

# Socialist Challenge

# DUMP THE NAZIS

## Leicester

Sat 21 April  
Assemble 1pm,  
Victoria Park

## Southall

Sun 22 April:  
March Against the NF  
Assemble 1pm  
Dominion Car Park,  
The Green, Southall  
Monday 23 April:  
One-Day Strike, peaceful  
sit-in against NF outside  
Southall Town Hall, 5pm



# EDITORIAL

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## See you in Leicester and Southall

ONE resounding testimony to the success of the Anti Nazi League has been the retreat of the National Front in recent months. That doesn't mean it has disappeared, however. In fact, the NF is using the elections to make a come-back. The NF's propaganda is based very heavily on the theme of 'democracy' which it links to the familiar refrain of 'law and order'.

Through this kind of campaign, the NF hopes to undermine support for the anti-fascists and, by isolating them, lay the basis for increased state repression against militants.

Unfortunately, many on the left are playing into the hands of the NF. Intent on limiting activity to canvassing, the Labour bureaucracy argue against any mass mobilisations which might rock Labour's boat. For them, the solution to fascist mobilisations lies in the state — that is, in more repression.

Other militants in the anti-fascist movement adopt a rather ultra-left position. They ignore the issue of democratic rights which is posed, and concentrate on physically smashing the Front.

The real answer to the renewed fascist mobilisations in the election period is to mobilise the largest numbers on the street demanding that the democratic rights of workers and minorities be defended against the fascist goon squads of the Front.

In Leicester, where the NF is contesting every seat, the first victims of any fascist successes will be the black community. This could be the springboard the Front needs to re-establish its national credibility.

That's why Leicester provides an urgent opportunity to respond on a national scale to the NF's efforts at a renewed offensive. Under these circumstances, it's all the more unfortunate that the ANL — which, after all, was set up to prepare for a general election — is making such a poor showing in organising for Leicester.

Southall should also become a focus for the anti-racist movement. That Tyndall and Webster plan to speak at a meeting in this West London borough can only be a provocation to one of the best organised Asian communities in Britain.

And the community has responded in kind. A mass demonstration on Sunday 22 April will be followed by a half-day strike beginning at Monday lunch-time. The lead given by militant blacks in Southall on how to fight the NF is a lead which the anti-fascist movement in its entirety could do well to follow.

MARGARET Thatcher's 'concentrated' electioneering began in earnest in Callaghan's Cardiff constituency on Easter Monday. Without exception, Fleet Street viewed her radical speech as a break with the middle-of-the-road approach adopted to date. Her newly-discovered attachment to 'old-time socialism' could only have jarred on the ears of many working class militants who have fought hard against Labour's devastating policies in recent months.

In fact, Thatcher was only playing with words. She means nothing other than union-bashing aimed at rank and file militancy. In this situation, Callaghan's plodding defence of Labour's wage-cutting record is managing to whip up a modicum of enthusiasm. He has even had the temerity to herald Labour as the big spenders in social services and as the saviour of jobs.

But keeping out Thatcher's hoodlums can't therefore be equated with lining up with Callaghan. The truth is that official unemployment figures have more than tripled in five years of Labour rule.

With hundreds of thousands of unemployed building workers, the government has refused to launch a crash programme of house construction.

A trade union plan to fight back for jobs wouldn't be based on the collaborators we have seen with government subsidies to the bosses. Hand-out to firms declaring redundancies aren't a solution. These should be nationalised without compensation.

Furthermore, many pay claims this round have included the 35-hour week. The fight for continued action on this demand can unite wide sections of workers and point the way towards tackling the dole queues.

These are the policies which could provide a real match for Thatcher's so-called radical image. And it is by fighting for such policies that the demoralisation and mood of abstention evident amongst some sections of the working class can be tackled. A defence of Labour's record won't do that.

# ELECTIONS

## CP fields 39 candidates

# Elections - more problems for King Street?

by Dodie Wepler

WHEN Callaghan announced the date of the election, Communist Party leaders at King Street couldn't have been too enthusiastic. The party is not exactly at its strongest.

Membership is way down. In the polite language of the CP's fortnightly review, *Comment*, some 3,000 members have 'yet to renew their party cards'.

With 17,717 members already on the records, that is a drop of 4,000 in total since 1977. And the CP has difficulty in mobilising even these as any kind of striking force.

Last month the executive committee decided to make a serious turn towards industry as a way to begin to pick up the pieces. New membership cards are even going to include a 'place of work' form. Workplace CP branches and bulletins are aimed for; and CP public meetings are planned for most union conferences. A national industrial conference is scheduled for 1980.

The sales of the *Morning Star* have not reached the targets set by the last Congress. Nevertheless, the new eight-page Saturday issue will be on sale for the first time on 28 April, with hopes it will inspire a 'campaigning approach' amongst sellers.

These problems would be difficult enough for King Street if they existed on their own. Of course they are intimately bound up with the crisis inside the CP which has, in recent weeks, boiled over onto the pages of the *Morning Star*.

The impact is yet to be seen of general secretary Gordon McLennan's decision to back Eurocommunist Monty Johnstone as delegate for the *World Marxist Review* conference. Because it involved sharp hostility from the London District Committee and even a threatened resignation from its secretary, Gerry Cohen, this incident will be added to the long list of factional disputes at the CP's next congress in November.

These kind of internal difficulties make it impossible not to tread on someone's toes. And that's just what happened at the CP's press conference last Tuesday. 'Why', the question was posed, 'was the CP standing Monty Goldman in Hackney against left-wing Labour candidate, Ernie Roberts?'

Many party members committed to the policies of *The British Road to Socialism* will find difficulties in explaining how this move will aid 'the fight for left policies to be carried out by a Labour Government.'

And the justifications offered aren't too convincing. Some local CPers argue the candidate is irrelevant because Goldman only polled 400 votes last time. But this figure doesn't match up with the 'official' explanation that the CP has a base in the area and can't drop its commitment just because a left-winger gets selected for Labour.

When Gordon McLennan argues that the CP has a responsibility to put forward its own left policies this won't wash either, because Ernie Roberts' manifesto is well to the left of Goldman's. This just illustrates a more general point: the CP's policies are no real break from the left of Labour. It's for this reason that *Socialist Challenge* refuses to call for a vote for the CP.

The party has published two documents to back up its 39

candidates: a four-page manifesto and *A Charter for Democratic Rights*. With the policies each promote, the party could find itself in worse straits by its next Congress.

The CP has to contend with the practice of its leaders as well as these policies. Ken Gill's antics, in particular, have not gone down well with militant workers. At the 1975 special TUC on incomes policy, for instance, Gill unilaterally withdrew the TASS resolution against the social contract.

His off-hand comment more recently that 'there was no need for a vote against the Concordat' even forced the editor of the *Morning Star* to write a long article condemning the document.

Many CPers active in the anti-fascist and anti-racist movement will also be disappointed that not a word is written about the fight for labour movement support for black self-defence. In fact, the self-organisation of the oppressed — women, blacks, or gays — doesn't figure anywhere in the CP election material.

The need to 'prohibit racial provocation and violence' is a fine ideal, but most experience in the anti-fascist movement has shown the utter inadequacy of the CP's call for 'legal action against parties which promote racist practices.'

It has been the independent mass action — above all, that organised by the Anti Nazi

League — which has put the fascists on the retreat in this election, not the use of the law.

Because the Communist Party insists that the capitalist state can be transformed, it adopts a number of policies on the police which could be met with outright hostility from the black and Asian communities. For instance, the Charter aims to transform the police force into 'a public service to guarantee liberties'.

Yet increasing numbers of victims of state violence are beginning to realise that the police force exists for one purpose only — to protect capitalist interests. And any amount of reforms are not going to change this class nature of the state.

Finally, the manifesto restates the CP's critical comments about the treatment of dissidents in the Soviet Union. It calls for the fullest freedom of political, economic, cultural, scientific pursuits and associations. Good.

But where has it actively campaigned for the release of Rudolph Bahro; against attacks on Charter 77 signatories; the recent imprisonment of the Czechoslovak rock group The Plastic People; the arrests last month of a group of Soviet artists; and the immediate repression against any kind of political opposition that emerges in these so-called socialist societies?

**SOCIALIST CHALLENGE  
TRADE UNION CONFERENCE  
on 'Alternatives to the Concordat'  
and 'Workers Plans'.**

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

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

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

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

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

[Delete if not applicable]

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

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

# OUR POLICIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# ELECTIONS

## The Tory union-bashers

# The hawk and the dove— out for the same prey

CHUBBY farmer Jim Prior and multi-company director Sir Keith Joseph are likely to be the government ministers responsible for industry — including union policy — if the Tories win on 3 May. It is not a pleasant prospect, as GEOFF BELL outlines.

## Jim Prior

THE image Jim Prior tries to put over is of the affable, reasonable moderate.

His attitude in the last couple of years has been to try to re-build the bridges to the trade union leadership blown up by the Heath policy of confrontation.

Prior is out to win friends. Thus he has joined a union, he supported the recommendations for union recognition of the Scarman Inquiry on Grunwick, and he tries to speak all the time as if he has the interests of union members at heart.

He has argued that 'unions must act for their members', and insisted that 'a Tory government would be prepared to talk to anyone'.

For Thatcher the importance of having Prior as part of the leadership is two-fold. First, as a one-time loyal follower of Heath, Prior's leadership position helps to unify the party.

More importantly, Prior can be projected as the 'acceptable face' of Tory union policy — as the man prepared to talk with, negotiate with, and respect the trade union leaders.

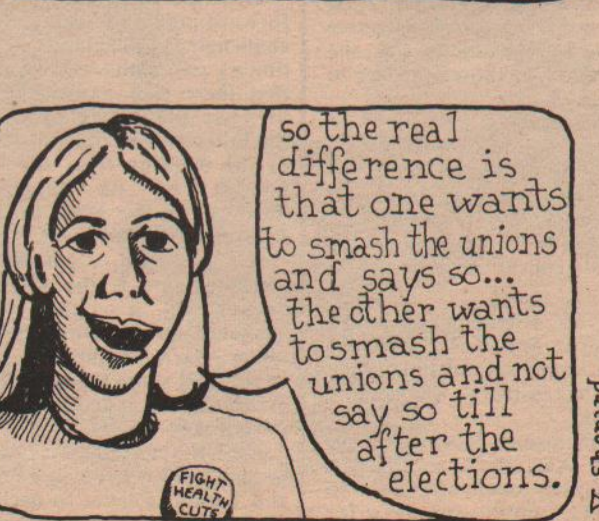
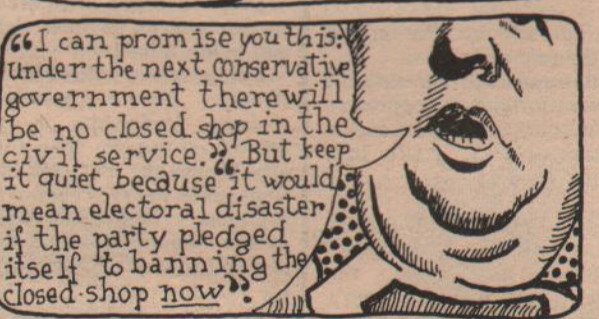
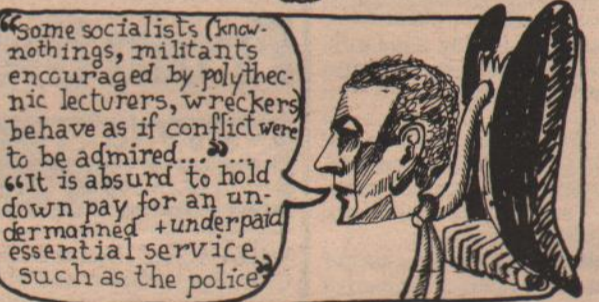
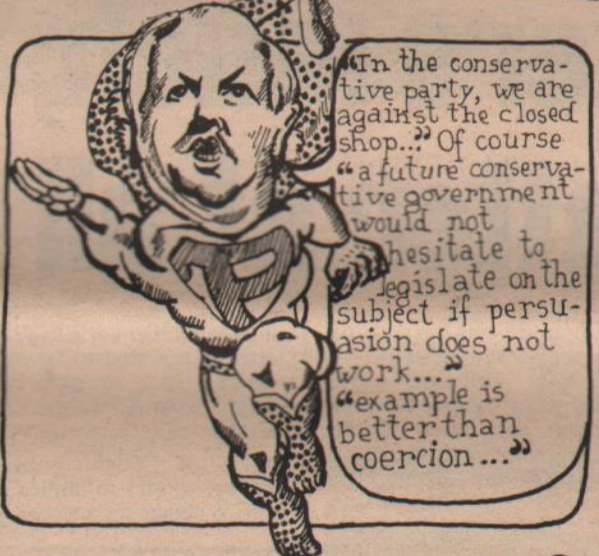
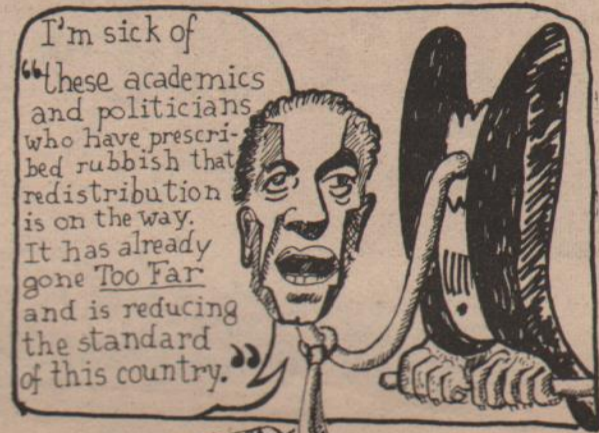
He gives the impression that he is against anti-union legislation and will do his best to avoid it if the Tories are in power. But he adds, almost reluctantly:

