, including the Communist Party, as well as local immigrant organisations.

Socialist Unity organised a picket of over 50 people outside the surgery of the doctor who was standing as the National

Front candidate in Deptford, as well as organising a meeting of over 100 people on the fight against racism.

The election rally attracted another 150 people and some 50 of these were black workers, men and women, from the area.

In Manchester Socialist Unity helped to build demonstrations against the National Front in Hyde, Rochdale and outside the TV studio when the Nazis did their broadcast.

In every place we stood we put the fight against racism right in the centre of our programme and used the election campaign to help to build the Anti-Nazi League and the local anti-racist committees.

I think that one of our biggest successes was around the issue of Ireland. All the main parties had an unspoken truce to keep Ireland out of the election arena.

We were determined to try and change that and were equally determined to make Ireland an issue.

We organised a national tour with Brendan Gallagher and Pat Arrowsmith and held meetings in every constituency where Socialist Unity was standing.

At these meetings we were able to expose the record of British imperialism in Ireland and to win supporters and new activists to the United Troops Out Movement.

We did not restrict our activity on Ireland just to the places where we were standing.

At most of the meetings where Callaghan spoke we organised 'on the blanket' demonstrations.



Socialist Unity in Glasgow. The campaigns attracted large numbers of youth

Our supporters heckled Callaghan on his disgraceful record on Ireland and made sure that he could not avoid the question of the British troops and their role in Ireland.

In Barnsley, where Brendan Gallagher stood against Roy Mason, there had been little or no local activity on this issue. Gallagher's campaign helped to change that.

His eve-of-poll rally was attended by over 100 people and the vote of 638 that he got showed that his fight against British imperialism had made an impression in this solidly working class constituency.

Pat Arrowsmith showed in Cardiff that just because the polls had closed, Ireland could not be immediately dismissed to the sidelines.

Not only did she challenge Callaghan after the result was declared but made a speech against the treatment of the political prisoners from the platform — a speech that was televised to millions of early morning viewers!

In all our campaigns we made a big drive towards the youth, particularly the young school leavers, the unemployed and the black youth. Many young people became active in our campaigns.

In Hull there was a School Kids for Stanton group. We were able to win young people to come out on the anti-racist pickets and to get groups of them to come to our meetings and rallies.

At the Socialist Festival in Manchester which was attended by 300 people there was a large contingent of youth.

Many of the youth that went on the pickets, worked in the campaigns and attended our meetings, had never before been involved in organised political activity.

Our attention to the youth really helped us to get people to attend the Revolution Rally which was held in London last Saturday — a major step forward towards building a revolutionary youth organisation.

The Socialist Unity election campaign made it possible for us to do a number of things.

We were able to win new forces — albeit on a modest scale — for the fight in the mass movement for a socialist alternative.

What is more, by our activity and campaigning we showed that to fight for such a programme needs united mass action.

This is why we placed big stress on building the left inside the unions and on building organisations like the United Troops Out Movement, the National Abortion Campaign, the Anti Nazi League and others.

Furthermore, the election campaigns enabled us to win new people to revolutionary politics.

Here, I can only speak for my own organisation, the International Marxist Group. I know that in every area the IMG made new recruits, and new contacts.



FREE SPEECH for Thatcher and Callaghan — but not for those who dared to mention troops out of Ireland. Pat Arrowsmith, standing in Cardiff South-east, was arrested twice at street meetings during her campaign.

She is due to appear in court on 21 May to answer four charges. Among those demanding that these charges be dropped and supporting Pat's right to free speech are the Plaid Cymru and Communist party candidates who stood in Cardiff SE.

A demonstration and rally are to be held in Cardiff on Saturday 19 May at 2pm. Further details from 108 Bookshop, Salisbury Rd, Cardiff. Tel 0222 30183.

## Socialist Unity's votes

<b>BARNESLEY:</b> Mason (Lab) 36,276 England (Con) 13,654 Whittaker (LI) 5,751 Gallagher (SU) 638 Davies (WRP) 348 Gallagher percentage: 1.1	<b>LIVERPOOL TOXTETH:</b> Crawshaw (Lab) 14,833 Shone (C) 6,680 Addison (LI) 3,206 Adams (SU) 238 Elliot (WRP) 148 SU percentage: 0.9	<b>SOUTHALL:</b> Bodwell (Lab) 28,498 Patterson (C) 17,220 Hains (LI) 3,920 Fairhurst (NF) 1,546 Gupta (I) 637 Ali (SU) 477 Paul (I) 115 SU percentage: 0.8
<b>CARDIFF South-East:</b> Callaghan (Lab) 23,871 Jones (C) 15,170 Roberts (PC) 828 Aldridge (I) 375 Arrowsmith (IS) 132 Spencer (Com) 112 Arrowsmith percentage: 0.3	<b>BIRMINGHAM SMALLHEATH:</b> Howell (Lab) 17,735 Savage (C) 8,258 Minnis (LI) 4,470 Caffery (NF) 490 Adamson (SU) 349 SU percentage: 1.2	<b>GLASGOW Queens Park:</b> McEneaney (Lab) 15,120 Collins (C) 5,842 Greene (SNP) 2,278 Kay (Com) 263 Kerrigan (WRP) 98 MacLellan (SU) 92 SU percentage: 0.4
<b>BETHNAL GREEN &amp; BOW:</b> Mikardo (Lab) 14,227 Flounders (LI) 5,673 Page (C) 5,587 Webster (NF) 1,740 Corvill (WRP) 183 Varnes (SU) 153 SU percentage: 0.5	<b>LONDON Deptford:</b> Silkin (Lab) 18,391 Grant (C) 11,638 Rowden (LI) 2,774 Mitchell (NF) 1,490 Maguire (SU) 274 Davies (WRP) 198 SU percentage: 0.8	<b>HULL Central:</b> McNamara (Lab) 22,318 Tillett (Con) 14,725 Bryant (LI) 5,068 Brathwaite (NF) 422 Stanton (SU) 274 SU percentage: 0.8
<b>ISLINGTON NORTH:</b> O'Halloran (Lab) 12,217 Kerr (C) 7,861 Clarke (LI) 2,079 Hook (NF) 501 Simons (SU) 438 McCurrough (WRP) 217 SU percentage: 1.9	<b>MANCHESTER Ardwick:</b> Kaufman (Lab) 17,235 Swan (C) 9,863 Thomson (LI) 2,934 West (SU) 287 SU percentage: 0.9	<b>NOTTINGHAM EAST</b> Dunnell (Lab) 15,433 Brander-Bravo (C) 12,199 Hiley (LI) 2,270 Coles (NF) 428 Juniper (SU) 252 SU percentage: 0.8

ALTERNATIVE POLICIES DON'T GROW ON TREES. DONATE NOW

## HOME NEWS

### Asian defence patrol

By Anwar Hussein

BLACK self-defence made an important, if brief, appearance in Salfley, Birmingham, earlier this month.

On Saturday 28 April two ex-army white youths with their female companions abused and swore at a couple of Pakistanis who were working on their car in Parkfield Road, Salfley.

When the Pakistanis — Naeem and his brother — had had enough, they battered these two thugs who promised to return with reinforcements.

At 9.50pm, some 20 to 30 whites with knives, iron bars, chisels, and stones turned the street into a battleground. Shouting 'NF' and 'Kill the Pakis', they smashed the windows of Naeem's house and tried to get in.

As they ran off, one of the racists threw a chisel at a Pakistani house. It missed its target, but smashed through a window in the next door house, giving a white 65-year-old woman inside a heart attack.

The police arrived — 25 minutes later — and said they would investigate if the attackers' names and addresses could be provided!

But on the insistence of the residents, the police were forced to arrest two whites who were in a pub nearby, and later charged them with criminal damage.

It was also agreed to call a meeting of anti-racist and black organisations in the area to ask for support, and to hold a demonstration against police racism.

That evening the Asians patrolled both streets. This was all too much for the local police and reformist leaders.

On 30 April, Denis Howell, Labour MP for Small Heath, and police chiefs, came along to a meeting and assured the Asians of more police protection. The elders of the community felt obliged to cancel the demonstration.

The patrol carried on for a further two nights and then collapsed.

If such an incident recurs, the community elders will not find it so easy to accept the assurances of the reformists and the police.

Terrified about the incident, 65 Asians from Parkfield Road and the neighbouring street met the following day. Everyone at the meeting talked about the racism of the police.

Speaker after speaker referred to the system that is run in Pakistan to protect the villages, and emphasised that they needed to protect themselves along these lines.

A rota was set up, so that ten volunteers would be on watch each night. A military plan was drawn up to defend the streets.

## NF vote falls by 40 p.c.

# The Front is down but not out

THE NATIONAL Front fielded 300 candidates in the elections, hoping to regain some of the ground lost because of the successful campaigning of the Anti Nazi League and others.

The Front failed dismally, forfeiting £45,300 in lost deposits in the process.

By Colin Talbot

The NF candidates polled an average of 638 votes, as against an average of 1,487 in the October 1974 election, a fall of almost 60 per cent. This is not due to the larger number of candidates.

A comparison of the Front's top twenty candidates in 1974 with the same constituencies in this election shows a drop from an average 5,72 per cent of the poll to 3.4 per cent, a fall of over 40 per cent.

The reason for this slump is

two-fold. First and foremost are the big successes of the anti-fascist movement.

The NF vote has been steadily falling since spring 1977, following the period when the Front began to be the focus for massive demonstrations and pickets all over the country.

The high point in this election was undoubtedly the huge and heroic mobilisation in Southall.

Wherever they went, the NF met open and massive hostility — they had the Nazi label so

firmly pinned on them that they spent most of their time trying to deny it.

This anti-fascist campaign was carried out mainly under the leadership of the revolutionary left and black militants. The left reformists of the Labour Party and Communist Party by and large abstained, with some notable exceptions such as in Hackney and Wandsworth.

The second factor which undermined the NF was the right-wing offensive by Thatcher.

The Tories stole the NF's racist flag, with Thatcher's outbursts about black people 'swamping' Britain, and their general anti-socialist offensive undermined the Nazis still further.

The anti-fascist movement

should not be complacent about the NF. Despite this overall set-back, they have retained important areas of support. In the East End of London Tyndall and Webster polled an average of 6.8 per cent, a drop of only 20 per cent on previous figures.

In South-east London, Deptford and Bermondsey, the NF vote dropped from 4.8 per cent to 4 per cent.

For the fascists this compares favourably with other areas of London, for example Tottenham and Wood Green, where they crashed from 8.2 per cent to 2.9 per cent, and the decimation of their support in Leicester, Wolverhampton, and other traditional areas of strength.

Standing only a couple of candidates in Wales and

Scotland, it is clear that the fascists have no base in these areas.

Our optimism needs to be guarded. Not only have the Front managed to sustain their support in East and South-east London, but they polled almost 200,000 votes nationally.

Given the success of anti-fascists in pinning the Nazi label on the Front, and the racist turn by the Tories, this vote could be an ominous sign that a small but strongly fascist hard-core is emerging.

The Front may be down, but they certainly aren't out.

We still have a long fight ahead to ensure that they stay down, a fight which can only be made harder as the Tories step up attacks on living standards and democratic rights.

### CP quits Glasgow picket

By Joanna Haynes and Walter McLellan

IT TOOK a thousand cops — a tenth of Scotland's police force — with 20 horses and 40 dogs to protect the National Front when it held an election meeting in the Glasgow Pollok constituency on 1 May.

Police operations began early in the morning. Students at St Brides school, where the meeting was held, were sent home at lunchtime, and then the road in front of it was cordoned off.

A number of organisations supported the counter-demonstration, but without any consultation all the stewards were appointed from the Communist Party-controlled trades council.

The Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Unity decided to

elect our own stewards, and we marched to the school and formed a queue to enter the fascists' meeting, chanting slogans.

None of this was to the liking of the CP, which by 8pm had dispersed the 'official' picket. But by this time many had decided that going home was not the way to oppose the Front.

The 'unofficial' picket had arrived with three hundred people and — after the police refused to let a single anti-fascist into the meeting — marched off to a rally in Queens Park with over eight hundred.