'The trade unions have to understand that British people believe in the rule of law and will not put up with the violence seen in the mass picketing at Grunwick.'

This type of approach — that 'the British people believe' — reinforces the image Prior is trying to create. He protests that he doesn't want to outlaw all that many union practices, but that he has to respect what the 'British people' want.

At times this pretence is dropped: 'Nowadays I am occasionally described — often by the same people who used to describe me as an arch hawk — as the biggest dove in the sky. Well, that's the way it is in politics, but I don't think I have changed my politics that much'.

Prior is right. It is not his politics that have changed from his days as the 'arch-hawk' of the Heath Cabinet; it's the way he has of putting them over.



## Keith Joseph

THE aim of having someone like Prior responsible for trade union policy is to try to 'persuade' the trade union leaders to be 'reasonable' and effectively police their rank and file.

But that aim only works if something much more horrible is waiting in the wings. Which is where Sir Keith Joseph comes in.

Joseph is one of Thatcher's closest associates, portrayed as the main 'theoretician' of the Tory Party. That theory is summarised in the following:

'...our industry, economic life and society has been so debilitated by 30 years of socialistic fashions that their very weakness tempts further inroads...

'The reality is that for 30 years, Conservative governments did not consider it practicable to reverse the vast bulk of accumulating detritus of Socialism... Socialist measures and Socialist attitudes have been very persuasive'.

Stated like that, it is no surprise that the prospect of a Joseph in power is so frightening. Someone who thinks that the Tories have been too 'socialistic' ever since the war, someone who insists that 'the only way Britain can compete is by having a relatively low pound and relatively low pay'.

Unlike Prior, Joseph explicitly stated his support for Grunwick boss George Ward; unlike Prior, he has explicitly stated that he would be in favour of banning the closed shop.

Joseph is not among those who think that the government's job is to provide aid for the sick, elderly and unemployed. For him the 'primary duties of government' are 'law and order, defence, protection against fire'.

For him a Tory government would be a signal for a return to the capitalism of the 1930s: 'The aim of Conservative policy would be to create the framework for industrial success — based on improved productivity and profitability.'

All the signs are that if the Tories are in office, and Prior's politics of persuasion do not 'deal' with the union leaders, then Prior and Thatcher will gladly hand the job to Joseph.

In that sense Prior and Joseph are just different sides of the same coin. Whichever side the coin comes up, it is working people who will lose.

## Wrong address

THE comment of the Evening Standard was most authoritative: 'The far left are grasping for power... by the same stealthy process they adopt elsewhere. They gain a foothold in the local Labour Party and burrow away tirelessly, forming secret caucuses and holding committee meetings behind closed doors.'

The editorial was discussing the events in Newham North-east Labour Party which have led to the resignation as Labour candidate of former Tribune Group chairperson James Dickens.

Dickens had demanded a unanimous vote of approval for his election address at his party's general management committee. He also insisted that the address be binding for five years — not just on him but on the entire constituency party.

Dickens won a majority, but only a small one. This wasn't surprising, as many at the GMC didn't approve of the address's support for such delights as the Concordat. It was then that Dickens walked out.

It is difficult to see how insisting on the right to vote against something is 'gaining power by stealth', but certainly Dickens' attitude contrasts with that of Callaghan.

The latter just ignores majority votes — like the many at Labour Party conferences on such things as opposition to wage controls and opposition to immigration controls. What wonderful people these defenders of democracy are.

## Watch your step

ACTIVISTS will have to watch their step in this election or risk prosecution under the electoral laws.

The 1949 Representation of the People Act rules that all propaganda during the election

## HELP KEEP THATCHER OUT: SUPPORT OUR FUND DRIVE

DURING this general election we will be faced with a barrage of support for the Tories in nearly all the national daily papers.

The Daily Mirror will tell us to vote Labour, but entirely on the basis of Callaghan/Healey policies. They certainly won't be giving any coverage to the Socialist Unity election campaign.

Socialist Challenge will be covering Socialist Unity's election campaign. It will be fighting for policies — such as troops out of Ireland, for women's rights and a woman's right to choose, against racism, against the Concordat, for youth rights, — which can begin to challenge, and pose a fighting alternative to, Labour's sell-outs.

But to do this effectively we need cash. We are entering a new financial quarter. We didn't make our fund drive target last quarter, and with the election we have even more than usual to do.

Make sure we can do it by sending in your donations.

This week's thanks to: Oldham SC group, £10; Birkenhead SC group, £10.50; J Dodd, £4; J Stevenson, £3; Paul Highfield, £4.50; Thomas Boushier, £1.65; 'Nobby's Deepdale Battlers', £2.

This week's total: £35.65. Total so far for quarter: £200.50.

I want to support the only paper campaigning for a genuine socialist alternative to Labour's policies. I enclose a cheque/PO/cash for £.....as a donation to the fighting fund.

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Address.....

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Send to: Socialist Challenge, c/o PO Box 50, London N1.

period (except registered publications like Socialist Challenge or the Daily Mirror!) which advocates support for a particular candidate must be declared on the election expenses of a candidate in that constituency.

But a recent ruling by Judge Peter Mason against SPUC leader Phyllis Bowman, arising out of the Ilford North by-election, went even further. The SPUC leaflet was deemed illegal because it specifically mentioned the Labour candidate's pro-abortion views within an anti-abortion leaflet.

The implication of this ruling is that if campaigning material which aims to highlight candidates' views is not declared on Labour, CP or Socialist Unity candidates' expenses, then no specific mention must be made of any candidate or their policies.

If you're in any doubt then consult a sympathetic solicitor or law centre. The Anti Nazi League took legal advice before finalising the text of their 'Say NO to the National Front' leaflet.

## The WRP's 'public'

THE Workers Revolutionary Party, who are standing along with Socialist Unity in Glasgow Queens Park, held a public meeting last week. Well, 'public' is not quite the right word, as three members of the International Marxist Group were not allowed in.

But three members of Provisional Sinn Fein were admitted, which almost took the attendance into double figures. Alas, these three were not there for too long either.

They asked the WRP speaker if his party was supporting the United Troops Out Movement/Sinn Fein demonstration in Glasgow on 20 April. Certainly not, came the reply — the nasty IMG were involved in the demo, and that ruled out WRP participation.

At this point the three members of Sinn Fein walked out.

# ELECTIONS

## Student democracy under attack

By Pamela Holmes

THE MAIN debate at this Easter's NUS conference will be on the union's constitution — 17 hours of it.

The right is reproducing the strategy it has for wrecking democracy in every other union directly into NUS.

Wherever general meetings and conferences have the right to decide policy or elect officials the Tories want to replace them with cross campus ballots and referenda.

The Broad Left leadership — rather than totally rejecting the Tories' framework — is leading its own offensive against participatory democracy.

Its main emphasis is on 'conferences of the institution'. These would be bodies of elected representatives having considerable power, blurring the democracy of general meetings.

These proposals tend towards re-establishing the old student representation councils, whose main role was to sap the mass campaigning activity of the student movement.

With conflicts between the decisions of general meetings and these 'conferences' it is easy to imagine campaigns being stunted at birth, with rancour and red-tape about which is the more representative decision.

The right in the NUS, as elsewhere, always talks of giving democratic control to the majority — what they call the 'apathetic majority'.

The left has always clearly argued that the way to increase democracy is to involve this majority in the mass campaigning activity of the union — explaining to them that union policy depends on real involvement through attending meetings and conferences.

In the NUS the only groups arguing this position are the Socialist Students Alliance and the Socialist Worker Student Organisation, and some sections of the National Organisation of Labour Students.

The Broad Left should come out in the open and make it clear whether they stand with the Tories or with the left.

The Broad Left's constitutional proposals will weaken the student movement's ability to defend its members' interests.

Particularly if the Tories are returned at the general election, it is vital that NUS is prepared to defend the interests of overseas students, help FE students fight college closures and generally to unite with the labour and trade union movement against attacks on their right to independent organisation and against public spending cuts.

A student union leadership which makes good relations with government its priority will be in no position to do this.

The Socialist Student Alliance candidates for the executive elections will be arguing that now more than ever — with the likelihood of a Tory victory — a socialist campaigning alternative to the Broad Left policies is needed in NUS.

# CONSERVATIVE

## THE NEXT GOVERNMENT



### CONSERVATIVE THE NEXT GOVERNMENT

## The Tory Manifesto

# 'Nothing' matters much; few things matter at all



LORDSALISBURY, a longtime Tory opponent of all reform in the 19th century, once defined Conservatism as the belief that 'nothing matters very much, and few things matter at all.'

As far as change was concerned, the Tory leader was equally blunt: 'All a Conservative could do was to moderate and delay such of it as he found repugnant, and when it happened to assimilate it as far as possible.'

By Tariq Ali

Today's Tory leaders are not so frank about their aims. They cannot afford to be. For the Empire has long since disappeared. The sun today hardly rises on the areas still dominated by British imperialism.

Britain is today a second-rate power, a country whose industry is in decline and whose world status has been virtually eclipsed. The British Foreign Secretary is regarded throughout the world as a monkey; people prefer to deal directly with the organ grinder in Washington.

The Tory manifesto in this election is accordingly a modest document. It lacks the inherited self-confidence of a Salisbury, the overweening arrogance of a Churchill, the quiet complacency of a Macmillan, or even the brashness of a Heath.

The fact of British political life today, however, is that the Labour government has moved so far to the right that it has forced the Tories even further right.

So how far will Thatcher be prepared to break the consensus if elected? It should be remembered that Heath, too, embarked on 'radical' Tory policies in 1970: he attacked the unions, tried to institutionalise anti-union laws, confronted the miners, and was defeated as a result.

Tory thinking today is that Heath embarked on his

confrontation without real ideological preparation. But some believe that the Labour government's inability to stem the tide of social and economic crisis has now laid the basis for a renewed assault on the labour movement's most hallowed institutions.

What is needed, however, is populist flair. The Tory experience in Australia and parts of Canada has been avidly studied by Conservative Central Office, as has the experience of the tax-cutting Proposition 13 in California.

Thatcher has already floated the idea of dealing with an updated version of the miners vs Heath confrontation by letting the 'people decide through a referendum'.

The aim of the Tories will be fairly simple. They will try to give the Concordat legal weight and will tackle trade union opposition with all the ideological weapons at their disposal.

Thatcher will try to defeat the industrial strength of the trade unions by hurling against it their political weaknesses. Moreover she will do so not in the 'aloof' style of Heath, but through a populist appeal to the middle classes, their passions inflamed by the **Daily Mail**, **Nationwide**, and **Any Questions**.

It is in this light that we should try to analyse what the Tory manifesto means. The five key tasks the Tories set themselves are as follows:

1. To restore the health of our economic and social life, by controlling inflation and striking a fair balance between the rights and duties of the trade union movement.

**This means:** More tax allowances for the private sector; more cuts in social expenditure and the welfare services; curbs on the trades unions; cuts in living standards for the overwhelming majority of working people.

2. To restore incentives so that hard work pays, success is rewarded, and genuine new jobs are created in an expanding economy.

**This means:** More unemployment.

3. To uphold Parliament and the rule of law.

**This means:** Further curbs on democratic rights; more powers for the police; more harassment of gays, blacks, youth and striking workers.

4. To support family life, by helping people to become home-owners, raising the standards of their children's education, and concentrating welfare services on the effective support of the old, the sick, the disabled and those who are in real need.

**This means:** Attacks on women; further restrictions on abortion; increased rents for council tenants; no SS payments for workers on strike; more emphasis on private education; etc.

5. To strengthen Britain's defences and work with our allies to protect our interests in an increasingly threatening world.

**This means:** Hotting up the Cold War; more money for weapons; more attention to NATO; more support for

whites in southern Africa. Even Carter is reported to be a bit worried by recent Tory statements on Africa!

These, then, are the five planks of Tory policies. Thatcher will try to implement them. Whether she succeeds or

not depends on the labour movement.

Callaghan and his government have paved the way for her. In the process of doing so they have demoralised a certain section of workers. But the fightback starts now.

## From the left press

### SOCIALIST PRESS

WHETHER Thatcher or Callaghan is elected on 3 May, workers face the prospect of further attacks on their rights and living standards.

But it is only through the struggle for a principled socialist leadership in the labour movement that these attacks can be defeated and steps taken towards ending the capitalist system whose crisis means mass unemployment and continuing exploitation of the working class.

Massive struggles by a forward moving working class challenging Callaghan's reactionary pay limits have shown that there is a yawning gulf between the aspirations and the independent class interests of the working class and the policies of its supposed 'leaders' at the head of the Labour Party and the TUC.

A powerful, combative working class is the decisive answer to a right wing Thatcher government, which, under such conditions, ... could soon share the same fate as Heath's hated 1970-74 government.

All Labour candidates must be pressed by union branches and Labour Parties to declare

themselves committed after the election — whatever the result — to campaigning for an emergency recall Labour Party conference to drive out the Callaghan clique and adopt socialist policies.

### BIG FLAME

LABOUR's policies have been disastrous, often barely distinguishable from the Tories. But what's the alternative?

Socialist Unity and a handful of independent left candidates will stand on a clear socialist platform in the general election. But nobody's pretending that this represents a real alternative to Labour at present.

For that to happen, there would have to be a massive break with Labour throughout the working class movement, and we're still a long way from that.

Big Flame will actively campaign for Socialist Unity and other left candidates — Pat Arrowsmith — and Brendan Gallagher — because our long term aim is to build a socialist alternative to Labour.

We do not support the return of a Tory government. Reluctantly therefore, we call for a vote for Labour where there is no Socialist Unity or similar candidate.

Photo: G.M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

# ELECTIONS

## The Callaghan Road Show

PRIME Minister James Callaghan was in the North-West last week. JONATHAN SILBERMAN describes a day on the 'campaign trail'.

### ACT ONE

10.15am, Tuesday 10 April. This is only the second day of the official Labour Party campaign, so the morning press conference in Manchester's plush Midland Hotel could be an important indicator of what is to come.

Along with Callaghan on the platform are Cabinet Ministers Stan Orme (an old Tribunit) and Joel Barnett (First Secretary to the Treasury and aspiring Chancellor of the Exchequer), and two local MPs — Alf Morris and Ann Taylor.

There is no hint of past political differences — they're all one happy family now. The idea is obviously to 'keep the press relaxed and happy'.

The first 'victim' of this jolly atmosphere is Ann Taylor. Press chuckles when Callaghan introduces her as a Labour whip turn into guffaws when he jokingly retorts: 'Let's not have any of your sadistic fantasies here.'

Thus the only woman involved in the proceedings is degraded from the start to little more than the object of male sexual fantasies.

And when she comes to speak, her subject is 'young families'. 'Any indication that you're intending to start one?', quips Callaghan, now turning her from prospective MP into prospective mother-to-be...

It is left to Callaghan to deal with the 'big' issues. Staggeringly, he chooses the question of unemployment.

'A vote for Labour is a vote for your job', he declares, claiming that training schemes, employment subsidies and the like have saved over one million jobs.

No-one challenges such figures. No-one points out the reality of unemployment in the North-West today, including the devastation of the very textile industry which has



Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

allegedly been so well protected.

No-one questions them about why the Labour government has poured millions of pounds into propping up private industry instead of nationalising it under workers control if it can't provide jobs.

No-one, in fact, is very much interested in anything! There is silence after three or four questions. 'Anyone else?', asks Sunny Jim. I ask him if he considers that Ireland is an issue in the election.

What does he think of the Bennett Report on the torture of Irish prisoners? What about the troops? And so on...

Once again Callaghan rambles on: 'We want to pursue a policy that will ensure that everyone in that country can live in peace. Today their lives are being torn asunder ...'

'As regards the Bennett Report, it is not anyone's desire that any prisoner should suffer maltreatment by the forces of law and order... A future Labour government will implement every proposal in the report...

'I'm not sure that Ireland will be an issue in the campaign.'

The press conference ends on these words. Everything has gone according to plan — almost. For the slight irritation is obvious. 'What paper do you represent?' asks Callaghan. 'Socialist Challenge' ... 'Oh, very good, very good...'

### ACT TWO

2pm. We're told that the afternoon is to be spent electioneering. A small demonstration of striking civil servants greets Callaghan as he leaves the Midland Hotel.

Sunny Jim doesn't stop to explain why the civil servants should support him...

First stop is Glossop in a Tory marginal, High Peak. Arriving at 2.30pm, Callaghan shakes hands and signs a few autographs in the Labour Club, and then makes a three-minute speech from a first floor window to a crowd

of some 150 adults and young children gathered outside in the rain.

His main concern seems to be a national scheme of concessionary travel passes that Labour would introduce. There is some applause; a few local workers shout: 'We're only voting for you because Thatcher's worse.' He leaves in a hurry.

Next stop is Moss Side, a constituency with some very working class areas which form the basis of Labour's slim majority. Callaghan stays well away from them, heading instead for the quiet suburban back street where Labour candidate George Morton lives.

Then it's out again to a meeting of party activists and their children in Winston Churchill's Tory marginal, Stretford.

By 4pm it's back to the Midland Hotel for another TV session, this time with a bunch of 'first time voters'. We try to get in on the act — but Callaghan isn't keen.

### ACT THREE

7.30pm. Callaghan is due to speak in Stockport, just south of Manchester.

It's significant in the election primarily because of what happened in Stockport South Labour Party after the sitting MP, Maurice Orbach, was implicated in the Peachey scandal and stood down.

The ensuing battle for the Labour nomination was very dirty indeed. Most of the work to ensure the success of Callaghan's political adviser, Tom McNally, was done from Transport House.

There is no mistaking why the 900-strong rally has been organised. 'We've got to forget the local differences we've had in the past', explains district chairperson Colin Campbell. McNally, he says, is 'the best candidate for the job'.

But to get into the hall the

audience has to pass a 60-strong demonstration called by Socialist Unity to attack the government's record on Ireland and the economy.

The demonstration takes place inside the hall as well. As Callaghan rises to speak, so does the Socialist Unity candidate for Manchester Ardwick, Jeff West.

Callaghan responds immediately: 'This is clearly a staged demonstration designed to catch the attention of the press.'

'They have come here to state their point of view but they should do so at the appropriate time — at question time. They are as undemocratic as they are unrepresentative...'

And to prove how representative democracy works, Labour Party officials then eject Jeff and hand him over to the police.

There is, of course, to be no question time. The chairperson has already announced this earlier. And so members of the audience demand right through Callaghan's speech that he answer their questions — on Ireland, unemployment, the civil servants, the health service, and so on.

Callaghan makes no attempt to reply. Instead he waffles on about Labour's manifesto proposals to give free TV licences to pensioners, to introduce a home-loan scheme for first-time house buyers, to index pensions.

Finally, he returns to the theme on which he began the day: unemployment. Somehow he fails to repeat his earlier claim of a million jobs saved — perhaps because official Transport House leaflets have been distributed outside putting the figure at only 300,000.

'Britain must belong to the people', Sunny Jim concludes. 'Not yet. But it will do...'

'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs... We've got the chance to go forward if we take it...'

And then, seemingly acting on his own advice, he took his chance and left.

## Killing the Concordat in Hull

By Andy Holland and Noel Hibbert, ASTMS members on Hull Trades Council

IT'S ONLY too easy to write the election speeches of most of the candidates when it comes to what are euphemistically called industrial relations.

Callaghan's supporters will wave the Concordat and say the labour leaders are anxious that union power should not be used 'irresponsibly'.

They will not find it so easy in Hull. The Anti-Concordat campaign got off to a good start here when nine trades council executive members added their names to the growing list of sponsors.

Now Hull Trades Council has overwhelmingly carried a motion to recall the TUC over the issue. A mood of anger at the meeting increased when Socialist Challenge supporters explained the full implications of the Concordat.

As one delegate put it: 'I don't mind the TUC and the government taking away my need to strike, but what I object to is their removing my right to strike.'

The Socialist Unity election campaign in Hull is taking the message of the Anti-Concordat into the workplaces and onto the streets.

Supporters leafleted a mass meeting of civil servants held during the one-day strike on 2 April, and we held street meetings to publicise a 'Kill the Concordat, Defend our unions' meeting on 12 April.

Speakers included John Suddaby, secretary of Camden NUPE general branch, and Pauline Stanton, a trades council executive member and Socialist Unity candidate for Hull Central.

Every Labour candidate should be asked where she or he stands, and called on to back the demand for the recall of the TUC and Labour Party Conference.

That's the way to remove the right-wing leaders who have overturned the policies these conferences have voted for, and adopt new policies for the fightback.

Order your copy of the Anti-Concordat from Socialist Challenge [25p plus 10p p&p].

Additional signatories from Hull for the Anti-Concordat. The following are Hull Trades Council delegates: Peter Maron, NUPE; Noel Hibbert, ASTMS; Martin Shaw, AUT; Jane Stageman, ASTMS; Ken Bore, NUT; A Gardiner, FTAT; A. Baher, NALGO; L Braithwaite, NGA branch secretary; R Swindale, SCPS; D Palmer, SCPS; R Batty, NALGO; John Niedham, GMWU convener; Ross Fish; R McLaren, NALGO; P Clark, FTAT; L Forbes, TGWU 1064; J Gordon, GMWU; E Blakeston, NUT; J Collinson, NUT; A Story, ASTMS; Elliot Morley, NUT; G Percy, NUSLAT; Gerry Chant, TGWU; Gordon Castleton, GMWU; T Hopkinson, ASTMS Reckitt's; John Atkinson, ASTMS General Branch secretary.