Scores of school students and Asian workers joined us, marching under the banners of the Indian Workers Association, SU, and SWP.



The 'unofficial' picket of the NF's Glasgow meeting

Photo: LARRY HERMAN

## IN BRIEF

### Coventry carnival

By Will Reese

The Coventry Carnival Against Racism was a major success and, in its own way, another blow against the NF in Coventry.

At least 3,000 people, the majority of them youth, attended the procession and carnival, listening to music from Squad, Hard Top 22, and Belt & Braces.

Over forty trade union, political, and community organisations had stalls at the carnival. Speakers included Colin Lindsay, president of Coventry Trades Council, and

Raghib Ahsan, shop steward from Rover, Solihull.

The event was an enormous impetus to the anti-racist forces locally. The task now is to organise a series of events which can continue the appeal to young people and to extend anti-racist activity in the unions.

We are already looking forward to next year's carnival.

### NF broadcast

By Geoffrey Sheridan

THE free advert for racism provided by the five minutes allocated to the National Front by the television companies during the general election campaign met the most co-ordinated opposition yet mounted to a broadcast.

Pickets of TV stations, called by the Anti Nazi League and the Campaign Against Racism in the Media, took place in 10 cities to coincide with the NF party political, which was transmitted on 26 April.

Large numbers of police guarded the BBC's headquarters in Portland Place, London against a 200-strong picket. In Glasgow, 300 protested outside Scottish TV and a similar number picketed the BBC studios in the city.

Members of ABS and ACTT who work for BBC-TV in Bristol came out to join the two hundred pickets who demanded no uncritical coverage of racists and fascists, and in Southampton the trades council banner was to be seen among the placards demanding that the BBC tell the truth

about the NF.

Pickets were also mounted at: BBC Pebble Mill, Birmingham; Granada TV, Manchester; Yorkshire TV in Leeds; BBC Newcastle; Anglia TV, Norwich; and the BBC in Cardiff.

### Misty victim

A VICTIM of the police riot in Southall on 23 April remains critically ill in the Central Middlesex hospital.

Clarence Baker, manager of the reggae group Misty, is suffering from a fractured skull and a blood clot on the brain.

Clarence was in the People Unite Creative Arts and Education Centre in Southall when it was attacked by the police on the afternoon of the anti-fascist mobilisation.

A statement from People Unite explains what happened: 'The SPG stormed in...and brutally attacked and wounded 100 people or so in the house. They savagely used truncheons on helpless youths who were dragged from the house.'

'The police arrested 350 persons during the demonstration, 100 of them were from the house. The SPG ruthlessly and needlessly damaged and destroyed thousands of pounds worth of musical equipment, records and other property.'

Damages are estimated at a minimum of £5,000. The permanent damage Clarence Baker may suffer is yet another reason to back the call for the disbanding of the SPG and an independent inquiry into the police's murderous behaviour in Southall.

BOOST THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM BY FUNDING YOUR PAPER

# HOME NEWS

## Ennals opens door for Tories New attack on Abortion Rights

IN THE USA in 1974, Dr Kenneth Edelin was convicted of manslaughter for performing an abortion on a 24 week foetus. Ever since 1975, when American women won the right to abortion choice up to six months, anti-abortionists have used the viability argument as the main way to attack the law.

The last decision of Labour Health Minister David Ennals was to order an inquest on a foetus which was aborted after a 23 week pregnancy. The order opens up the door to new legal restrictions being placed on the right to choose.

What should pro-choice campaigners argue on this key question of viability?

By Steve Potter

The debate about viability is not one that merely divides pro and anti-choice campaigners; it is a major issue amongst abortion rights campaigners.

Advances in medical science have spurred the discussion since, despite the fact that before 28 weeks a foetus' lungs are not developed and the brain does not function, a foetus can be kept alive outside the mother's womb at an earlier and earlier stage.

This means that if abortion laws are made dependent on viability eventually there would be a ban on abortion from the very earliest weeks of conception.

This is the importance of the issue to pro and anti choice campaigners alike. It is not because of the number of late abortions carried out.

At present 80 per cent of NHS abortions take place within the first 12 weeks of conception, when the foetus is a



tiny blob of tissue no bigger than a bean. If there were adequate provision and easier access to abortion facilities there would be no doubt that the figure would be higher.

Given the medical complications in late abortions, women

cannot take the decision to undergo a late abortion lightly. The medical procedure should be explained fully with all the potential hazards, but after this a woman should have the right to choose for herself.

After the second National Conference of the National

Abortion Campaign three leading members of NAC, Dr Berry Beaumont, Gill Butler and Rose Knight, wrote:

'We do not accept an upper time limit, because we believe that women are capable and responsible enough to decide whether or not to terminate their pregnancy at whatever stage.

'To set an upper time limit is to say to the pregnant women, "Yes, we believe in your right to make decisions affecting your body and your life for the first 12 or 24 or 28 weeks of your pregnancy, then it must be someone else's decision"... the someone else being a doctor or some other expert living our lives for us.

'We want the state to provide abortion facilities, we do not want it to tell us when we can use them.

'Many of us would not choose to have a late abortion, but we must realise that we have no right to generalise from such personal feelings and prevent other women from choosing termination at any stage.'

'We want early, safe abortions which will eradicate the need for late ones, but we cannot close our eyes to women's need for late abortions even under these circumstances.'

Ennals' decision on the Barnsley case paves the way for further attacks on abortion rights under the Tories, in the same way that the Concordat lays the basis for attacks on trade union rights.

The danger is doubled if the Tories feel that they have to strengthen their reactionary base by throwing concessions on capital punishment, race and women's rights. The pressure on them to do so is shown by the 30,000-strong SPUC demonstration in London during the election

### Child Protection?

THE results of severe restrictions on abortion rights are evident from the situation in the South of Ireland.

All abortion is illegal there and one result is that in the last ten years 12,694 residents from the South of Ireland have had abortions in Britain.

More disturbing are the figures for infanticide. In the last 94 years the South of Ireland has averaged an infanticide rate 73 per cent higher than England and Wales.

There is even more disparity when it comes to the abandonment of children under two years of age.

During the past 75 years the South of Ireland has seen over four times as many instances of child abandonment as has Britain.

As the slogan goes, every child a wanted child.

campaign.

Nobody should be taken in by the Tory argument of concern for the child, unborn or otherwise, since another major priority for the Tories will be the slashing of social service provision.

In the words of the American pro-choice campaigners fighting against the results of the Edelin decision:

'Let us try to make the International Year of the Child the year of the wanted and loved child. Many of those who claim to be concerned with the life of foetuses are those who are against more welfare payments to low-income families. They do not care about what happens once the children are born.'

## Teachers square up to Carlisle

By Anna de Casparis  
NUT representative, Archway

EDUCATION Minister Shirley Williams' surprising loss of her parliamentary seat will not be deeply mourned inside the schools.

It was thanks to her decision to postpone talks until after the election that teachers now face 'Thatcher the Milk Snatcher' in their negotiations over pay — a grim prospect given the Tory plans for sweeping cuts in education.

Of course Williams' confidence in saying 'wait' to teachers whose negotiations were supposed to have finished weeks ago is a savage indictment of the ineffectiveness of the NUT's campaign on the issue of pay.

In no way can lack of response from the rank and file be blamed for this: in the last week, all 258,000 NUT members have withdrawn 'goodwill' (i.e. have refused to participate in any lunchtime supervision, or after school activities).

Even the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association (which in no sense is a trade union, and has never taken any action in its 100 year existence) staged a half-day walk-out last week forcing several schools to close!

We can be certain that if the union leadership agrees that the claim is referred to the Comparability Commission, or to compulsory arbitration, a defeat for teachers is inevitable.

The Tories propose to cut

£280 million from the education budget.

If we fail to put up a good fight on pay it will give the Tory Black Paperites all the confidence in the world to crack down on other areas of education — on de-comprehensivisation, on nurseries, on building up still further private education, on school closures, and on insisting that education serves industry.

The time to take a stand on the full 36.5 per cent is now.

The Inner London Teachers Association has already urged the NUT executive to adopt a one day no-cover campaign and to call for selective strike action.

A similar motion was carried by the Birmingham Teachers Association.

At the Bristol general meeting members expressed considerable anger over the ineffectiveness of the present sanctions and called for sharper action.

Only such commitment can win the claim. That action will be better still if it is co-ordinated with other employees — such as the Scottish teachers and further education lecturers in NATFHE.



MARK CARLISLE

## WHAT'S LEFT

**SOUTH** London labour movement conference on Ireland. Sat 19 May, Goldsmith's College, Lewisham Way, SE14. Speakers include Michael Farrell (People's Democracy). Workshops, discussions.

**BROADSIDE THEATRE**, a London-based touring group requires 1. a second admin. strator (graphic design skills an advantage) 2. a versatile female performer (includes singing). Barn full-time long-term commitment. Write giving full details of experience, skills, politics, approach to theatre and reasons for wanting to work with Broadside to: 68 Holborn House, Holborn Place, London SW1. For further details phone 01-470 2581.

**PUBLIC MEETING** The struggle against racial oppression in Namibia and South Africa. Colin Winter, Bishop—exile of Damaraland. Tues 15 May, 5pm, Rose Wynd Hall, Church Hill, London E17. Near Walthamstow Central Station. WFCAR.

**A WORKING** group on economics teaching in schools has been set-up. It has the backing of the Conference of Socialist Economists and the Socialist Teachers' Alliance. If you want to get involved in this working group and/or want further information on its project, please write to The Secretary, 73 Avenue Rd, Swindon, Wilts.

**COMMUNIST** University of London 11, 7-15 July, University of London Union. Details from CUL, 16 King St, London WC2.

**10 YEARS** of the Open University. Weekend school on 12/13 May, Parsloa College, 527 Finchley Rd, London NW3, 10am each morning. Workshops and speakers on the Open University. Adm: free. Details from The Secretary, Huddersfield 46332.

**DEMONSTRATION** and Rally in support of Palestine. Assemble Kelvin Way, Glasgow University, Sat 12 May, 2.30pm. Organised by Arab Students Union (Glasgow) and BAZO-PS.

**LONDON** 'Hands off Ireland. Film tour, 'Prisoners of War' (Prisoners Aid Committee Film). Speakers: Tony Sheridan (RCG), Provisional Sinn Fein, other speakers invited. Monday, 14 May, 7.30pm, Anson Hall, Chichester Road, NW2 (nearest tube Willesden Green). Adm 40p.

**REVOLUTIONARY** Communist Group Public Meeting: The Fight Against Racism. RCG speaker. Tuesday, 15 May, 7.30pm, Lower Hall, Lambeth Town Hall, Acre Lane, SW2 (nearest tube Brixton). Adm 20p.

**LUTTE** Ouvreers Fete and Conference 2-5 June. Coach leaving London 1 June direct to site near Paris. Return fare £30. Write to BM RCT, London WC1V 8XX or tel 274 3951 for further details.

**REVOLUTIONARY** Communist Tendency public meeting: The working class after the election — which way forward? Speaker: Frank Richards. Friday 11 May, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Holborn Tube.

**SOCIALIST CHALLENGE  
TRADE UNION CONFERENCE**

26 May, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,  
London WC1.

Further details from TU Conference,  
SC, PO Box 50, London N1

## Editorial Statement

# Unite to fight th

THE SOLEMN pledge of James Callaghan not to carry on 'factional opposition' to the policies of the new Tory Government made a fitting end to his career as Prime Minister.

But there is little possibility of Callaghan binding the working class to that promise.

As we argue on page 2 the labour movement has not suffered a massive defeat and the Tories' policies will be met with major struggles.

As the first contribution to a debate in which we ask others on the left to contribute we outline our views on the way forward under the Tory Government.

THE TORY victory has not qualitatively changed the strength of the forces on either side of the battle lines between the ruling class and the working class and oppressed. What has changed is the way in which the battle will be fought.

So to say 'Labour or Tory the struggle continues' is right but thoroughly inadequate. For five years the working class has faced a Labour Government pursuing viciously anti-working class policies. The line of divide that ran through the labour movement was who would fight these policies and who would acquiesce.