Other Hull signatories: Mike Power, TGWU 1064; Margaret Nix, GMWU steward; Jim Ryder TGWU 1015A; Dave Dick, TGWU 1015A steward; Johnny Shields, AUEW dist. cttee; R Hill, TGWU 1064; Phil Gillatt, TGWU, secretary, Sandersons strike cttee; C Mottram, Sandersons strike cttee; Keith Sinclair, NUT; Les James, GMWU steward Ross Fish; C Burt, ASTMS Reckitt's; Pat McMullen, NUR and Labour councillor; G Hewson, GMWU.



Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

## ELECTIONS

# Mention Ireland and it's 'threatening behaviour'

PAT Arrowsmith, the Independent Socialist candidate contesting Callaghan's seat in South-east Cardiff with the support of Socialist Unity, was arrested on Saturday while addressing shoppers through a loud-hailer on Labour's Irish policy.

After being told to 'move on' by the police, Pat pointed out that she was an election candidate, that she had a democratic right to campaign, and that her electors had a democratic right to hear what she had to say.

This argument did not impress the police, who arrested Pat and carried her bodily into a waiting police car. She was later charged with 'insulting words likely to cause

a breach of the peace' and two obstruction charges.

Pat's arrest follows that of a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Group's journal Hands Off Ireland at a Callaghan meeting on 11 April at Upminster.

He was charged with threatening behaviour after shouting 'Labour's torturers, hands off Ireland'.

That heckling has now become 'threatening behaviour', and that trying to speak in public is 'obstruction', are further examples of the determination of the authorities to silence critics of the government's Irish policy.

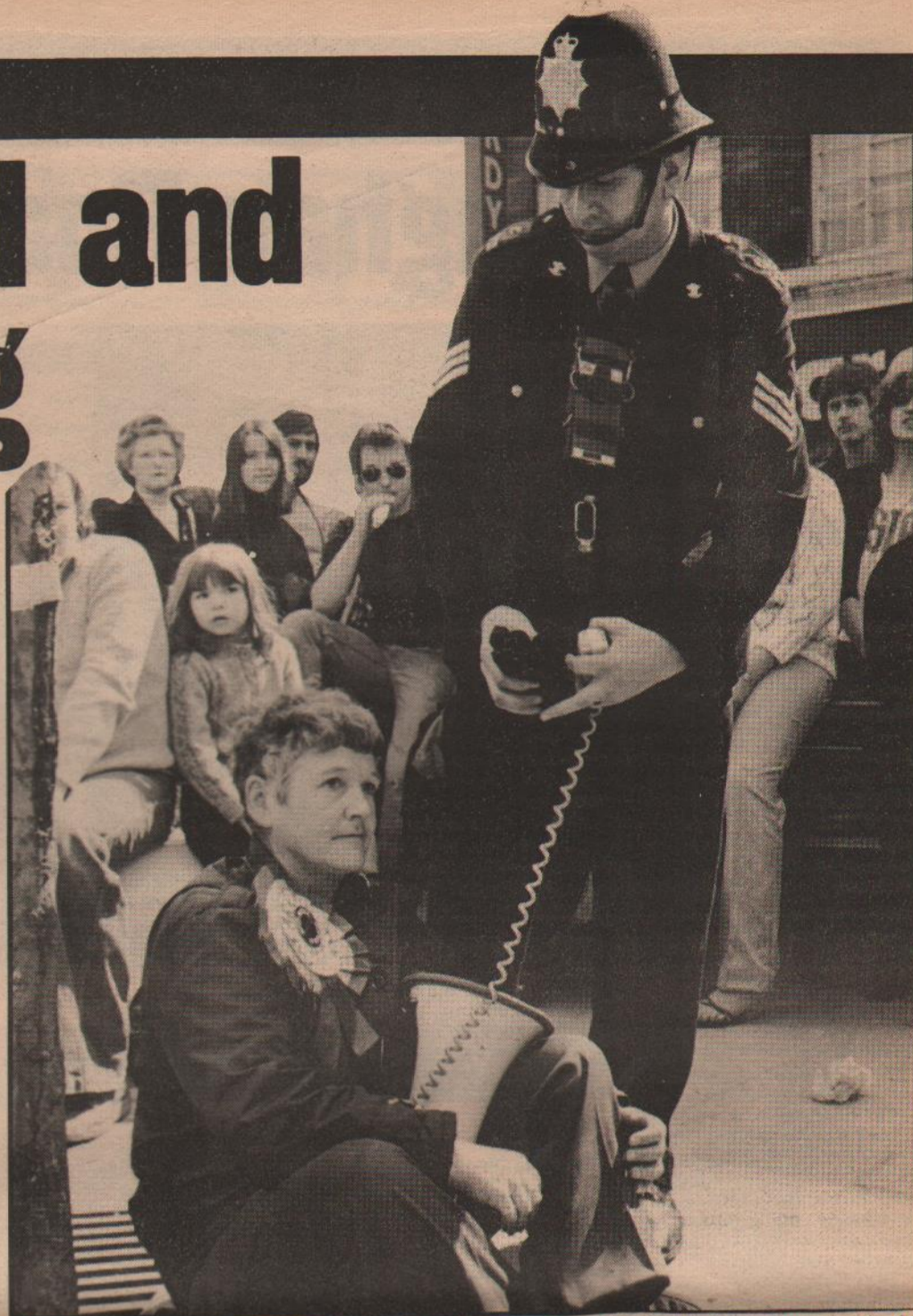
In a press statement the 'Make Ireland an Election Issue' campaign declared: 'These latest arrests will only

strengthen our determination to expose Labour's record on Ireland.'

Pat Arrowsmith showed her determination was not blunted when she adopted a policy of non-cooperation during her four hours in police custody. She refused to give her name, address or answer any questions.

She also 'did an H Block' when she urinated in a police cell and used the police charge-sheet as a substitute for toilet paper.

Because Pat is determined to exercise her democratic rights and continue to campaign during the election period she was too busy to appear in court on 18 April, although she was represented by a solicitor.



No, the sergeant is not organising the candidate's personal security, but trying to move her in the direction of Cardiff nick.

Photo: CHRIS GREGORY

## Socialist Unity Resources thrown behind East End demo

By Mick Gosling  
SOCIALIST Unity's election campaign in Bethnal Green and Bow has got off to a lively start with well-received street meetings over the weekend in the Spitalfields ward. In this area SU has taken 20 per cent of the vote in consecutive local elections.

The fight against racism is at the forefront of SU's campaign in an area which includes Brick Lane and is to be graced with the presence of NF leader Martin Webster for this election.

All SU's resources will be thrown behind a demonstration in Hackney and Tower Hamlets on Sunday 29 April which aims

to march through the constituencies where Webster and Tyndall are standing.

Sponsorship so far has come from the Hackney & Tower Hamlets Defence Committee, Newham Defence Committee, Hackney Committee Against Racism, North Hackney Anti Nazi League, Tower Hamlets Movement Against Racism and Fascism, West Indian Standing Conference, the Association of Jamaicans in the UK, North London West Indian Association, and Hackney CRE.

Although the demonstration was first proposed by Socialist Unity candidate Ray Varnes at a meeting on unionisation

organised by the South-East region of the TUC, Ray is at pains to explain that it is far from being simply an SU initiative:

'Our main concern is to get all the anti-racist and defence organisations working together during and after the election.'

'It would be a disgrace if a clear answer to the leading NF hate-merchants wasn't given in this area because of the divisions that exist in the anti-racist movement.'

'That is why we hope that all local ANLs and the ANL nationally will come in behind this demonstration — on the anniversary of the 80,000-strong Carnival 1 which marched through these very streets.'

The demonstration will assemble at 12 noon in Shoreditch Park, New North Road, Hoxton (Old Street tube).

Socialist Unity is also circulating an open letter to the sitting Labour MP, Ian Mikardo, challenging him to a public debate on Labour's record on racism where he can say where he stands and what he has done about the racist immigration laws, the 'sus' laws, and the racist police harassment of black people in the East End.

SU's major election rally and festival will take place from 4pm onwards on Sunday 29 April at Robert Montefiore school, Vallance Road, E1. Speakers will include SU candidates Tariq Ali and Ray Varnes, and music will be provided by the Resisters and Charge.

## Glasgow SU fights threat to Irish march

By Walter McLellan  
Socialist Unity candidate, Glasgow Queens Park IRELAND has been at the centre of the Socialist Unity campaign in Glasgow Queens Park.

So far we have put out more than 500 posters and 3,000 leaflets for this Saturday's demonstration organised by the United Troops Out Movement and supported by Sinn Fein, which is due to march through the constituency.

But the Loyalist thugs who have pledged to stop it have now found more respectable allies in the shape of Councillor Ross McKay, Tory parliamentary candidate for Glasgow Springburn.

Along with 20 other Tory councillors, McKay has called for the banning of the march, describing it as 'an outrage and an insult to every law-abiding citizen in the city'.

As the UTOM have pointed

out, this not only challenges the democratic right of those opposed to Britain's presence in Ireland to demonstrate, but aids those who want to prevent the march physically.

McKay himself has warned of a counter-demonstration, and he should know. A member of the NF while at Glasgow University, he has retained his links with both the far right and the Loyalists.

In a press release Glasgow UTOM has stated that it will 'organise in the labour movement against any attempts at a ban'. Socialist Unity is calling on its Labour opponent in Queens Park, government minister Frank McElhone, to issue a joint statement opposing any ban on the march.

With 80,000 Strathclyde youth unemployed, Glasgow is a happy hunting ground for the British Army recruiting sergeant. As part of its campaign

SU has therefore leafleted schools and held meetings outside showing what the Army is really about — not the skiing and sun of the ads, but killing and being killed in Ireland.

The socialist youth paper **Revolution** is also organising school students to join the SU contingent on Saturday's march.

Queens Park is the image of what Labour's policies mean for working people, with its slums old and new, its poor services and high unemployment.

Socialist Unity has offered a platform to both civil servants and teachers currently fighting Labour's wage limits as part of its campaign to build an ongoing opposition to the continued attacks which can be expected from either a Tory or a Labour government.

## EVENTS

**MANCHESTER** Socialist Festival, Sat 28 April, starts 2pm at Birch Lane Community Centre, Rusholme, South Manchester. Stalls/jumble sale/entertainments/music/discussion. Evening £1 (75p wageless): hot meal from 5.30pm/women's disco/Red Flu/Manchester's top reggae band — Messangana. Organised by SU.

**HULL:** SU benefit bop, Fri 27 April, White Lion Hotel, Lombard St. (opp. bus stn.). 8pm onwards. Bar extension to 11.30pm. Tickets 50p from Bofs or SU supporters. Also May Day eve disco, Mon 30 April, Waltham Club, Norfolk St. Late bar. All welcome.

### International Marxist Group

#### PUBLIC MEETING

'For a Labour government, but fight for a socialist alternative'

Friday 27 April, 7.30pm

Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London NW1

ALTERNATIVE POLICIES DON'T GROW ON TREES. DONATE NOW

# IRELAND

## All together

THERE IS a real goodie for the people of the North of Ireland in Labour's election manifesto.

It has not yet attracted the attention it deserves, but if it is implemented a couple of thousand people in the North of Ireland will be better off in the next few years.

For tucked away rather modestly on page 15 of the manifesto is Labour's promise that it will 'raise the burial grant to a more realistic level'.

By Geoff Bell

Apart from that pledge of future assistance for the relatives of victims of Britain's presence in the North of Ireland, the manifestos of all the major parties do no more than offer an action replay of the consensus on repression which has been played out for the last ten years.

For Labour, 'There is an essential role for the army in protecting the people of Northern Ireland'.

For the Tories, the 'courage, resolution and restraint of the Security Forces' will be given 'the highest priority'.

As for the Liberals, 'there must be no capitulation to violence' — and they don't mean the violence of the British Army.

The violence of that army is denounced in the manifesto of the Communist Party. 'We

condemn the terrorist acts of the British Army and its associates' is the 12-word sentence.

A further five-word condemnation is given to 'Loyalist paramilitary groups'. But the body of the collective condemnation, 23 words in all, is reserved for the target of the other manifestos:

'We also condemn the bombing campaign of the Provisional IRA, which kills and injures innocent people and plays into the hands of reaction.'