This paper argued for the unity of all those prepared to fight back, summed up in the slogan 'Build a Socialist Alternative to the policies of the Labour Government'.

This socialist alternative included the efforts to build a new left wing based on class struggle policies in the unions, building united action through movements like the Anti Nazi League, drawing in the widest numbers of the oppressed into the women's movement and the black movement, presenting class struggle candidates in the elections, and fighting for a unified revolutionary organisation.

Now the key line of divide will be against the Tory Government and its policies. The fight against the Labour leadership will go on in a different form.

The chief enemy is the Thatcher government. The chief slogan is 'Unite to fight the Tories!'

### Mass Action to Defend Basic Rights

WHAT IS Thatcher going to do? The problems of British capitalism demand the weakening and final removal of many basic economic, social, political and organisational gains made by the working class since the Second World War.

To carry through this project Thatcher needs to wage a fight against the belief that these are rights at all. She needs to divide the employed from the unemployed, the public sector workers from those in the private sector, the black from white, women workers from male.

The Tories face strong opposition. While the working class is not yet fighting for a clear socialist perspective, it sees defence of its gains — trade union rights, the National Health Service, social benefits, women's rights and many others — as fundamental questions.

So both the drive of British capital and the consciousness of the working class and oppressed means that the decisive battles of the coming years will be the fight for the defence of basic rights.

The relevance of socialist policies will be judged on how immediately they relate to defending these basic rights

and the way in which the struggle will be fought for them.

**Defence of living standards** — no wage controls, national minimum wage, automatic compensation against inflation. **Defence of jobs and the right to work** — reduction of the working week, work-sharing with no loss of pay, nationalisation of firms creating redundancy. **Defence of the social services** — no cuts, abolition of the cash limits system, a sliding scale of social expenditure to keep pace with inflation.

**Defence and extension of women's rights** — no restriction on abortion rights, defence of nurseries, and their extension against the cuts. **Defence of the trade unions** — no restrictions on pickets or the right to strike, defence of union democracy, no penalising of strikers' families. **Defence against racism** — end 'Sus' laws, no immigration controls, mass action to defeat the fascists.

These policies can only be fought for in alliance with the working class internationally — troops out of Ireland, no recognition of the Zimbabwe internal settlement.

The unity of the working class has to be fought for — unity of the working class in struggle, democratic control of struggle by the rank and file, unity of the workers' organisations in action.

These policies must be placed within a firm socialist context. Even the existing gains of the working class cannot be defended without challenging the capitalist domination of the economy and the political power of the ruling class.

That is why only mass action can defend basic rights.

### Build a Class Struggle Left Wing

UNITY will be essential in the fight against the Tories. When basic rights are at stake we would favour a united front with even the most right-wing leaders in the labour movement. But the basis of unity cannot be united declarations but united action — what is needed is a fighting class struggle left wing.

What action will be required is already clear through the declarations and promises that Thatcher has made.

\* 'Defence of trade union rights and living standards'. Despite Thatcher's talk to the contrary all the serious sections of the ruling class believe in the necessity for wage controls.

Necessarily, therefore, Thatcher will rapidly move for talks with the trade union bureaucrats to investigate which particular form of incomes policy they will best be able to impose on their members.

Another item on the agenda will be proposals to limit the power of rank and file action. Restrictions on picketing, secret balloting and restriction of social security payments to strikers' families all coincide at least

partially with the interests of the union bosses in restricting the power of their membership.

These backroom deals should be nipped in the bud. The demand for 'No talks with the Tories' should be raised on lobbies of trade union leaders, in resolutions through trade union bodies right up to the TUC Congress in September.

Defending trade union rights and militants who fall foul of the Tory offensive should be the job of trade union defence committees. Local conferences and action committees should aim towards a nationally coordinated campaign.

\* 'Defence of the public sector' is the second key theme. The economic policies of the Tories are based on huge cuts in social expenditure, the backbone of any incomes policy will be control of the public sector, and one of the first key issues facing the government will be the outcome of the comparability studies in the public sector.

In the public sector Thatcher is not looking for collaboration with the trade union bureaucrats but to deliver really savage blows against the power of the unions.

Fighting against this offensive will demand maximum unity amongst the

public sector unions expressed through the demand for a local and national public sector alliance and trade union action to defend social services.

\* On unemployment Thatcher must be encouraged by the lack of major response under the Labour Government to a doubling of the jobless. Youth and women will be hit almost immediately if the Tories start to axe Labour's cosmetic job subsidy schemes. A united campaign on youth unemployment is more necessary now than ever.

\* 'Defend social and democratic rights'. The entire political strategy of Thatcher demands early and particularly severe attacks both against even the limited gains of the most oppressed layers in society and against democratic rights. Already some of the key elements, in addition to the attacks on trade union rights, are clear. Thatcher is already pledged to clear reactionary moves on immigration, the death penalty, and attacks on abortion. This will almost certainly be rapidly followed up by moves against freedom of expression, demonstrations, student unions, etc. Building united front campaigns in these fields — starting probably with those on immigration laws and state racism, and on abortion — will be early priorities.

\* International policy. One of the areas where the Thatcher wing of the Tory Party has got up most steam is foreign policy. She faces a key decision on whether to recognise the internal settlement in Zimbabwe, where there is likely to be a crisis no matter what she does. Labour being in opposition may also tend to weaken bipartisan pressure on the base of the labour movement on Ireland, opening up the opportunities for the troops movement to extend the impact made in the general election campaign.

These are the themes on which we should be fighting for united action on the whole working class, a fight that can only be made by a left wing organised in the labour movement committed to class struggle policies, not the class collaboration of the 'left'.

Such a left wing will not come into existence overnight. What we can do, and, more importantly, do is to support and push all movements like the Anti Nazi League which have come into the fore under Labour, in the direction of action, unity and a national expression.



The Battle of Saltley Gates. Struggles like these smashed Tory policies and paved the way for the ousting of the Tories

HERE'S A PROMISE. WE'LL FIGHT FOR A SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE AND KEEP YOU



# the Tories

## Kick Out the Tories! For a Labour Government!

ALL opposition towards Thatcher will start from particular issues, but the inevitable tendency will be towards a centralised hostility to the very existence of the Tory Government.

How to get rid of them. That's the central theme that will start to dominate discussion in the labour movement. Callaghan's line is already clear. Unite in inactivity and wait for five years for the Tories to fall and elect a Labour Government.

This is not only a betrayal of the working class in its struggle to defend basic rights, but also utopian. In five years without resistance, Thatcher can so alter the relation of forces against the working class that the likelihood of Labour returning would be remote.

Mass action can both defeat the offensive of the Tories and be the vehicle to sweep away that Government itself. As to what would replace it, the best conditions for building a socialist alternative to the treacherous policies of the Labour leaders are when those leaders are in power.

The revolutionaries are nowhere near even starting to be seen as a governmental alternative. Under these

conditions workers are right to vote in their millions against the ruling class parties and for Labour. We must be in favour of the return of a Labour Government.

### Remove Callaghan and his supporters

CALLAGHAN will block with the trade union leaders in opposing any mass action against the Tories. His parting comment as Prime Minister — "The new government is entitled to a fair show on its voyage. It has got plenty of difficulties to overcome without us unnecessarily adding to them by factional opposition" — makes explicit his intended role.

The sentiment that must inform our attitude to the labour bureaucrats is: 'Fight the Tories. Fight Callaghan and his supporters because they obstruct that struggle.'

The fight against the right wing inside the AUEW and the NUM as well as other unions is a life or death struggle for the continued strength of those organisations. Building an alternative leadership and a new left inside the unions will have to be stepped up.

In the Labour Party the lefts should be forced to run against Callaghan or his right-wing successor. The fight for

automatic reselection of MPs, for the party conference to elect the leader of the party and the abolition of bans and proscriptions will be more significant than previously.

All these actions in practice will pose the question of sacking Callaghan and his supporters.

### What type of policy inside the Labour Party?

THE MOST decisive struggles in the coming period will not be those inside the Labour Party. It is above all through and inside the trade unions that the decisive struggles will take place. The women's movement, anti-racist committees and movements, anti-imperialist campaigns, the organisations of students will also play a role.

Movements in the Labour Party will primarily be a reflection of these developments rather than their driving force — a situation clearly different, for example, from the Bevanite movement in the early 1950s. It is to these mass struggles and not to the round of resolution passing and canvassing in the Labour Party that revolutionaries must direct their main work. But this should not obscure the fact that there will be a revival of



Photo: MARK RUSHER (PL)

membership and activity in the Labour Party and the Labour Party Young Socialists in the next period. This always tends to occur when Labour is in opposition but there is a high level of class struggle — a sharp increase in membership of the LPYS and a more modest but definite increase in the membership of the Constituency Labour Parties took place for example in 1970-74.

Given that Thatcher will pursue extremely reactionary policies this increase is likely to be more rapid this time. Furthermore many Labour figures will try to recapture credibility, and conceal their record in 1974-79, by campaigning on issues of democratic rights, foreign policy, and social questions on which they hope Thatcher will affront even sections of the ruling class itself.

For all these reasons a real and

definite increase in membership and activity in the LPYS and CLPs will occur in the next period which revolutionaries must relate to and politically orientate to — as they support more class struggle policies anywhere. The key aim must be to draw the Labour Party into united activity with all those fighting the Tories.

The election of Thatcher was a setback for the working class. But it was one brought about by the bankruptcy of the policies of the Labour leadership and not by a collapse in the combativity and struggle of the working class and oppressed.

Major struggles are coming in the fight against Thatcher. Out of these it will be possible to end the Tory Government and open up a real struggle for socialist policies. That is the real perspective in Britain.

## The challenge for revolutionaries

THE PERIOD of the last Labour government was a testing time for any section of the workers movement claiming to be socialist. The Labour left collapsed in the most ignominious series of capitulations to right-wing policies since the days of Ramsay MacDonald.

Beyond the Labour Party the Communist Party remained paralysed by its refusal to break with the left of the bureaucracy and lost members, influence, and political credibility as a result.

The current terming itself the Marxist alternative in the Labour Party, the 'Militant' group, placed maintaining its positions in the apparatus of the Labour Party above the needs of the working class. Its shift further and further to the right was reflected in its open espousal of a peaceful democratic road to socialism.

Among the forces of the revolutionary left the situation was more creditable. The Socialist Workers Party played a key role in building the single most effective political initiative of the last five years — the Anti Nazi League. No matter what important differences exist with the SWP it also authentically fought for, and solidarised with, every mass struggle of the working class and oppressed against Wilson and Callaghan's policies.

Within the Labour Party some small revolutionary currents, Workers Action and the Chartists, took wrong and sectarian positions on major questions such as the ANL and the devolution referendum, but took the first initiative, in the form of the Socialist Campaign for a Labour

Victory, which might have approximated to the type of united response needed in the Labour Party.

The International Marxist Group was able to take initiatives with a significant impact. The best known were the Socialist Unity electoral alliance and the Socialist Challenge newspaper. But they also included the Socialist Teachers Alliance, the Campaign for Action in NUPE, the Socialist Students Alliance, the Revolution youth paper, and playing its active role in building the ANL and the National Abortion Campaign.

On that basis the IMG significantly altered its composition to an organisation based in the trade unions and increased its relative weight among the forces to the left of the Labour and Communist Party bureaucracies.

But despite these limited gains the revolutionary left absolutely failed to capitalise on the gains that were possible. Under the 1964-70 Labour government a major political campaign, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, helped to shape politics and the vigorous campaign for revolutionary unity waged by the International Socialists [now the SWP] resulted in a serious and credible revolutionary organisation coming out of the situation to appear as an alternative to militants. The advent of another major campaign with an even greater working class composition, the Anti Nazi League, also affected wide layers. But the sectarianism of the largest organisation of the extreme left, the SWP, blocked any serious organised force coming out of it.

The SWP paid the price for its

policies in 1974-79 by coming out of the end of the period of the Labour government not smaller in numbers but drastically weakened in terms of working class militants with a real position in the unions compared to 1974, and having suffered a major loss of cadres. And its sectarianism was able to block the winning to organised revolutionary politics of the many young workers who could have been gained.

The smaller sectarian groups — ICL, WSL — all had major splits and lost forces. The campaign for revolutionary unity waged by the IMG corresponded to the objective needs of the situation, and therefore allowed it to maintain numbers, and significantly improve its social composition, but the size of the organisation was not enough to achieve the unity of revolutionary forces which was needed.

This situation is of significance in the new period of struggle which is starting against the Tories. The reformist Labour left have not paid anything like the political price they should and could have done for their abysmal record under Wilson and Callaghan.

Left reformists never automatically pay a price for their betrayals but only if a real organised alternative is built to them.

As always sectarianism has not aided the revolutionary organisations which practise it but has aided the obstacles to the working class.

This problem also poses the revolutionary left a sharp challenge. The way the posturings of the Labour lefts can best be countered is through the far left making the most vigorous and concerted drive to both show themselves the most consistent fighters against the Tory government and at the same time put forward the basis of a socialist alternative to failed 'social democratic' policies.

The need for a unified revolutionary organisation that understands the fundamental tasks ahead under the Tories is now even more important.



IN TOUCH IF YOU ENSURE WE MAKE OUR FUND DRIVE TARGET

# IRELAND



## Atkins and the election

# The 'extremists' gather

BACK in the 19th century some wag once noted that the problem with the British government and Ireland is that it has always offered 'too little, too late'. We now look set for another re-run of that adage.

By Geoff Bell

It is fairly obvious why Thatcher chose Humphrey Atkins as Northern Ireland Secretary. A former Chief Whip, his talents lie in cajoling, persuading, and wheeler-

dealing.

He's the prime candidate for a Mr Fix-it, and from Britain itself, from the South of Ireland, even from Washington there have been growing demands over the last few months that Britain tries one more 'political solution' in the North of Ireland.

Even a year ago such a 'solution' might at least have had an outside chance of getting past the starting gate. If Roy Mason had not been so intent on his military solution, if he had offered a devolved parliament, a Bill of Rights and a minimal element of power-sharing, he might have started the politicians talking, he might have sown a few seeds of consensus.

But now, whatever Atkins' ability to arbitrate in smoke-filled rooms at Westminster, the odds are stacked against him.

One reason can be summed up in the figure of Johnny McQuade.

McQuade first came into the limelight of North of Ireland politics in 1969, when from inside the Unionist Party (now Official Unionist Party) he emerged as one of the most hysterical critics of the policies pursued by the then 'reforming' Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Terence O'Neill.

McQuade represented everything Northern Ireland was supposed to be moving away from. As one of the few members of the working class ever to be selected as a Unionist MP, his politics were those of back street Loyalism: sectarian, fundamentalist, intransigent and scarcely coherent in polite company.

McQuade wouldn't last, the middle class commentators insisted. His traditionalism was 'Ulster's' past, not its future.

For a time that seemed the way things were moving. McQuade resigned from the all-powerful Unionist Party to form the Democratic Unionist Party with Ian Paisley. His elimination from the Northern Irish political scene was assured, said the experts.

In 1972 McQuade resigned his seat at Stormont. The parliament itself had been 'suspended' by the Tory government at Westminster, but the MPs remained on the payroll.

McQuade resigned in protest at the suspension, and because he said he didn't agree with being paid for doing nothing. He was going back to work in the docks. And that was meant to be the end of John McQuade.

But last week he was elected as MP for North Belfast, defeating the Official Unionist by just under a thousand votes.

Despite the narrowness of his victory, and that of fellow DUP member Peter Robinson in East Belfast, this double success for Paisley's party is one of the most significant political developments in the North of Ireland in the last couple of years.

Taken together with the dismal performance of the most 'moderate' Unionist party — Alliance — it can only be concluded that Loyalism, and the Protestant petty-bourgeoisie and working class generally, have moved significantly to the right; or at least that the continuing 'extremist' nature of Protestant politics has been confirmed.

On the anti-Unionist side, too, the 'extremists' fared none too badly.

In Fermanagh and South Tyrone, SDLP member Austin Currie made the refusal of sitting MP Frank Maguire to condemn the Provisionals his main platform. Maguire was re-elected with more than twice Currie's vote.

In North Antrim the recently formed Irish Independence Party — the most intransigent anti-partitionist constitutional party — won over 40 per cent of the anti-Unionist vote. It also won 37 per cent of the anti-Unionist vote in Mid-Ulster.

What all of this means is that there is no middle way in the North of Ireland. From each community the cry of 'no surrender' drowns all others.

There is not the ghost of a chance that the Tories can erect a coalition of 'moderates' to oversee the governance of the Six Counties. The instability of the Northern state not only remains but deepens.

The crisis of British imperialism in Ireland promises to become sharper and sharper in the months ahead, and there is precious little Humphrey Atkins can do to avert it.

## Working on the press gang



### Hear nothing

JUST a week after attacking those who heckled Callaghan on Ireland, Conor Cruise O'Brien returned to the subject of Ireland in the 22 April edition of the *Observer*.

This time his message was even more eye-catching. Headlined 'Where Mr Powell is a moderate', the article went on to eulogise Powell's candidature in the North of Ireland constituency of South Down.

Because he thought that Cecil Harvey, Powell's United Unionist opponent in the election, was a little more extreme, O'Brien decided that Powell was a 'force for moderation'.

But by the time O'Brien's words hit the streets, events had caught up with him. Harvey had stood down in favour of Powell and thrown his 'extremist' support behind this 'force for moderation'.

The stupidity of O'Brien's remarks was thus apparent to anyone interested. If the extremist Harvey had backed down in favour of Powell, then how could the latter be a 'moderate'?

Those obsessed with Irish affairs may claim that O'Brien was appointed editor-in-chief of the *Observer* just because of his gift for being wrong about Ireland — since that seems to be one of the prime qualifications for editorship of

a British newspaper.

He is only exceptional among the controllers of the British media in writing so often on the subject; otherwise he is completely at one with other editors and TV chiefs in seeing it almost as his duty to misreport Ireland.

Welcome evidence of such misreporting is available in two recently published pamphlets on the British media and Ireland. One is produced by the Belfast-based Workers



### See nothing

Research Unit, the other by Information on Ireland.\*

Both these groups have published splendid material before. Information on Ireland brought out *British Soldiers Speak Out on Ireland*, and the Workers Research Unit bulletin is the sixth in a series which has previously tackled such subjects as women in Ireland and repression in the North.

The two pamphlets on the media are in fact complementary. Information on Ireland has an impressive list of journalists and writers as contributors. The Workers Research Unit touch on more aspects of the press and Ireland, including for example a useful run-down on the alternative Irish press.

Both are well-researched, with a number of case studies. Both give a rounded analysis of how and why British press censorship on Ireland operates.

John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy, writing in the Information on Ireland pamphlet, come as close as any to pinpointing the ideology under which the media operate:

'The tradition is deep in the bones of Britain: if the Irish defend themselves against the rule of their domineering neighbours they are criminals; if they endure it they are second class Britons to be praised only for the virtue of attempting to emulate their controllers.'

One of the articles in the Workers Research Unit bulletin uses the example of the *Guardian* to show how this ideology works out in practice. It concludes:

'Its reporting and editorialising on the Northern Irish situation illustrates the classic dilemma of liberal commentators when the capitalist state is under attack: how to report the "truth" while at the same time defending the values and



### Speak nothing

continuance of the system under threat... of which the establishment press is an integral part.'

The *Guardian* is perhaps somewhat exceptional. At least its reporters in the last ten years, especially Simon Winchester in the early days and the improving Anne McHardy today, have tried to carry out the classical function of the liberal reporter — the reporting of all sides in the

conflict.

But for the most of that same period the reporters have had to encounter the deputy editorship of Terence O'Neill's former speech writer, John Cole. His influence saw to it that editorially the *Guardian* was four square behind whatever the current British 'solution' was — whether internment or power-sharing.

Cole has now gone to the *Observer*, and his partnership there with O'Brien has ensured that much of the copy filed by Mary Holland from Ireland never sees the light of day.

It is not surprising that such direct and obvious censorship still goes on. Although there are signs that cracks in the 'wall of silence' are beginning to appear, there is little possibility in the establishment press of anything approaching even 'balanced' reporting on Ireland. There is too much at stake for the establishment.

Those looking for explanations of why this is so, and the real truth about Ireland, will continue to have to look to 'fringe' publications, of which these two latest pamphlets are outstanding examples.

\* Information on Ireland: *The British Media and Ireland*. Price 50p, plus 15p p&p. From 1 North End Road, London W1. Belfast Bulletin: *Media Misreport N. Ireland*. Price 65p plus 15p p&p. From Workers Research Unit, 52 Broadway, Belfast 12. Or from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1.

If you don't know what is happening in Northern Ireland, you must have been watching British television, listening to British radio and reading the British press.

WE'RE MAKING IRELAND AN ISSUE. GIVE GENEROUSLY

# ELECTIONS

# Common Market Elections For a United Socialist States of Europe!

IN FOUR weeks time more elections will be upon us — this time the first direct elections to the European Parliament. They will be held in Britain on 7 June and at various times in the same week in the other eight countries of the Common Market.

Below we look at the nature and purpose of the elections, and the possibility of using them to mount a campaign in defence of international working class interests.

## Capitalist Coordination

THE Fourth International is participating in the electoral campaign for the European Parliament to ensure that an internationalist and anti-capitalist voice will be heard, a voice speaking out for the workers, for women, for the oppressed nationalities, for the youth, for the immigrants.

It will seek to show that in the face of the coordinated international actions of the European bourgeoisies, it is necessary and possible to develop a united response by the European working class to fight for the same objectives in all the countries.

The European Parliament will serve above all as a body to rubber-stamp the decisions already taken by the states and governments that defend the interests of capital in the nine countries of the European Community — a community founded totally on the principles of the capitalist market economy.

This means forcing the workers to bear the burden of unemployment and of attacks on living standards and democratic freedoms.

The elections are not,

however, simply an attempt to divert the attention of the workers from the grave problems that confront them from day to day. They are not merely a propaganda operation to try to refurbish European institutions.

The elections are also intended to reinforce institutions designed to help the European bourgeoisies arrive at and formulate measures and goals for protecting their interests against all their enemies and competitors.

Working people have nothing to hope for and nothing to defend in this capitalist Common Market or its parliament.

The workers have nothing in common with this Europe of the trusts and banks, with this neo-colonialist Europe that continues to exploit its old colonies, with this imperialist Europe allied militarily with US imperialism. We are irreconcilable opponents of the institutions of this Europe... (from the Fourth International platform for the elections, published in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, 5 March 1979)

## Undemocratic

THE supposed champions of a united Europe have enclosed these elections in a web of national election laws.

They prevent the running of a single slate — independent of the nationality of the candidates — in all nine states. In the different countries they have placed countless obstacles to the running of candidates.

These supposed 'defenders of human rights' deny millions of immigrant workers the most elementary civil and political rights, such as the right to vote or to run for office.

We affirm that our goal in such elections would be to run

a single slate of candidates composed of worker militants, feminists and youth not only from the nine member countries of the EEC but from all the affected countries, including representatives of immigrant workers from non-European countries.

The undemocratic laws in various countries prevent us from doing this. But we will defend this perspective even though we are forced to present slates on the national level.

(from the Fourth International platform)



The European Council in session

## Revolutionary campaign

THE social-democratic and Communist parties have put forward no internationalist, anti-capitalist alternative to the attacks on the working class coordinated by the EEC.

Indeed, these parties — such as the Labour Party in Britain, or the Communist Party in Italy — are often among the firmest defenders of 'national' austerity measures.

Six months ago the sections of the Fourth International in the nine EEC countries, along with those in the countries which have applied to join it (Greece, Portugal, Spain), issued a call for a revolutionary socialist campaign.

The election laws in many of the countries make it difficult for small organisations to run candidates. However, apart from the revolutionary slate in France reported elsewhere, the FI sections in Belgium and Luxembourg will also be standing.

In Britain, too, the International Marxist Group is proposing to stand Tariq Ali. His campaign would concentrate particularly on the appalling situation of immigrant workers in capitalist Europe.