The logic of this argument is simple. If the IRA 'plays into the hand of reaction', then doesn't this mean, in the words of the Tory manifesto, that the North of Ireland's 'future still depends on the defeat of terrorism and the restoration of law and order? Or put it another way. It, in



'A better life for all' — CP's ill-fated substitute for troop withdrawal.

the words of the Communist Party's manifesto, 'Britain should ensure a democratic solution in Northern Ireland', then surely it can endorse Labour's promise that 'direct rule remains the only viable alternative. Any change can be made only with the consent of the people of Northern Ireland. We will work to make it more accountable and democratic.'

Or the Tories' promise that 'we shall maintain the union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in accordance with the wish of the majority in the Province.'

The key word is 'democracy', the key concept is 'democratic rights'. Labour's assurance is that it will accept the recommendations of the Bennett Committee, 'and we will

see that they are carried out as quickly as possible to make ill-treatment impossible'.

The same hope of making 'impossible' the nasty things which Britain has done in Ireland for the last 800 years is contained in the Communist Party's solution of a Bill of Rights to ensure 'full democratic rights and civil liberties'.

That the Communist Party still comes up with the Bill of Rights solution suggests that it has the same bland disregard as the major parties for what has been going on in the North of Ireland for the last ten years.

It is already illegal to 'ill-treat' prisoners, it is already illegal to shoot innocent people, it is even illegal to shoot Republicans unless there is a life at stake.

But all these 'illegalities' are committed day in and day out by the British in Northern Ireland.

Just what do the authors of the Bill of Rights solution imagine would happen? Perhaps as a prisoner's eardrums are about to burst, one member of the RUC will scream a warning: 'Hey we can't do that, it's against the Bill of Rights'.

To be fair to the Communist Party, it does 'recognise the right of the majority of the people of Ireland to rule their own country'. But it does not say just when it intends to recognise that right in practice.

There is of course the tired old formula of the 'withdrawal of British troops to barracks.' But the British Army was in its barracks in the North of

Ireland from the end of the Second World War until 1969, when one order from James Callaghan sent them onto the streets again.

A final comparison between the manifestos can be made. The couple of hundred words in the Communist Party's coverage of Ireland, and its eight paragraphs under the heading 'Defend and extend democracy', do not include the words 'Prevention of Terrorism Act'.

Nor do the words 'H Block' appear in its section on the North of Ireland.

The Communist Party shares that omission with the Liberals, Labour and Tories. There are times when silence says more than a dozen manifestos can.

## Brendan Gallagher - 'tapping Mason on his shoulder'

WHILE the parliamentary candidate for Barnsley was speaking at a public meeting in North Islington's Archway Tavern last Thursday, two gentlemen were seen in the pub's carpark noting down the numbers.

As the candidate in question was Brendan Gallagher, what the gentlemen were up to does not need spelling out.

Gallagher has been arrested — though never charged — 183 times in the last couple of years as he has travelled to and from Ireland campaigning on behalf of the political prisoners and on the need to get British troops out of his count.

Add to that his personal involvement in H Block — his

son Willie is a blanket prisoner — and it is easy to understand why Gallagher is standing against Roy Mason and why he is determined to 'make Ireland an issue' in the general election.

Brendan summed up his attitude at his opening press conference in Barnsley on 10 April. 'I know this is a single issue campaign', he said, 'but it is on the single most important issue facing the British people.'

'Their rulers have shamed and endangered their freedom — now they can vote for freedom and justice.'

The feeling behind those words is evident whenever Brendan speaks in public.

He does not plead his case, he tends to shout it angrily. He does not ask for help in driving Britain out of Ireland, he demands it. There is no subtlety about Brendan Gallagher.

The climax of the Barnsley election is scheduled for 30 April, when a public meeting is planned at which Shrewsbury picket Des Warren, playwright John Arden, and journalist Paul Foot are expected to speak.

Brendan will also have spoken in over a dozen constituencies nationally before the election is over — chiefly those in which Socialist Unity is standing.

He is calling for a vote for

Socialist Unity and for Pat Arrowsmith, who is taking on Callaghan in Cardiff and is currently on tour with Brendan.

But whether in Barnsley or elsewhere, Gallagher's message is the same. He explains how prisoners are 'ill-treated' in Long Kesh, and how they only ended up there because of no-jury courts and convictions beaten out of them.

'This', says Brendan, 'is the British justice approved by Mason and the British parliament. When the whole truth is revealed, won't the British people feel the same sense of shame that the Germans have shown following the screening of *Holocaust*?'

If that sounds rather extreme, it is worth bearing in mind what Dr Robert Irwin said when he first revealed aspects of the police torture in the North of Ireland. Irwin prophesied that 'when the whole truth is known it will shake British society to its foundations'.

Gallagher is not as respectable a figure as Irwin. He is only a lorry driver from a place called Strabane, which just happens to have the highest unemployment rate of any town in the EEC.

Still, whatever happens in the election, the suspicion is that Mason will breathe a hefty sigh of relief when it is all over.



For on 8 April, Mason was seen to turn a paler shade of white when into a pub where he was drinking came Brendan and a couple of campaign workers. Mason was the one to drink up and leave.

Yet even after the election, insists Gallagher, he will be 'tapping Mason on his shoulder'. Anyone who has ever met Brendan would say that 'tapping' is somewhat of an understatement.

## Memorial meeting for Jim Masters

A MEMORIAL meeting in memory of Jim Masters, who died last December, will be held on Friday 20 April at 7.30pm.

Jim was an active revolutionary for all his adult life. Starting political work in the Communist Party, he later spent many years in the Socialist Labour League and then the Workers Socialist League.

About two years ago, he became an independent militant. This wasn't a retreat into passivity. He openly supported the non-sectarian project of Socialist Challenge in a letter in the early issues.

But his main priority was always support for the struggle of the Irish people. In practice this meant working with the Prisoners Aid Committee defending the Irish prisoners

of war.

Sadly, despite all the contributions he was making to the movement, he was unable to overcome what he used to call the 'frenzy within', and in December last year he finished his own life.

Friends and comrades of Jim are gathering this Friday, at Conway Hall to honour his memory.

# IMMIGRATION - THE PROBLEM IS RACISM



By Geoffrey Sheridan

FOR much of Britain's black population, the immigration laws that the Labour leaders want to maintain and the Tories have promised to toughen mean the permanent fear of a midnight visit from the police, followed by detention without trial or the right of appeal, and then deportation if the authorities consider that the person is an 'illegal' immigrant.

Since the 1971 Immigration Act became law, over 5,000 people have been held for deportation. One of those is 17-year-old Abdul Azad, who was arrested at work in Oldham last October on the day his mother was murdered. The police claim that blood tests show he is not the son of his parents.

This is Abdul's story. It is just one of the thousands that could be told, although this one has a difference. The campaign to defend Abdul has so far prevented his deportation.

On 4 October, a Wednesday, I went out of the house at about 1.20pm — myself and my cousin. I went off to work in the van. At about 9.30pm the foreman called me and said, 'Go downstairs'. I went. There were two policemen waiting. I said, 'What happened?'. They said, 'Your mum is dead', and they took me to the police station, saying they had to ask me some questions.

I was crying till about midnight. I couldn't believe it. I saw my mum that very morning. She asked me to go a bit late because my brother was crying.

The police started questioning me on the Thursday morning — which people visit our house, etc. They swore at me, called me 'black bastard' and said I had smashed the window of the cell. They kept me all day in the cell. Once they came in to take my photograph and fingerprints. I asked, 'Will you let me go?'

They had given me nothing to eat all day. They searched me again and again.

They let me go on Thursday night but they came back on Friday morning at 9.45am and said 'Come with us for a while'. And then they started questioning me, all about my sister's address, etc. I answered them. They said I was a liar: 'Black bastard, you're

**'I was very scared. I wept. I asked the police "Why are you hitting me?"'**

**- Abdul Azad, 17, detained as an 'illegal' immigrant**

telling lies!'

They pulled my hair, pushed me around, and then threw me in the cell. I said, 'I want to go home'. They didn't let me. They didn't let me eat anything on Friday either. They wanted to see my little brother and said I won't be allowed to see anyone.

On the Saturday night, for the first time, they brought me some chips. I had no water or tea to drink. They tore my hair...handfuls of hair. They had to throw them outside.

I was very scared. I wept. I asked them, 'Why are you hitting me?'. They made no answer...just kept hitting me. I felt confused. My head was swimming. I felt sick and my stomach hurt with pain. I could not make out what went wrong...everything was normal that morning.

From the Friday onwards, they started saying 'They are not your parents'. Saturday or Sunday, I can't remember when, they made me sign a paper. They said if I didn't sign, they would hit me more.

At about one o'clock in the night, three of them came. One looked like a boss. He said, 'Kill him!'. I was hit so much I felt sick. Then they took me upstairs. They hit me again and made me sign the paper.

It was probably Sunday or Monday. I was swaying. One of the police bosses noticed that and said, 'What's wrong with you?' I said, 'I've had nothing to eat'. He got me some chips and peas.

That's how it went till 14 October, the tenth day, when they let me see my father, for the first time, for ten or fifteen minutes. The next day they took me to our old house to question me. They hit me and then took me first to Manchester Airport and then to Risley. That's where I was held for months and months without trial.

I have been temporarily released from Risley three times, the last time was on 19 March.

Now I have to report at the local police station.

I haven't seen my mum since she died. They didn't let me see her dead body even for once.

I can't understand why they made me go through all these unjust pains, instead of trying to get my mother's murderer.

Abdul Azad was due to be deported on 16 March, but mobilisation by the Bengali community in Oldham, other Asians, and anti-racists put a stop to that. An 80-strong picket of Risley Remand centre in Cheshire on 17 March secured Abdul's release from the centre the following day, but that — like the lifting of the deportation order itself — is only temporary.

When 300 marched through Oldham on 24 March, led by Abdul and his father, the chant was: 'Here to stay, here to fight. Hands off Abdul Azad!'

The march did more than call for the withdrawal of the deportation order — it demanded the scrapping of the immigration laws. Labour's candidate in Oldham, Michael Meacher, has not gone along with that. He supports Abdul's case — provided his parentage is proven. Otherwise, Meacher considers, he should be treated like any other 'illegal' immigrant.

Meacher, a Tribuneite, no doubt condemns the violence that Abdul Azad received at the hands of the police. He may not approve of the house-to-house inquiries made throughout the Bengali community in the Oldham area by the police in their search — not for the murderer of Abdul's mother — but for 'illegal' immigrants. He may not be too happy that a search was made of all the Bengalis' employment records.

Unfortunately, the Tories will have no difficulty in justifying these activities in the hallowed name of the Immigration Acts. After all, how else could these laws be implemented?

'Firm immigration control for the future is essential if we are to achieve good community relations,' the Tory manifesto declares. It is not racism that is to be confronted, but the rights of black people — with a severity that is heralded by Labour's own policies, although not quite matched by them.

The Tories promise 'firm action against illegal immigrants and overstayers'. While they reject compulsory repatriation — the policy advocated by the National Front — they will 'help those immigrants who genuinely wish to leave this country'.

By 'immigrants' the Tories are referring to black people who have made Britain their home, quite apart from those who were born here. And we can be certain that racists and the police would be more than willing to

help them make up their minds to leave. It is a first step to compulsory repatriation.

None of the main political parties will have a word to say about the real reasons why blacks come to Britain; that Britain's plunder of its colonies ensured that the economies of these countries are still tied to the capitalist West, making poverty the norm.

The Tory manifesto identifies other areas where a Thatcher government will make Labour's policies that much more tough and oppressive: by introducing a register of all those entitled to settlement; ending the 'concession' of allowing husbands and male fiancés to come to Britain; and 'severely restricting' the issue of work permits.