The Fourth International is planning two major international gatherings in the course

of the campaign. The first, in Turin on 19-20 May, will be a debate with other currents of the left on the fight for a socialist Europe.

Two weeks later, on 2-3 June in Antwerp, there will be a conference of worker militants to discuss how this fight is being built in the struggles going on today — in the motor industry, steel, etc.

One particular theme of the FI's campaign will be against the imperialist role of 'democratic' Europe. This will concentrate especially on the need for solidarity with the struggle for self-determination in Ireland.

The IMG will be organising a mass rally as part of this campaign on Friday 1 June in Porchester Hall, London. For

details of the Turin and Antwerp conferences write to: IMG, c/o PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.



## Joint slate in France

IN FRANCE there will be a revolutionary slate despite the high expense under the French election laws.

This has been made possible by the unprecedented generosity of Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle), who offered to foot most of the bill for a joint slate with the French section of the Fourth International, the LCR — currently going through a difficult financial period after being forced to suspend daily publication of its paper.

In the following extract from their manifesto they outline their perspective for a Socialist United States of Europe:

TODAY, at the same instant, Ruhr steelworkers, British lorry-drivers, and French workers have had to defend

themselves against the offensive launched by the bosses and governments of capitalist Europe to make them bear the costs of the crisis.

In all the countries of Europe, women are fighting for equal rights with men, and for the basic right to control their bodies through free and unrestricted access to abortion and contraception.

Everywhere the installation of nuclear power stations threatens the environment and lives of the local population, as the accident at Three Mile Island in the USA has just dramatically shown.

The demands of European workers take the same form: for example, the sliding scale of wages against massive price rises and reductions in purchasing power; the 35-hour week without loss of pay

against the unemployment which is affecting millions of workers throughout Europe.

The more the workers of Europe are united in this struggle, the stronger they will be... The workers have no fatherland.

The working class of France, like that of Germany and all the capitalist states of Europe, is made up of workers of all origins. They and their families come not merely from different regions of France, but from beyond its borders — from Italy, Spain, Greece, from all over Europe and even from Africa and Asia.

In the factories or workshops, in the fields or offices, whatever their geographical origin, the colour of their skin or their native language, they

all produce for the same economy and are exploited by the same capitalists.

The only foreigners in the great community of labour, everywhere, are the minority of parasites who exploit and oppress all the peoples of Europe and the world...

We are for a Europe rid of the capitalists, of their states and their frontiers. On the pretext of defending these latter, the European imperialist states have already set the peoples of Europe against each other three times in the last century, causing millions of deaths and incalculable destruction — to the sole profit of the capitalists.

Today, behind these same frontiers, the states continue to

act as instruments of the capitalists in the permanent economic war which they conduct against each other, to the detriment of all the peoples.

All those who want no more bloody wars, all those against the economic wars which bring on crisis, unemployment and poverty, must be able to say so in these elections.

We are for the United Socialist States of Europe. The workers of the Soviet Union and the 'people's democracies' must be assured of the total solidarity of the workers of Western Europe in their fight against the bureaucratic caste of the Kremlin, which from Prague to Moscow deals out psychiatric treatment, tanks, and the Gulag.

All those who think that socialism has nothing to do with the bloody caricature which Stalin and his successors have imposed on the peoples of

the USSR and Eastern Europe must be able to say so by voting for a revolutionary communist slate...

The rational organisation of the economy in place of the capitalist anarchy, the development of real relations of solidarity between the workers of all nations, the flourishing of all the cultures stifled by the machine of the oppressor bourgeois state requires the end of the national states and the establishment of a free federated Socialist United States of all Europe by the European workers themselves.

That would represent a gigantic step towards the universal republic of the workers, towards a world socialist federation where hunger, ignorance, poverty and war would be banished for ever...

# Zimbabwe: the thieves fall out

LORD CARRINGTON, the new Foreign Secretary, is a director of Rio Tinto Zinc, one of the top four profit-makers in Zimbabwe. So there will be few surprises over his attitude to the racist regime there. The appointment of this former Guards officer and top troubleshooter is itself an indication of the priority given to the issue.

Tory statements throughout the election campaign have indicated that they now want to recognise the Ian Smith regime. Whether they will be able to get away with that is something we will discuss in future issues. This week we look at how the 'internal settlement' leaders are falling out among themselves.

NDABANINGI Sithole's denunciations of the 'internal settlement' elections have come too late to be convincing, but they have still opened up serious problems for the Smith regime.

Sithole leads the smallest of the black parties to support the internal settlement with Smith in March last year. In the campaign for the April elections he, like all the party leaders, took a resolutely apolitical stand. All black parties which took part defined themselves solely by their support for the settlement and distinguished themselves from the other candidates by personal abuse.

Sithole, whose party won a measly 12 per cent of the vote, now alleges electoral malpractice. As we have repeatedly argued these arguments are

indisputable — with no electoral roll, 28 per cent of the seats hived off to the whites in advance, and most of the country under martial law.

Of course, for Sithole to come out with this now is just sour grapes. But it still makes the election more difficult to sell to world opinion and, most importantly, it could create a constitutional obstacle to the new assembly ever being convened.

The result has to be confirmed by the Executive Council appointed after last March's internal settlement, which operates only by consensus and of which Sithole and Chief Jeremiah Chirau, who takes a similar line, are members.

The sight of the internal settlement leaders falling out among themselves is predictable

and encouraging for those fighting the white regime as a whole. But the power struggle at the top is only part of a more bitter rivalry among the internal settlement forces — in which the Zimbabwean people are the victims.

Private armies loyal to Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the victor in last month's election, have been trained in Uganda, Zaire, Sudan and Libya, armed under the forbearance of the white authorities, and now exercise a 'nationwide Hitlerite terror' [Muzorewa's phrase].

The increase in terrorism and political killing shows the sort of dead-end to which the right-wing politics of collaboration lead. Even Illustrated Life Rhodesia commented:

'...the tribespeople interviewed described the auxiliaries as bullies who used coercion in trying to drum men and women into the party ranks.'

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace reports that Sithole's forces are particularly brutal, beating up or killing civilians for refusing to buy party cards.

Reports of rape are legion: '...the whole morality of the area has been destroyed, not a



girl has been left unmolested. If [the husbands] try to protect them they are shot by Sithole's people.'

One African even told the Commission: 'Sithole's forces know that we are ZIPRA sympathisers and [they] are so brutal that we would prefer to have the army [of Smith] than present conditions.'

## Trotskyists held in Peru

FIVE members of the Peruvian Socialist Workers Party (PST) are still being held in prison after raids on the PST's Lima headquarters on 22 April by State Security agents.

Thirty-one members of the party — a sympathising section of the Fourth International — were held after the raids. They were all taken to the State Security detention centre, where they were beaten and interrogated.

The arrests were answered by a number of immediate hunger strikes. Hugo Blanco, a central leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) and a deputy in the Constituent Assembly, was

one of those taking part. The PRT (which is also a sympathising section of the Fourth International) and the PST are currently engaged in a fusion process.

The hunger strikes, together with telegrams and protests from Swiss and Swedish MPs, secured the release of the majority of those arrested; but it is particularly worrying that four of the five still being held are not Peruvian nationals and thus face deportation.

The most serious case concerns Lidia Vasquez, an Argentinian woman whose life would be in danger if she was forced to return to her country of birth. Two Colombians are also being held.

## Students demand disinvestment

By Neil Faulkner  
King's Rent Strike Committee

STUDENTS at King's College in Cambridge have begun a rent strike this term to protest against the South African connection. Already about 70 students have paid their college bills into the union account, and many more are intending to do so.

The student demands, first presented to the authorities last October, are that the college should reveal its holdings in companies operating in South Africa, that it should sell them all, and that it should boycott Barclays Bank.

The authorities responded with a traditional mixture of indifference and obstruction. Last term for example, the students were told to provide information about the companies from which they wanted the college to disinvest, but the task was immediately rendered impossible by the refusal of the authorities either to reveal their investment portfolio or to allow the students to put their

case to the relevant committee of dons. Catch 22!

Now that they are on rent strike, the students plan other activities to maintain the intensity of the campaign. To embarrass the authorities, tourists will be greeted by demonstrations and handed leaflets warning them not to be deceived by the picture-postcard image of ivory-tower aloofness and explaining the reasons for the rent strike.

Although the authorities refuse to give information about investments, research in London has indicated huge involvement in the apartheid economy. King's is known to have 25,000 shares in Reckitt and Coleman, and 130,000 in the notorious sanctions-buster British Petroleum.

The rent strike at King's, part of a university-wide campaign for disinvestment, follows successful action by about 130 students at Christ's College last term. After five weeks and an attempt by Tory students to smash the strike, the authorities agreed to move their accounts from Barclays.

## Iranian women say: give us your solidarity

By Azar Tabari

IRANIAN women must have the solidarity of the international women's movement for our struggle. Kate Millett and the women's delegation from France had a big impact on us. For a lot of women it was a relief and a source of strength to realise that they are not alone and that women in other countries are fighting back.

The international messages that were read out on 8 March started breaking down the prejudices that Iranian women had against the women's movement in America and in other Western countries.

A lot of women in Iran and in other underdeveloped countries regard these movements as those of the privileged. Both privileged in the sense that they are from imperialist countries, but also within these countries they are from privileged layers. To be honest the feeling was one of hostility.

But now this has completely changed. There is now a strong desire to extend hands to the women's movement internationally. Delegations coming from other countries and establishing these links will help to break the isolation of the movement and prevent Khomeini trying to represent us as the left-overs of the Shah.

In the future if things go badly these links may be of a very practical character — making sure that individual women's leaders don't become the target for intimidation or victimisation.

The women's movement will have to be very sensitive to the



problems that the Iranian women's movement faces. Very few women at the present time are willing to raise questions like sexuality or even abortion. This isn't a positive thing. It's a reflection of the backwardness of the whole country.

But this is where we have to build the women's movement from. You can't impose something unrelated to that level of consciousness.

The more help we get from the women's movement and

others internationally the quicker we will get to our aim of the complete liberation of women.

This article is reproduced from the Campaign for Solidarity with Iran's new pamphlet No Revolution Without Women's Liberation. The pamphlet is available from the Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1, for 30p including postage.

This Saturday, 12 May, there is an Iranian Women's

Conference at the City University, London. The afternoon session will be in English.

The following week, 19 May, there will be a national demonstration from Trafalgar Square to the Iranian Embassy, starting at 2pm.

The Iranian Women's Solidarity Group, which is organising these events, can be contacted at the South London Women's Centre, 45 North Street, London SW4.

## SURPLUS VALUE

# Bahro: restoring Marxism's moral sense

MANY TIMES have we drawn attention to the imprisonment of Rudolf Bahro in East Germany for writing *The Alternative in Eastern Europe*. But one of the best forms of solidarity is a critical discussion of the book — a discussion of the type that the East German authorities are so anxious to avoid.

This contribution by GÜNTER MINNERUP is in preparation for a Bahro solidarity conference to be held on Friday evening and Saturday 18-19 May at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

FOR anyone whose Marxist education was in the canonical formulas of 'dialectical materialism' this must appear a highly suspect, if not 'un-Marxist' book.

After all, the author discounts the possibility of a 'classical' socialist revolution in the capitalist West and insists that the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 was doomed to lead to a social formation entirely different from the expectations of Lenin and Trotsky.

Most provocatively, he 'rejects the leading role of the working class'. Indeed, Bahro openly proclaims his opinion that 'it is no longer sufficient to be a "Marxist" in the traditional sense'.

Yet what has become of 'Marxism in the traditional sense' in the hands of the bureaucratic epigones of the October revolution? What does it mean to the oppressed masses in 'actually existing socialism'?

Scientific socialism becomes the science of the objective laws governing history, against which only petty bourgeois subjectivists and counter-revolutionaries can rebel, laws best understood by those qualified to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat — the Politburo and Central Committee.

These latter have a duty to protect the gullible masses from the siren calls of subjectivists and counter-revolutionaries — who therefore get locked away, their mental disorders treated with the latest psychiatric methods and their imperialist paymasters exposed.

Orthodox Marxism becomes the science of social manipulation and bureaucratic domination.

It is against this background, in the interest of restoring Marxism's moral credentials, that Bahro sets out to retrieve the humanistic dimension of communism. The aim is the 'general emancipation' of humanity, 'the liberation of individuals from all socially determined limitations on their development', not catching up with the West in the 'competition between the systems'.

The risk of exposing himself to charges of 'utopianism', 'petty bourgeois idealism' and 'revisionism' — particularly from those who disfigured Marxism in the first place — is hardly a serious consideration when faced with the task of raising 'to a higher level

Marx's own legacy, the most developed theory and method of social science that we have, and (transforming) it into the communism of the present'.

THE vertical division of labour which Bahro identifies as the real source of class divisions is not simply the division between intellectual and manual labour, but between the ruling elite and ideologists on the one hand and those occupied with partial, repetitive, de-humanised and de-humanising activities on the other.

As long as humanity exists under conditions of material scarcity and the general emancipation of all individuals from their servitude to nature is an objective impossibility, both rulers and ruled find themselves caught up in the dialectic of what Bahro calls

emancipatory needs (the striving for liberation) and compensatory needs (compensating for the lack of liberation).

The state is both the necessary agent of social reproduction and a means by which the rulers satisfy their compensatory need for power over their fellow people. The economy is both the necessary motor of human progress towards the abolition of scarcity and a way of satisfying ever-growing compensatory needs.

These features persist even



after private property has been abolished, so that Bahro can summarise 'the historical task which I have in mind' as 'the abolition of the traditional vertical division of labour, and the revolution of the entire structure of needs that is bound up with this'.

His slogan of the 'cultural revolution' stands for 'a radical change in all our customary institutions and modes of procedure in society and the economy'.

Bahro's method of viewing history as the rise and fall of the social division of labour

enables him to focus sharply on all the forms of oppression and exploitation that are not automatically eliminated with the abolition of capitalism because they arose prior to and independent of it: 'the exploitation and oppression of women, in the overall patriarchal family structure... the dominance of the town... over the country... the exploitation and oppression of the manual worker... by the mental worker.'

But this method also has one serious flaw which is responsible for many of the weaker

parts of the book: the danger of collapsing different modes of production and social formations into a rather one-dimensional anthropology and a certain historical fatalism.

This is nowhere clearer than in his analysis of the Russian revolution and its consequences. Since the socialist revolution presupposes, as he correctly affirms, the bourgeois development of the productive forces, Bahro retrospectively concludes from the 'Asiatic' backwardness of Czarist Russia that the Bolshevik revolution could not possibly have led to socialism.

The 'Lenin-Stalin apparatus' only succeeded in establishing an 'industrial despotism' in historical analogy to the Asiatic 'agricultural despotism', and themselves as the 'substitute for an exploiting class, as the labour lord of Soviet society'.

This analogy with the 'Asiatic mode of production' — a strong and centralised state bureaucracy lording over a fragmented mass of immediate producers — is highly problematic. However backward and 'Asiatic' the Russia of 1917 was, the tasks facing the Bolsheviks were determined not by some abstract need to industrialise the country in a vacuum, but by the capitalist world market.

But Bahro has little to say on the role of the 'historically necessary' Stalinist bureaucracy in strangling the international revolution, the indispensable precondition of the Soviet Union's socialist future. And he dismisses the concrete political alternative to Stalinism offered by the Left Opposition as the rearguard battle of people who 'no longer understood the process they were taking part in'.

'IN Marx's time, particularly because this predated the work of Freud and his school, psychology had not yet reached the level of development that today enables it to declare it as simply impossible that an oppressed and alienated class of immediate producers, subjected to the division of labour, could "itself" become the ruling class and in this role exercise hegemony over the entire cultural process of its society.'

There is no reason for a Marxist to disregard psychology simply because Marx did not write about it, but surely its development was primarily concerned with the psychology of the individual, whereas the dynamic of the class struggle is essentially one of the conflict between collectives.

Does Bahro's emphasis on psychological change, and the rejection of the claim to power of the working class on psychological grounds, not ignore the need to destroy the old state apparatus and replace it with a new one? And does it not permit an elitist interpretation of the role of his new 'League of Communists', exer-

cising a paternalist regime over the masses that falls short of full socialist democracy? ('The conception of party pluralism seems to me an anachronistic piece of thoughtlessness.')

Whenever it comes to translating his 'cultural revolution' into concrete political categories, Bahro vacillates between reform and revolution, between a developed soviet democracy based on mass initiative and political pluralism and a form of enlightened, humanistic paternalism.

Yet all these weaknesses and ambiguities have to be seen in their proper context. Bahro himself writes that 'the programmatic dimension... should derive, not just on epistemological grounds, but also on sociological, from collective political practice, which for us in the countries of actually existing socialism is for the time being still notoriously forbidden.'

He might equally have added that the theoretical and historical practice of even the most gifted individual is unavoidably hampered by the inaccessibility of much crucial historical and theoretical material. Symptomatic of this is Bahro's vague recollection of Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* as 'Socialism Betrayed' — a symptom unfortunately altered in the English version in a piece of editorial over-enthusiasm.

The temptation to attribute every one of the serious disagreements with Bahro indicated above to that situation should, however, be resisted. There is no reason to suppose that Bahro would become an orthodox Trotskyist even if forced to read *The Revolution Betrayed* half a dozen times a day.

*The Alternative in Eastern Europe* is a genuinely original and independent attempt to revise, not to ditch, Marxism from a revolutionary standpoint, to equip its theoretical arsenal for the tasks facing it in a society oppressed in the name of Marxism.

It will provide a constant reference point for the discussions among East European socialists for many years, and should be read, studied and criticised by every Western socialist as well — for the problems of the transition to socialism, of abolishing all forms of social oppression once capitalist private property has been dealt with, will sooner or later also be our problems.

The hefty price charged for the NLB edition is really quite small compared with the price Bahro is paying for its writing and publication.

\* *The Alternative in Eastern Europe*, New Left Books 1978, £9.50. Günter Minnerup is secretary of the Rudolf Bahro Defence Committee which has recently published issue No 3 of its *GDR Bulletin*. Copies (sae) from: 24a Bellevue Road, Ryde, Isle of Wight.

INVEST IN THE FUTURE. FUND YOUR PAPER

# LETTERS

## Push needed on unity

AT the present time Socialist Challenge is throwing most of its resources into the general election. Those involved in the Socialist Unity campaign appreciate that we are not offering a parliamentary road to socialism. In Hull, as in other areas, we are propagandising and agitating around an anti-capitalist action programme when working people's political consciousness is raised, and trying to organise them into ongoing campaigns.

Only blind sectarians would argue that SU is 'the IMG's attempt to build a left reformist party'. Our position is clear — SU does not have an adequate programmatic base for a united revolutionary party.

However, what is crucial following the general election is a renewed push for revolutionary reunification on a principled basis. The Socialist Unity campaign is bringing militants into activity who support this conception. Those drawn around the ANL are also responsive to the need for a global socialist alternative.

The opportunity is not to be missed. **Socialist Challenge**, SU candidates and supporters, the IMG, ISA, Big Flame, independents, etc. should be pushing for a national tour to thrust forward the debate on revolutionary unity, with a view to a founding conference later this year. Let's make the **Daily Mail's** mythical 'Socialist Unity Party' a reality.

PETE MIDDLETON (Hull)

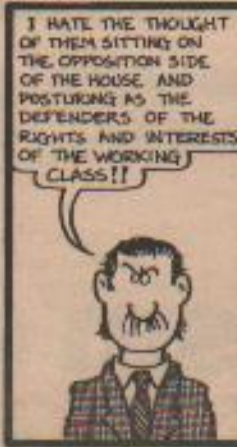
## Sour grapes

BOB Pennington (26 April) denounces the WRP as 'sectarian', 'opportunistic', and a 'caricature of a revolutionary organisation'. He bemoans the fact that the WRP is able to 'put itself across as the biggest alternative to reformism' (because of their air-time on TV).

This smacks of sour grapes. It ignores the obvious common aims of the WRP and other revolutionary groups — the overthrow of capitalism establishment of a workers state, troops out of Ireland, support for oppressed nations, etc. These general points were the ones put forward by Colin Redgrave in his party broadcast, and he rightly refrained from arguing against other left-wing groups despite the undeniable differences that do exist.

Although the WRP chooses to go it alone, revolutionary socialists of all shades should support their intervention in the general election as a challenge to capitalism, which a vote for Labour clearly is not.

A.E. ENTICKNAP (Hyde)



## Sectarian on WRP

I DON'T agree with your policy of refusing a vote to the WRP in the election. You are descending to their own sectarian level.

Bob Pennington (26 April) refuses them a vote on two quite precise grounds. First, in extending their support to the Arab masses in the struggle against Zionism, they simultaneously lend support to the bourgeois regimes in Libya, Syria and Iraq. Second, their general record in organising and taking part in struggles is very poor.

However, the WRP's election programme, while it contains support for the Arab regimes, also proposes a whole range of socialist policies, often more cogently stated than in Socialist Unity material; a nationalised planned economy, workers control, occupations of factories creating redundancies, no incomes policy, an end to immigration controls, immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland, and so on.

And while the general record of the WRP in struggle is not that of a truly revolutionary party, it is not true that the WRP have failed to 'organise or participate in any mass action' as Bob alleges. The WRP have often helped to organise strikes and other actions on a wide range of issues. But they have refused to take part in several important campaigns (ANL, NAC, UTOM, etc.) — usually for the thoroughly sectarian reason that the CP or IMG were present.

However, many workers, disillusioned with Labour, will want to vote for socialist policies and for the building of a revolutionary party, despite having less than full confidence in the WRP and reservations about its record. In the absence of SU or SWP, a vote for the WRP is the only available means of expressing this.

This state of affairs dictates a policy of critical support to the WRP. We should have urged workers to vote for the WRP, but also to take up its

candidates on their Arab policy and their sectarian abstention towards many of those fighting for the socialist policies to which the WRP subscribes.

DAVE BAILEY (East London)

## Need for ANL conference

THE impressive mobilisations at Leicester and Southall have demonstrated the continuing strength of the anti-fascist movement. Brighton & Hove ANL welcomes Socialist Challenge's call for an ANL conference. Towards this end, we felt it important to share our evaluation of Leicester with other anti-fascists.

The two most important lessons of Leicester were the importance of unity and the importance of democratic leadership; and we can only achieve unity in action by ensuring an adequate and recognised leadership. National ANL failed to provide a leadership which both involved representatives of all ANLs at Leicester in planning strategy and which could assign Leicester comrades to each out-of-town group.

As a result, the strategy of infiltrating the town centre in small groups left most of us on the wrong side of police lines for much of the day. Under these conditions we felt that it was a strategic mistake to divert all of our forces to the route of the Front march and away from the school where the Front were to meet.

We call for: 1) democratic leadership for national mobilisations; 2) unity in action — observe the discipline of the organisers even when we disagree with it; 3) an immediate recall conference of the working council to democratise the ANL and discuss strategy for the future.

NEIL MacDONALD (Press Officer, Brighton & Hove ANL)

## Offensive

WHILE I strongly object to Arthur Scargill's justification of sexism and

'pin-ups', neither can I, after just reading your paper, come to terms with your so-called pin-up of him (19 April).

As you are well aware, the women's movement is against all forms of sexism, and yet you see fit to produce a photo of him — or should I say a nude with Scargill's head dubbed on top. Surely our aims are to remove all forms of sexual repression? But how can we do this when a paper such as yours indulges in male pin-ups?

OK, it may just have been a piss-take of Scargill, but as far as I can see it didn't come off. I find it rather offensive, and I'm sure that many women will feel as I do.

DOROTHY GILSON (Leamington Spa)

## Scargill 'pin-up' sexist

THE photo and caption used to put down Arthur Scargill in the 'pin-up' debate article (19 April) is sexist and should not have been published. The photo is taken from gay soft porn which reproduces male supremacist values of dominance and submission in sexual relations in common with straight porn.