The Tories go further than Labour, but it is along the same path. Work permits are a good example. A year ago these were ended for unskilled migrants in hotels and catering, as a result of TUC pressure. The labour leaders should ask the Garners restaurant workers who have been on strike for 16 months what they think about this measure.

Instead of policies to confront unemployment, low pay, and the need for unionisation, the labour leaders scapegoat people who have no responsibility for the crisis of an economic system tailored to the interests of just one small section of society: the bosses.

It is not a question of liberalising the immigration laws. So long as they remain on the statute books, black people and not the system will be identified as a 'problem'.

The Anti Nazi League in Greater Manchester is showing how the issue of the immigration laws can be taken up during the election campaign. In conjunction with the Abdul Azad Defence Committee, it is holding meetings in Tameside, Oldham, and Ardwick to demand the scrapping of the Immigration Acts.

A rally will be held in Oldham on Sunday, 29 April, at which the speakers will be Colin Barnett, secretary of the North-west TUC; Mr Khan, president of the Oldham Bangladeshi; and representatives from Bradford Asian Youth and the ANL.

The rally begins at 4.30pm at St Andrews Hall, Winterbottom Street, off Middleton Road, Oldham.



## Confronting the Front

FRONT leaders Martin Webster and John Tyndall, who are standing in London constituencies, will be receiving a welcome they don't want when they plan to speak at public meetings in London over the next few days. This is the line up.

Wandsworth, 18 April, ANL So London mobilisation. Assen 5.30pm opposite Battersea Town Hall, Lavender Hill, SW11.

Islington, 20 April, ANL So London mobilisation. 6.30pm out Islington Town Hall, Upper Street. Thirty of Islington's Labour councillors are signing a petition demanding that the NF is not allowed to hold a meeting in the town hall.

Southall, 22 April. Demonstration against the NF meeting the following day, backed by a large number of Asian organisations, the ANL and Socialist Unity.

It begins at 1pm, at the Dominion cinema car park, The Green, Southall. On 23 April, a general strike in the area has been called to begin at 1pm, with a mass sit-down to start at 5pm outside Southall Town Hall, in the Broadway.

## Coventry Carnival

By Will Reese

PLANS to hold an anti-racist carnival in Coventry last year had to be cancelled when the Tory-controlled council refused to grant a central venue. But with support from the Labour group on the council, we have support for a carnival this year on April.

The trades council has agreed





# Black people will support Labour, but not as passive footsoldiers

By Ahmed Yusef

WOULD YOU rather be hit on the head with a hammer or slowly strangled to death? For black people in Britain, the choice between Labour and the Tories looks like that option. Whichever of these parties has been in power, the black experience has been the same.

The midnight knock and being taken to a detention centre as an 'illegal immigrant'. Watching our youth being subjected to continual police harassment on the streets, and labelled as 'muggers' and 'criminals'.

Doing the thankless, monotonous, dirty jobs which they could not fill with white workers.

While the politicians prattle about 'immigration' and 'race relations', we say the issue is racism. The question is how to make racism an issue in the elections. How do we, as black people, project our struggle and our demands on to the stage of national electoral politics?

Traditionally, the large majority of the black communities have placed their trust in Labour. After all, it was Labour which backed colonial independence in the period following the Second World War. But more importantly, because Labour has always claimed to be the party of socialist politics, and black people know that our struggle for liberation cannot be divorced from the prospects for socialist advance for the working class as a whole.

There are other reasons. Throughout the '60s and early '70s, Labour presented a coherent set of reformist policies designed to tackle racial discrimination, from the Race Relations Acts to the setting up of the community relations councils and the present Commission for Racial Equality.

Coupled with policies on urban renewal and multi-cultural education, and an effort to co-opt some local black leaders into the hierarchy of the Labour Party and the 'race relations industry', that sums up Labour's record.

The Labour leaders will want to present this as an anti-racist record, but black people will be drawing a different balance sheet and coming to different political conclusions.

We remember Labour's inability to counter press hysteria over the 'Malawi Asians story', which led directly to the death of our brother Gurdip Singh Chaggar in Southall. We remember Labour's defence of the police operations in Notting Hill, Lewisham and Ladywood, against black people.

We know the Virk brothers were convicted for the 'crime' of defending themselves against racist attack.

We know Abdul Azad and the other brothers and sisters who languish in detention centres, and of the so-called virginity tests which have been carried out on black women. This adds up to a very different picture from that painted by the Labour government and its apologists.

No faith can be placed in the anti-racist pretensions of the labour leaders. The left wing of the Labour Party, sadly, has proved no more capable than Callaghan or Rees of

defending the interests of black people. While they regularly surpass themselves in chauvinist calls for import controls, we get not a whimper of an organised opposition to Callaghan's racist policies.

In 1976, the Labour Party conference passed an extremely fine resolution which called for the repeal of the Immigration Acts and for building labour movement support for black self-defence. A fine resolution it has remained, locked away from public view by Transport House like an insane relative.

There are those who say we have to vote Labour because the Tories will be so much worse. But no government in post-war Britain has done more to fuel the racist inferno than the Labour government.

Of course, black people cannot turn to the Tories, the party of big business, or to the Liberals, the party of irrelevant business. Should we then say a plague on all their houses?

Such a reaction on our part would be understandable, but in the last analysis of no use to the struggle for black liberation. As black people we have a fundamental stake in the fight for a genuine socialist alternative, which takes as its starting point the interests of the exploited and oppressed.

How to build such a socialist alternative — that is the key question in these elections. Because the best conditions for building an alternative are created by the fight of the workers movement against its own reformist leaders, we stand for the return of a

Labour government.

The way in which we fight for the return of a Labour government and for a socialist alternative is the opposite of what the Labour leaders want us to do.

Black people will no longer be content to act as passive footsoldiers and vote for a Labour Party which is riddled with racism from top to bottom. Instead we take our own struggles forward. Every Labour hopeful must be confronted by black people with the question: 'Are you for or against our fight'.

Will they pledge themselves to scrap the immigration laws? Will they condemn police harassment of the youth? Will they unconditionally free the Virk brothers, Abdul Azad, and every other prisoner of race? Will they mobilise the Labour Party for an active mass campaign against the fascists?

Confronting Labour with the evidence of its own racism is one way in which we can take the fight for black freedom forward in the elections. At the same time we can support and join those campaigns — the campaigns of Socialist Unity and independent socialist candidates — which have a record of clear and principled support for black liberation.

These campaigns represent the small forces in Britain today who are prepared to use the elections as a platform from which to fight for a socialist alternative — small at the moment, but they will grow. We are confident of that.

combine its May Day activities with the carnival, and with the general election it will have an added political importance.

Support for the carnival has come from many groups, including trade union branches, immigrant organisations, and local campaign groups. Local and national bands will be playing at the event.

The Representation of the People Act poses a problem, however. Anti-National Front propaganda has to be put down on a candidate's election expenses and the Labour Party has refused to do this because it is contesting two marginal seats.

The Coventry anti-racist, anti-fascist committee is therefore considering standing its own nominal candidate in a safe Labour seat. Part of the aim of this is to expose the undemocratic media reporting of the election. The Coventry Evening Telegraph gives uncritical coverage to the National Front, while allowing no space to anti-racists and making no mention at all of the carnival.

In addition to opposing the NF, the test for the carnival will be whether we can use it to build strong local campaigns on such issues as the racist policies on housing, education, employment and in the unions, and opposing the immigration laws. The carnival committee has agreed to call a local conference in June to discuss these issues.

\*The Coventry carnival on Saturday, 28 April, begins with a procession at noon from Canterbury Street leading to the carnival on Hearsall Common at 2pm. Organisations wanting a stall should contact the carnival committee, c/o 26 Queens Road, Coventry.

## Tell the truth about the NF

'NO uncritical coverage. Tell the truth about the racism.' Those are the demands of the campaign jointly organised by the ANL and the Campaign Against Racism in the Media.

Part of the target is the free adverts for racists that much of the media will give by their 'straight' reporting of the National Front and its candidates. Anti-racist and anti-fascist groups are urged to hold discussions with local media workers about their election coverage, and to hold pickets where such discussions prove unproductive.

Also lined up for attack are the five minute party political broadcasts that the Front has been allocated on radio on 25 April and on TV the following day. Local ANLs are holding pickets of broadcasting stations in the following cities at 6pm on Thursday, 26 April:

London, BBC Broadcasting House, Portland Place, W1 \* Birmingham, BBC Pebble Mill \* Manchester, Granada TV, Quay Street \* Glasgow, Scottish TV and BBC \* Leeds, Yorkshire TV, Kirkstall Road \* Norwich, Anglia TV \* Cardiff, BBC \* Newcastle, BBC, New Bridge Street, \* Bristol, BBC TV \* Southampton, BBC.

West London ANL and CARM are holding a meeting to discuss no uncritical coverage of the NF, at Hampstead Town Hall, Haverstock Hill, London NW6, at 7.30pm on 25 April.

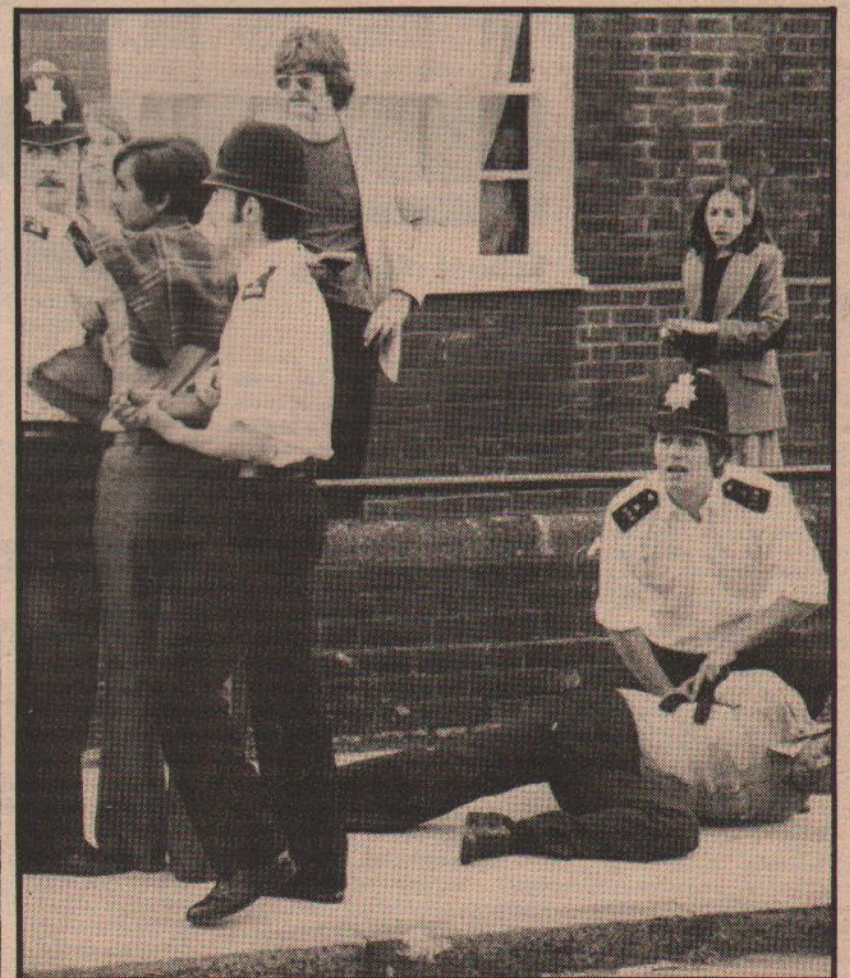


Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

# WHAT'S LEFT

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

**STOP THE NF!** The Nazis are planning a major election meeting in North London on Friday 20 April with John Tyndall speaking. Demonstrate 6.30pm, Islington Town Hall, Upper Street, N1. Called by ICARF and Islington ANL.

**CSE** — Capital and class day school, 29 April, 10.30am at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. \* Struggle against Fascism and Nazism. \* Labour Process and Socialism. Discussion of Capital and Class 7 available from: CSE, 55 Mount Pleasant, London WC1.