Moreover, the use of the pin-up objectifies and exploits the male body in an analogous fashion to that of pin-ups of women. Just as capitalism exploits the female body (and the male body in mags such as **Playgirl**) in glossy soft porn to sell a lifestyle of instant consumerised sexual gratification plus accompanying commodities, so Socialist Challenge has exploited the male body to 'sell' a dubious message.

The argument which underpins the use of this photo is the same as the justification, in the name of 'equality' of female strippers for men by encouraging male strippers for women. The point is to challenge and reject sexist distortions of sexuality in

all forms, not implicitly to reinforce them.

## Mistakes in NUS report

THERE were a couple of faults in your report on the National Union of Students conference (26 April). Don't you think you were carrying anti-sectarianism a bit far when you told your readers about the election of two SWP members to the NUS executive without mentioning the election of Socialist Student Alliance member Pauline Roe?

Secondly, your coverage of the Broad Left/Liberal 'open letter' for a new alliance in NUS failed to come to terms with the aims of the letter's sponsors. In their new alliance the Broad Left aim to cement a bloc in NUS around positions to the right of the Broad Left's traditional Tribune reformism.

Debate there will be — and the SSA

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

should undoubtedly intervene in it — but we shouldn't have any illusions that the result will be an alliance of the kind that the far left would want. Quite the reverse: the new alliance will represent an organisational reorganisation by the NUS leadership in line with political changes (moves away from mass action towards lobby politics and negotiations with the state) which have already occurred.

LEWIS DAVIES (Teesside)

# SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

THE DEADLINE for this column is midday on the Saturday before publication.

## NORTH WEST

WARRINGTON Socialist Challenge group meets regularly. Ring Manchester Socialist Challenge offices for details. 061-236 2362.

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, day) or Steve (226 4267, evening), or write to Manchester SC Centre, 14 Piccadilly.

SALFORD Socialist Challenge supporters can be contacted at the Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre c/o 14 Piccadilly, Manchester with a view to forming a Salford SC group.

MOSS SIDE Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper at Moss Side Centre, Saturday, 11-1.

## NORTH EAST

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

MIDDLESBROUGH Socialist Challenge sales, Saturday lunchtime near the lottery stand at Cleveland Centre.

Also available from Newsfairs in Linthorpe Road.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES readers can buy Socialist Challenge from Green Books, upstairs in the Spencer Hall shopping centre.

## SCOTLAND

For information about the paper or its supporters' activities throughout Scotland please contact Socialist Challenge Books, 64 Queen St, Glasgow. Open Wed, Thurs, Fri and Sat afternoons. Phone for alternative arrangement (221 7481). Wide range of Fourth International publications.

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

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

HAMILTON supporters sell Socialist Challenge every Saturday in the Hamilton shopping centre, 1-9pm. For details of local activities contact John Ford, 363 Eliot Crescent, Hamilton.

## MIDLANDS

NOTTINGHAM readers can buy Socialist Challenge regularly at Mushroom Books, Heathcote St.

LEAMINGTON Socialist Challenge group meets every other Sunday. Contact 311772.

## YORKSHIRE

Huddersfield Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly on Thursdays at the Friendly & Trades Club, Northumberland Street.

DEWSBURY Socialist Challenge sales regularly on Saturday mornings in Westgate at the Nat Westminster Bank, 12.30-2.00pm.

LEEDS Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday at City Centre Pradect, 11am-1.30pm. And at Elward Road — when Leeds Utd are playing at home.

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

YORK Socialist Challenge is on sale at the York Community Bookshop, 73 Walmgate or from sellers on Thursdays (12.30-1.45) at York

University, Vanburgh College; Saturdays (11.30-3.30) at Coney Street.

## SOUTH WEST

FOR INFORMATION on activities in the South-West, write to Box 002, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Road, Bristol 6.

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

ISLE OF WIGHT readers can buy Socialist Challenge from the Oz Shop, 44 Union St, Ryde.

BATH Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday, 2-3.30pm, outside MacLish-cribs, Ring Bath 2029B for further details.

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

SWINDON supporters sell Socialist Challenge 11am-1pm Saturdays, Regent St (Brunel Centre).

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

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

BRIGHTON SC forums fortnightly on Tuesdays. Contact Micky on 805052 for details.

## LONDON

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge Group meets every fortnight (phone 247 2717 for details).

WALTHAMSTOW readers can buy Socialist Challenge regularly from Sheridan's Newsagents, 88 Hoe St, E17.

Hemel Hempstead supporters meet regularly on Sunday evenings. For details phone Mick on Hamel Hempstead 41037. Also paper sales Saturday mornings in Times Square.

PADDINGTON/KENSINGTON SC forum: 'Do we need revolutionary parties?' Debate between Jude Woodward (SC journalist and IMG) and an independent revolutionary socialist. Wed 16 May, 8pm, in the Meeting Room, 3 Thorpe Close, W10 (under Westway Flyover, Ladbrooke Grove tube).

PADDINGTON/KENSINGTON supporters sell the paper every Saturday at noon at junction Portobello Rd/Westbourne Park Rd, W11.

HACKNEY Socialist Challenge group meeting: The struggle for women's rights in Iran. Wed 16 May, 7.30pm, Britannia pub, Mars St, E8.

BRENT supporters sell every Saturday, 2.30pm, at Kilburn Se., Kilburn High Rd, London NW6.

LEYTON readers can buy Socialist Challenge from Patel's Newsagents, 325 Lea Bridge Road, E10.

BRENT Socialist Challenge open forums are held on the first Tuesday of every month at York Room, Anson Hall, Chichele Road, NW2, 7.30pm. Everyone welcome.

HARINGEY (Paper sales at Finsbury Park and Seven Sisters tubes, Thurs evening; Muswell Hill and Crouch End Broadways, Saturday morning. Also available at Muswell Hill Bookshop, Muswell Hill Broadway; Vares newsagent, Middle Lane, N8; and Bookmarks, Finsbury Park).

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge supporters sell every weekend: Saturdays meet 10.30am, Whitechapel tube; Sundays meet 10am, Brick Lane (corner of Buxton St).

HACKNEY supporters sell every Saturday, 12.20pm, in Kingsland High St, Dalston — meet outside Sainsbury's.

HARROW Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly: details from Box 50 London N1 2XP.

# WRITE US A LETTER — AND ENCLOSE A DONATION

## Wiping out a people without killing them

From *Massacres to Mining: The Colonisation of Aboriginal Australia* Janine Roberts CIMRA and War on Want, £1.99

THE IMAGE most people have of the Aboriginal Australian is that of the black man in loin cloth hunting with his boomerang. For those of us on the left, it's not all that different: a primitive nomadic people whose way of life is irrevocably destroyed (for better or worse) and for whom there is no way forward but assimilation. Janine Roberts makes it clear how the stereotype began, and in whose interests it is perpetuated.

She begins with a brief account of pre-colonial Aboriginal Australia, and quotes early European reports of highly structured and well-established communities, including towns with marked roads, stone houses, canal and dyke systems, wells and gardens.

*From Massacres to Mining* goes on to tell of the systematic assault of white colonial society against Aboriginal peoples — from straightforward genocidal massacres, the establishment of the reservation systems, to the present policy of 'ethnocide' — the destruction of a people without actually killing them by eliminating the foundations of their lifestyle and culture.

Roberts exposes the role of the missionaries in the conscious destruction of Aboriginal culture on behalf of 'civilisation' and as agents of their economic exploitation.

But the second half of the book is devoted to an exposé of the role of the multinational mining companies, particularly British-based Rio Tinto Zinc. In collaboration with the Australian state and federal governments, these companies have dispossessed Aboriginal Australians in order to control some of the world's richest reserves of bauxite, uranium, and other minerals.



The strength of Roberts' book is that she situates the struggle of black Australians in the framework of their fight over land claims. The parallels with American Indians in their battle for survival — both cultural and physical — are clearly drawn.

She illustrates with numerous facts, how the Aborigines are engaged against the collective might of international capital, in the form of the nuclear industry, the British and Australian governments, and several mining multi-nationals. She also acknowledges the value of linking their struggles with that of other oppressed people, and the strong Australian anti-nuclear and trade union movements.

The book, however, stops short of placing the struggle of Aboriginal Australians in the context of the international fight against capitalism.

This is its greatest weakness. While Janine Roberts correctly refuses to lay down blueprints for the Aboriginal people, by not fully extending her analysis she fails to provide a clear perspective to show how their demands can be realised and ensure that their battle for survival is not doomed to be another glorious lost cause.

Perhaps the author's intention was simply to provide the information and let us draw our own conclusions about what needs to be done. This much she has done in a concise and easily readable way.

RUTH CAMPBELL

## Suffocation in a woman's world

*Praxis* Fay Weldon Hodder, £4.95

*Daughters of Jerusalem* Sara Maitland Blond and Briggs, £4.95

MORE people these days are starting to write 'feminist novels' in Britain (it's almost a major industry in the USA). The 'feminist novel' distinguishes itself from novels simply written by women in its conscious emphasis on the oppression of women and on the relationship between women.

But it's too easy to applaud any feminist writing just because it has the right subject matter, and the temptation to dismiss severe criticism as unisisterly is very great. Two novels by Fay Weldon and Sara Maitland pose this problem.

Fay Weldon has had more practice than most feminist writers, having written her first 12 years ago. *Daughters of Jerusalem* is Sara Maitland's first novel. For this reason it is perhaps unfair to compare them. Yet Fay Weldon's early novels are not so different from subsequent ones; they have the same voice and the same style, with more assurance.

What comparison of the two novels does reveal is that Sara Maitland is not enough of a writer. Where Fay Weldon is caustic and comic, burning away hypocrisy and convention to reveal the raw yet lovable human beings underneath, Sara Maitland is blandly descriptive.

She does not seem to have attempted to realise something new in the process of writing — there is no sense of pressure, effort or urgency behind the words. They lie flat on the page, even at the point of real conflict in the novel, when the heroine Liz, who suffers from infertility, is required by her feminist friends to attend a NAC demonstration:

'It was an old, old pressure. Be a good child and Daddy will love you. Be a good woman, giving and giving and giving, having no needs of your own except making your man feel good and James will love you. Now, support this march and we will love you and listen to you. Don't and we won't. Moral blackmail. Not meant like that...'

This lack of vividness in the writing is compounded by her choice of a stream-of-consciousness first person narration which encourages the passive reading experience of easy identification with the heroine. Yet she doesn't have the poetry or inventiveness of the 'experimental' novel, nor the depth and social context of the traditional 'realist' novel.

But, of course, the subject matter is

important, and it is good to see current feminist experience reflected in novels; to read accurate and sensitive descriptions of the experience of infertility, of friendships between women, or of a woman loving an 'unmasculine' man (a small, pale, thin, ex-gay social worker!).

*Praxis* is in many ways a re-run of *Female Friends* (1975), centring on the lives of three or four women over 30 or so years; *Praxis*, Irma, Colleen and Hilda this time. Other features of the narrative are familiar from *Female Friends* too: the stingy first husband, the haphazard mothering of other women's children, the sleepwalking passivity of female life.

*Praxis* is, however, both more reflective and more optimistic than the earlier novel, an effect that is achieved partly through the use of a first person narrative where the ageing *Praxis* reflects on her life, together with flashbacks to earlier parts of her life and that of other women. The imagery of *Praxis* is less defiantly female, there are fewer nappy pins and piles of washing up than in previous Weldon novels, and the tone is less bitter.

Men are shown in a truly despicable light, but no more so than the women. The experiences of femaleness — motherhood, sisterhood, wifehood, daughterhood — are summed up in passage after passage with accuracy and simplicity; for example: 'We shelter children for a time; we live side by side with men; and that is all. We owe them nothing, and are owed nothing.'



This kind of reflection runs through the novel, working out a final theme, which is that women allow men to define their identities for them, they do the normal things and can't understand why they feel anaesthetised: 'A man, a house, a child. It was what most women wanted.' Even working doesn't solve the problem, because it creates the double shift: *Praxis* becomes Superwoman while Philip 'played records and criticised'.

The chain of passive 'natural' existence is broken when *Praxis* makes a choice to go against 'nature': She suffocates a mongoloid child. But the real test is that she then takes responsibility for her action, for the first time; she isn't drifting, or determined by her instincts or her men: she thinks for herself.

She faces 'truth' and 'passes into the real world, where feelings were sharp and clear, however painful'.

Fay Weldon's style has been described as a 'comedy of manners'. I don't think this is strictly accurate. Her lightness of touch ensures that the points she makes are made with economy and without pretension, but they are no less serious for that. She has a technique that lets air breathe through the pages, allows the reader to think and reflect and laugh.

There is no single point of view, as there is in *Daughters of Jerusalem*, where the author, heroine and reader are locked together and cannot comment upon one another. *Praxis* is, I think, Fay Weldon's richest novel to



date, although it is possibly not quite as funny as some of her previous ones.

Yet despite all its qualities, *Praxis* describes only the female experience. There are women from every class and women with varied and changing experiences, but Fay Weldon's world is always about this and only this. Sara Maitland's world is even more restricted: her heroine Liz has her job in advertising, but both seem unaware of other countries, other classes, other races, other times.

Maybe it is necessary for the female experience to be explored thoroughly in literature, but I don't think it is necessary for feminists to dwell so exclusively on personal relationships, as if that were women's sole reason for existence.



In her book *A Literature of Their Own*, Elaine Showalter argues that 'the insistence that women deal with "the real business of the world" is destructive'. But I would argue that a socialist feminist consciousness would be unable to exclude 'the real business of the world', if that means politics and money and war and power.

And until we can get over the division of the world into two separate spheres — one, emotional and personal and female, the other aggressive and impersonal and male — we are simply aiding and abetting the continuation of capitalist patriarchy.

SUE ASPINALL

## Frankly fascist

*Fascists — A Social Psychological View of the National Front* Michael Billig Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, £3.95

THE PAST few years have seen the emergence of a growth industry among academics in the production of papers and books on racism and fascism.

Billig's new book is a part of this

process. In some respects it bears the hall-marks of the race relations industry academics: a minute sample — only 11 NF members were interviewed; a huge bibliography — from A for Adorno to Zimmerman; and bags of speculation.

But it is better than most of the recent outpourings. Billig consciously attempts, perhaps not always succeeds, to write in a way that the non-psychologist can understand. And unlike many of his cloyer colleagues, he understands that the NF is a fascist organisation that has to be opposed as a serious threat.

The first chapters are taken up with a study of psychological theories of fascism and the relationship between fascism and psychology.

Whereas fascism has had a consistent antagonism to 'Marxist' sociology, Billig explains that psychology has often been highly valued by fascism for its insights into the 'soul of mass men'. He also reminds us that a major current among professional psychologists supports the extreme right.

The founders of American psychology and IQ testing were overwhelmingly racists who produced tests to impose harder qualifications on prospective immigrants. They were involved in the eugenics movement and the compulsory sterilisation of inadequates (blacks) in many states in the '20s and '30s.

Jung and Konrad Lorenz supported Nazism, and psychology's first Nobel Laureate, Lorenz, still produces work with rightist political overtones.

The current crop of academic racists includes psychologists such as Jensen, Shuey, Garrett and Eysenck. *Mankind Quarterly*, an ostensibly respectable academic journal, which has Shuey and Eysenck as editorial advisers, harks back to the old Nordic racists of the Nazi movement. It favourably reviews South African propaganda, as well as pamphlets from the Racial Preservation Society.

Its editor, Gayre, appeared as a defence witness when some NF members were prosecuted under the Race Relations Act. His 'expert' advice that 'negroes are feckless' helped to get them off.

In 1977 Eysenck gave an interview to the first edition of *Beacon*, published by the National Party to explain why blacks are genetically less intelligent than whites.

The second section of the book deals with NF ideology. Billig has no trouble in explaining just how orthodox is the fascism of the NF. He also produces detailed analysis of how NF propaganda conceals its Nazism by the use of code words. And he includes a brilliant account of the way in which *Spearshead* made the transition from overt Hitlerism to the more veiled rhetoric of today.

The final section of the book consists of in-depth interviews with Front members — chosen by the NF. Billig suspects, for their 'moderation'. These interviews illustrate how the party's double-talk has become internalised by its members, such as the use of the terms 'freedom' and 'voluntary' to mean their opposite.

Billig chillingly reveals the potential violence of these members and their slow but inexorable progression towards the full fascist ideology of their Nazi leaders.

ANDREW JENKINS



The books reviewed here are available from The Other Bookshop, 324 Upper Street, London N1. Tel 01-224 0571. Add 10% if ordering by mail.

# Socialist Challenge

## Not too much socialism — but too little Why Labour lost



THE GREAT INQUEST is on. Who was responsible for Thatcher taking power? For five years the Wilson and Callaghan governments had blocked and fought against any moves towards socialist policies.

Since their campaign in favour of Common Market entry and the introduction of wage controls in the summer of 1975 they had pursued an openly right-wing course of cutting working class living standards.

The result was inevitable. Electoral disaster and the return of the Tories. It was the old, old story.

By John Ross

The facts prove otherwise. In the 'winter crisis' of 1974 massive struggles rocked Britain leading up to the all-out miners' strike. Far from leading to hostility to Labour, the Tory vote collapsed and

Labour was returned. The conclusion from the February 1974 and 1979 elections could only be that any government which stands up to trade union struggles is unpopular. But the Labour leaders and press naturally wish to bury this fact.

The Labour leaders seek other scapegoats. Along with the *Daily Mirror* and the rest of the press they claim that the defeat was due to the trade union struggles of the winter and the 'threat of the left'.

What about the 'threat of the left'? Once again it was when the left of the Labour Party was most active — in 1974 and early 1975, challenging Tory lies about coal stocks, opposing EEC membership and establishing workers cooperatives — that Labour was most popular.

It was after the left had been defeated in 1975 with Benn's demotion in the Cabinet and the capitulation of the Tribune Group before

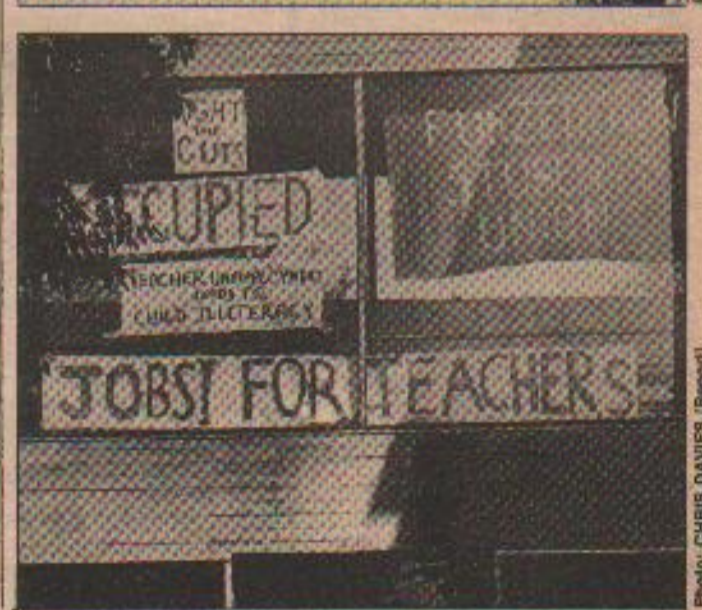
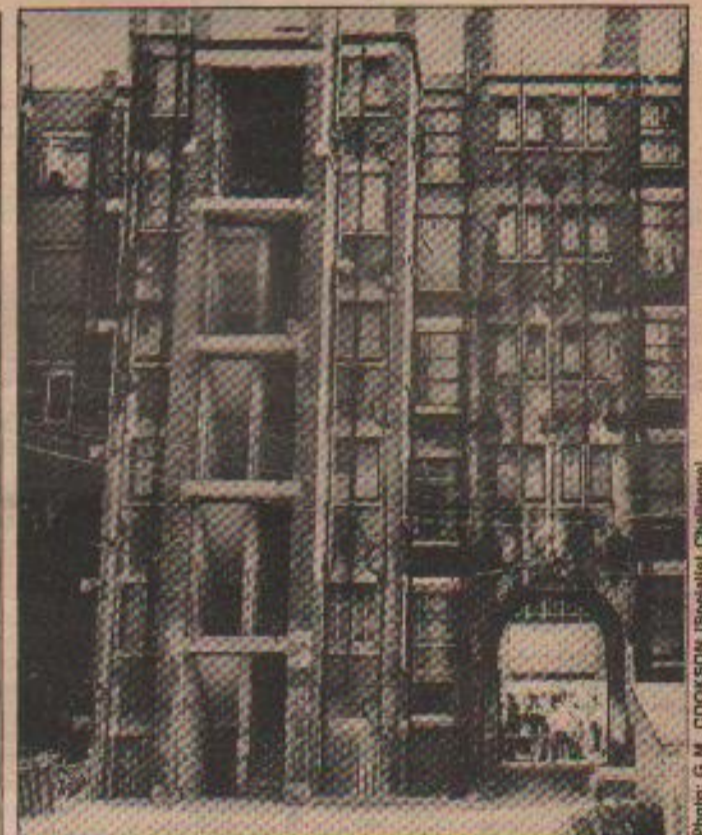
wage controls that the tremendous unpopularity of the government began to grow.

The real reasons for Labour's defeat are only too clear. Following the downfall of Heath in February 1974 the Labour government was forced by the working class to make concessions. The government froze rents, introduced food subsidies, repealed the Industrial Relations Act and took steps to cushion unemployment. Wilson went on to win the October election.

It was after Wilson introduced the 1975 austerity measures aimed at cutting back working class living standards that Labour's support collapsed and the road to Tory victory began.

The Labour left aided that defeat. 'The crisis we inherit will be the occasion for fundamental change and not the excuse for postponing it', proclaimed Benn in 1973. But when it came to the crunch, Benn and Foot stayed in the wage-cutting Cabinet and the rest of the Tribunitics took no serious measures to fight the government's policies.

There is a lesson to be learned from Labour's defeat. The problem was not too much socialism, but far too little.



### OUR FUND DRIVE

THREE millionaires, two big landowners, and every one a director of a major capitalist enterprise. That's the opposition we face in the newly announced Tory Cabinet.

Before the election the great mass of the press styled their front pages faithfully on Angus Maude's press hand-outs from Conservative Central Office. Now he is Paymaster General, responsible for making sure that the same thing happens when the Tories are in power.

The *Daily Mirror* and *Guardian*, who in their leaders echoed the line of Callaghan in attacking the unions and attacking the left, have now joined with him in wishing Thatcher good luck as she embarks on her crusade against the working class.

The need for a socialist press that fights the Tories is now even more urgent. This was reflected in the big boost in our sales during the election campaign. Six hundred copies of *Socialist Challenge* were sold

in Southall in one week. In other major cities sales went up by between 60 and 200 per cent.

We would be in an even better position if we were nearer our fund drive target. We topped our weekly target of £200 this week, but a major effort is needed to get back on the road to making up the cumulative total to the £1000 we should have had in the bank by now. Please rush the contributions in.

Our thanks this week to:

R. Raine	£5.00	J. Shutt	2.00
Dundee SC Group	50.00	E. Short	5.00
N. Long	2.00	Oxford Public Meeting	6.17
C. Van Gelderen	20.00	Cambridge supporters	10.00
I. Harrison	2.00	R. Hurcombe	1.00
Cardiff Socialist Unity	16.00	Alan Freeman	5.00
Southampton IMG	10.00	in memory of Neil Williamson	
G. Irwin	3.00	T. Hirsch, C. Vallender	2.00
O. J. Elliot	5.00	Red Drinker	3.00
A.E. Enticknap	1.00	B. Ebbatson	2.00
Iranian student	1.00	Dr. S. Kramer	10.00
Anon	30.00	Ian Miles	5.00
C. Arthur	5.00	Dr. S. Rose	10.00
Swindon supporters	26.00	A.H. Najmi	5.00
D. Brazil	5.00	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>207.67</b>
J. Lyst	5.00	Cumulative total	709.22