**CRITIQUE** Conference: USSR — Prospects for Change. Sat 5 May, 11am to 9pm. Speakers: Hillel Ticktin, Mick Lose, David Law. Students Union, Keele University, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs.

**NAC** public meeting — Menstrual Regulation and Abortion Facilities, 27 April, EGA, Euston Rd, 6.45pm. \* Menstrual regulation has just been made legal. \* We need more abortion clinics for this service. \* We need a law to make abortion facilities available on the NHS. \* If the Tories get in can we get any of these? Speakers: Angela Phillips, NAC, co-editor of 'Our Bodies, Ourselves'; 2 EGA campaign speaker; Legal worker on abortion facilities law.

**PICNIC** against SPUC, Sat 28 April, 12 noon, Seakers' Corner. SPUC is having a mass rally for Day of the Unborn Child. We'll welcome them celebrating Day of the Wanted Child. Bring food. Play 'It's a NAC out'. Balloons available.

**HANDS OFF Ireland** No 7 now out! Articles on H-Block, Ulsterisation and Loyalist Terror, Ireland and Racism, the Bennett Report, Arrest under the PTA and reports on marches, street meetings and other activities. Also full length interview with Lily Fitzsimmons of Belfast RAC. 24 pages for 25p plus 10p p&p from: RCG Publications Ltd (S.Ch), 49 Ralton Rd, London SE24 0LN.

**WEST** London UTOM presents **A Sense of Loss** — full length feature film on Ireland. Fri 27 April, 7.30pm, Ealing Technical College, St Mary's Rd, W5. Tube: South Ealing Bus: 65. Adm: 60p.

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Dario Fo  
Mon — Sat 8pm  
Plus Sunday 22 and 29 at  
7.30pm dramatised readings  
of **The Scream** by Billy Colvill.

**RACIAL** Oppression: How to fight it. Revolutionary Communist Pamphlet No 4. Racial oppression is inseparable from capitalist society. To fight it requires working class politics. The key elements of a class response are workers defence against racist attacks and rejection of all immigration controls. New pamphlet from the Revolutionary Communist Tendency. Send 30p plus 10p p&p to BM RCT, London WC1V 6XX. (Cheques etc payable to RCT Association).

**SOCIALIST** Feminist National Conference 79 follow-up meeting open to all women who were at the conference. St Anne's Hall, Venn St, London SW4, Sat 21 April, 1.30pm. Pooled fare. For child care phone the planning group at 01-274 9829.

**MAY DAY GREETINGS:** would your trades council, shop stewards committee or trade union branch put its May Day greetings in **Socialist Challenge**? If so, just send us the name and address of the secretary and we will send details so that it can be raised at the April meeting. Contact D. Weppier, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP (tel. 01-359 8371).

# HOME NEWS

## Miners' leader defends pg 3

# Put-down for pin-ups at Scargill debate

A DIALOGUE with the deaf — that's what the debate between Arthur Scargill and Anna Coote on pin-ups turned out to be.

A debate is usually an exchange of ideas, but Arthur Scargill came with a set of prejudices and judging from his closing remarks he left with them totally intact.

By Pat Masters

The debate, held in London on 11 April, was organised by the trade union journals section of the NUJ, to carry forward the debate begun on the pages of **Socialist Challenge** and the **Morning Star** about the existence of pin-ups on page three of the **Yorkshire Miner**.

Scargill argued aggressively in favour of pin-ups, and if his arguments were entirely predictable and entirely wrong, it is nonetheless disturbing that a trade union leader who has expressed a sensitive understanding of the problems of racism should have absolutely no equivalent understanding of the problems of sexism.

Pin-ups are a fact of life, he said, part of modern-day living.

In the same way that many working-class people vote Tory and make racist jokes, replied Anna Coote.

Scargill did not address himself to the points raised at the meeting but stuck doggedly to his prepared speech.

Women's bodies are beautiful, it's only the dungaree-clad

prudes in the women's movement who are trying to be men who object to pin-ups, he said.

Angela Phillips pointed out that the women's movement has been at the forefront of the fight for sexuality and against sexism — our 'prudishness' has led to feminist publications being banned in Ireland.

Scargill also implied that there was no exploitation involved as the working class 'girls' who were queueing up to be on page three weren't paid.

His main argument, however, was that pin-ups boosted sales. He felt that the **Sun**, **Daily Star** and **Mirror** had it right, and their high circulation was their reward.

Similarly the **Yorkshire Miner** was more widely read than the national NUM paper, which Scargill put down to the pin-ups.

He even said the left press should learn the lesson and increase its circulation by making the papers more popular, more accessible and more attractive — through pin-ups on page three.

Probably the most disgust-



WE thought Arthur Scargill should come to the top of our queue of working-class 'boys' waiting to be pin-ups in our paper.

ing thing was the way in which Scargill effectively refused to enter into a real debate with the women at the meeting, treating them with utter contempt.

He thought that this 'preoccupation with pin-ups' was a diversion from the real struggle of the working class — he was outraged that he had been heckled at an ANL meeting by protests at his position on pin-ups.

Some trade unionists have begun to understand the questions raised by the women's movement.

The Scottish NUM decided against pin-ups on the grounds that they did 'not dwell in a cattle-market'.

Scargill doesn't accept that pin-ups have anything to do with 'cattle-markets' or that they contribute to the sexism which divides and weakens the working class.

He must be taken up on this question at every opportunity. Socialists should insist that a debate on pin-ups is opened on the pages of the **Yorkshire Miner** itself.

Scargill will happily come to London to 'debate' the issue at

the invitation of the NUJ, but will he debate it in Barnsley with an audience of miners and their families?

The divisiveness of sexism within the working class has to be challenged.

We should get Scargill and other trade union leaders to come out in the open and debate their views, so that we can expose the contradictions between supporting women's rights and equal pay at work while refusing to fight the sexist ideas and attitudes that underpin them.

school did get to Hyde Park.

They were joined by pupils from Thomas Carleton, Bancroft, Sarah Siddons, Lavender Hill, Buckhurst Hill County High and Robert Montefiore schools.

The school students involved are determined to go on organising against school closures — their plans include setting up action committees and telephone trees between the schools.

## Social workers

By Trina Shane  
NALGO

SOCIAL workers in Tower Hamlets have now been on strike for eight months.

The Labour council in Tower Hamlets have so far refused to negotiate on the national agreement.

Their only response has been to propose massive cuts in jobs;

to try to scrap the community work team; and to downgrade all the posts in social services.

No workers could or would accept their proposals. They go against all the trade union and socialist principles that Tower Hamlets council claims to espouse.

On Friday 20 April, Tower Hamlets social workers will march through the streets to tell their council:

- \*Stop these cuts
- \*Improve social service provision
- \*Save our services

Speakers will include representatives from Bethnal Green Hospital Campaign, Robert Montefiore school, and the docks.

There will also be speeches from trade unionists who have consistently fought against pay restraint and public spending cuts.

Rally 2pm at St Mary's Churchyard [junction Whitechapel Rd/Brick Lane], march 2.30pm to Bethnal Green Town Hall.

## Journalists in conference

THE National Union of Journalists' continued membership of the Press Council is likely to be the most controversial issue to be debated at the union's annual conference on 23-27 April.

The Press Council is meant to provide the public with redress against the newspaper barons. It does no such thing. Its actual terms of reference are to 'uphold and defend the established freedom of the press' — which is about as established as sunshine in winter.

The council's last annual report, for 1976 (efficiency is not one of this body's virtues), shows that out of 507 complaints just 34 were upheld.

Recent adjudications include criticisms of the NUJ's journal

for illustrating with a swastika a report about the unsuccessful attempts of a member of the National Party to join the union, the upholding of a complaint against the radical West Highland Free Press, about which the council notified the newspaper's main financial sponsor.

The NUJ conference will be debating a motion which calls for the union's immediate disaffiliation from the council; for the executive to make proposals for an alternative body, and wide publicity for the union's own code of conduct.

The right wing in the union will argue for the retention of a reformed Press Council. If this position is to be defeated, it will mean spelling out the class interests involved.

It is one section of society — the working class — which takes the brunt of the capitalist presses' attacks, and if these attacks are to be effectively challenged, a press council will have to be set up by the labour movement.

HELP BUILD THE LEFT IN THE UNIONS. SEND US A CHEQUE TODAY

# OPEN FORUM

By Tom Scott  
Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment

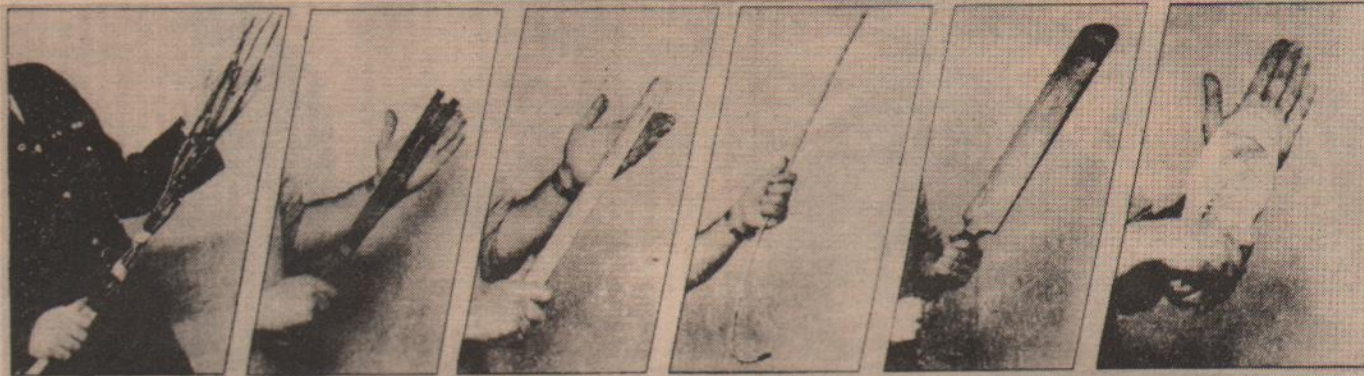
**MOST** people, including many socialists, have been conned into believing that caning is dying out in our schools.

The NUT, led by Fred Jarvis, and the NAS/UWT, led by Terry Casey, have fostered the myth that beating is used only as a 'last resort'.

The truth is very different. 80 per cent of schools still cane children. Many do so excessively, often for trivial 'offences' such as 'poor work', 'lateness', and even 'wearing the wrong colour shirt'.

The gross barbarity of belting in Scotland, nearly always inflicted in front of audiences of other children, should not blind us to the amount of beating in southern schools as well.

A survey of some inner London schools in 1976-77 revealed for example that Bacons Church of England Comprehensive canes girls as well as boys at the rate of one caning every two hours



## Hitting back at the caners

throughout the school year, chalking up an annual total of 689 canings in a school of 1,000 pupils!

Most local authorities permit children as young as 5 to be beaten, and physically and mentally handicapped youngsters can also be caned in most areas.

The use of euphemisms such as 'corporal punishment' and 'smacking' should not distract

us from the severe physical assaults which often take place.

Recent cases include a Kettering boy who had a bone broken in his hand by a cane; a London boy who was caned on the buttocks to bleeding point; a Kent boy whose finger was permanently twisted by a cane; and a Gosport boy who took an overdose after a caning.

These cases may be only the tip of the iceberg because most parents and students are too frightened of victimisation to complain at all.

Nor do punishment books reveal the number of unofficial beatings — such as cuffs, slaps, clouts with gym-shoes, rulers and T-squares — which are endemic in most caning schools.

Michael Rutter and his

co-authors in their recent study of London secondary schools observed unofficial beatings in 7 of the 12 schools they investigated.

How much more violence would have taken place had observers not been present?

The cane and strap are evils in themselves; they are also symbols of the authoritarian,

repressive nature of most of our schools.

The abolition of beating is an essential pre-condition for the growth of democracy in our educational system.

The Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment (STOPP) is the only organisation which devotes all its energies to campaigning for an end to school beating.

If you're not a teacher, you can join as an associate. If you're a parent, STOPP can supply you with a form on which you can indicate to a headteacher your refusal to delegate your right of physical chastisement to a school.

We've produced the Abolition Handbook, price 90p, which will provide you with a multitude of arguments against the caners, and includes advice for action.

For a free list of publications and an application form, write to: STOPP, 10 Lennox Gardens, Croydon, Surrey, CRO 4HR.

# Nuclear power: the myth and the reality

WHILE the anti-nuclear movement prepares to do battle with the bulldozers at Torness on 6 May, the trade union movement is just beginning to question the myths about nuclear power.

On 25 April the Scottish TUC will debate the idea of a major review of energy policy.

By Tony Webb  
Socialist Environment and Resources Association

WHAT are the myths about nuclear power?

Firstly we are told that energy is, or will be, in very short supply — that oil and gas will run out by the end of the century, and that energy demand is rising all the time.

So the conclusion we have to draw from this is that we will need more energy in the future, and this demand can only be met by a large nuclear power programme.

This, of course, is all right, we are told, as nuclear power is cheap, safe, and creates jobs — either directly through building and running the plants or indirectly by ensuring the energy for growth.

These arguments are raised with a single voice by those who will make the profits and by trade union leaders. But what is the truth?

We have one of the most wasteful energy systems in Europe. Wasteful because of competition between different fuels, and because of the technology used to supply industry and homes with the energy they need.

As for rising demand — recent surveys show that we

will need no more energy in the year 2020 than we do now and have improved living standards with a six-fold growth in the economy.

Nuclear power is not cheap — it's more expensive than coal.

It's debatable whether it can ever be made safe — and if it isn't safe then it will be a lot more expensive.

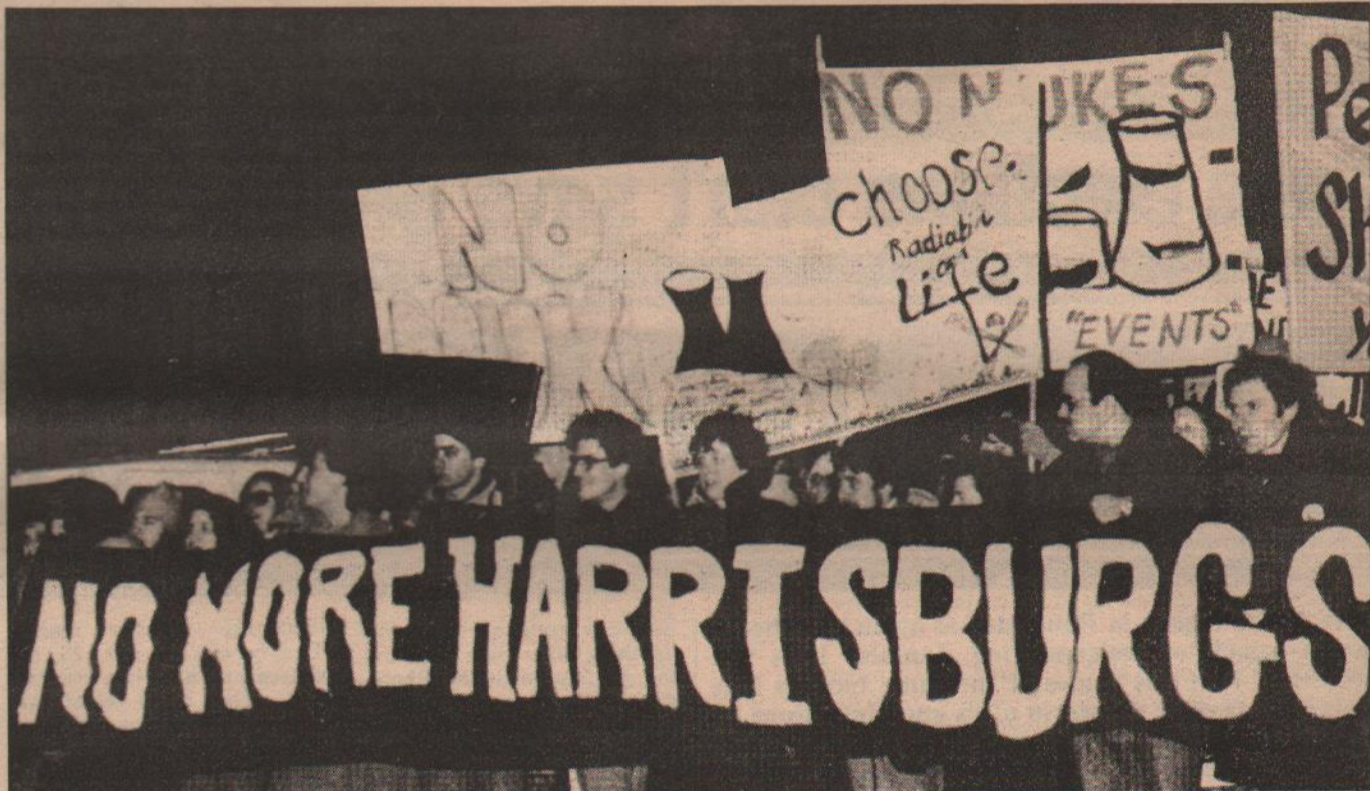
And finally, far from creating jobs, the present programme will entail a net loss of jobs and a weakening of working class organisation in those that remain.

Safety and cost aren't separate things. 'Safe' levels are fixed with an eye on the cost and the political acceptability of the risk that remains.

The full effects of exposure to radiation will not show up for 40-50 years — and the experts can't agree on what are 'safe' levels.

Trade union leaders get up at conferences and say there are no problems while their own unions are pressing claims on behalf of widows of their members.

The Scottish Electricity Board's accounts show that nuclear power is more costly than electricity generated from the usual oil or coal, especially when the cost of decommissioning



Picture from the latest Intercontinental Press which has a major feature on nuclear power. 30p plus 10p from PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

sioning reactors after their 25 years of useful life is added.

The cost is kept down through hidden subsidies. For example, the nuclear weapons programme means that the nuclear power stations receive services from the Ministry of Defence completely free of charge.

Then there are social and political costs to be included. There is a continuing infringement of trade union rights, with increased security and vetting, and there is the obsessive secrecy that surrounds the industry.

This connects again with the question of safety — how can trade union safety reps guarantee safe conditions, or fight for them, while they are gagged by the Official Secrets Act.

One tutor on a TUC Health and Safety course was censured for going outside the syllabus when he revealed this fact.

The provisions of the Health and Safety Act — access to workplaces and disclosure of relevant information to safety reps — were the only demands raised by the TUC at the Windscale inquiry.

The fight for these and other trade union rights must be taken up within the movement together with the demand for the full facts on economic and safety factors.

Questions raised by the Torness Nuclear Station in Scotland typify many of the contradictions of conversion to nuclear power.

There is a chronic excess capacity in generating plant — rising to 90 per cent by the end of this year — meaning that older coal-fired plants will have to be scrapped.

This will mean an enormous loss of jobs in the traditional power industry, including coal-mining, which will not be anything like made up by the new jobs in nuclear power.

The motive of undermining the NUM is only thinly disguised in the Electricity Board's plans.

Ironically, if Torness is not built now there will be redundancies in the power engineering industry, especially on the Tyne and Clyde.

But this conflict of interest need not have arisen if alternative plans for a gradual conversion to Combined Heat and Power had been imple-

mented.

This would have used waste heat from power production for industrial and domestic purposes.

This would have had various advantages:

- It would create a steady programme for work in the power engineering industry and for foundries making pipes and other trades laying heat mains to buildings.

- It would stimulate development of new coal burning technology (eg. fluidised bed) and secure jobs in the mining industry with more money for mining safety.

- It would raise energy efficiency from 30 to 70 per cent.

It would put the needs of the community before the profit motive.

When the shop stewards at C and A Parsons in Newcastle looked for a pilot scheme for such a programme they found the electricity boards hell bent on closing down suitable power stations near to towns, thus closing off this option.

CHP is only one of a number of 'alternative' tech-

nologies which could solve our energy needs safely, at less cost and involving the creation or saving of many jobs.

The union bureaucracies would like to stifle debate on the issue. The miners' union is under pressure to 'lay off Torness'.

Members of the civil servants' union have however put up a resolution to the Scottish TUC calling for a major review of energy policy and a halt to further development of nuclear power.

If this were implemented we would be able to consider both resources and requirements for energy and employment.

The recent shop stewards initiatives — like C and A Parsons — point the way by involving energy policy in the defence of jobs.

We need to develop similar demands wherever workers are affected by energy policy.

We must also demand a fuller debate within the trade union and labour movement at all levels and a campaign to discredit the myths used to justify the rapid development of nuclear power.

INTERNATIONALISM — VITAL INGREDIENT FOR SOCIALISTS. GIVE GENEROUSLY



Grey's scouts — the mounted anti-guerilla patrol.

## Fake elections can't save Smith regime

# ZIMBABWE - RACISTS

THE Smith regime in Rhodesia has again launched a brutal attack on neighbouring Zambia. It is not accidental that this comes at the same time as it is trying to convince the world of its good intentions by holding 'majority rule' elections. That was always the tactic: a combination of fraud and vicious repression.

On these two pages we look at Zimbabwe on the eve of the elections.

By Richard Carver

THE joke now doing the rounds in white circles is that a Rhodesian patriot is someone who can't get his or her money out of the country.

This is an indication of the depth of cynicism and demoralisation among the settler population and goes some way towards explaining why elections are taking place this week — not as the gateway to majority rule, but as white racism's final backdoor trick.

Francis Pym, the Tory Foreign Affairs spokesperson, argued in a recent speech that: 'there is to be an election, based on universal suffrage, which will lead to the establishment of a black majority government. Majority rule under arrangements acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole has been the aim of successive British governments for fifteen years.'

That statement contains a number of downright lies. British policy, for example,

has never been concerned with anything other than regularising relations with the Rhodesian regime.

Phrases like 'majority rule' and 'universal suffrage' are meaningless in the context of the present elections. All black opposition is banned and has been driven into armed struggle. The election takes place under the state of emergency which has existed since 1965 and with some three-quarters of the country under martial law.

There is no electoral roll (rendering academic most of the discussion over whether or not blacks and whites should be on a common roll) which means that ballot-rigging will be simple.

Twenty-eight seats in the new parliament will be reserved for 'Europeans', the

remaining 72 for blacks. Twenty out of the 28 are elected by whites in a separate poll. The other eight are reserved out of the 'common roll'. In 16 out of 20 white seats Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front is standing unopposed.

There are about 270,000 whites in Zimbabwe and 6.8 million blacks. That works out at roughly 'one African, one vote; one white, seven votes.' The second ratio can be doubled to take into account the fact that whites vote twice — once on each of the separate rolls.

The international supporters of the 'internal settlement', such as the Tories, claim that it would lead to the complete end of white rule within ten years. This is a lie too, simply refuted by the text of the settlement itself, which provides for an end to white rule after 'at least' ten years and then only 'if a government commission recommends it'.

The 'internal settlement' was signed on 3 March 1978 as an agreement between the Rhodesian Front government and three black leaders, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev Ndabingi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau.

Chirau is a government stooge and no-one ever thought otherwise. Sithole is a former leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), who forfeited his position by his collaborationist policies and was left with a rump of followers.

But Muzorewa was the white regime's great hope. They had no doubt that he could deliver

the votes of his fellow tribespeople in the Umtali region.

In a recent pamphlet on British media coverage of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) comments: 'They have the impudence to accuse us of tribalism when it is they who cannot write a single thing about Zimbabwe without telling their readers that so-and-so is from such-and-such a tribe.'

In this regard the regime's racism was its own undoing, since it was incapable of admitting that the population was swayed by politics. But that is what has happened.

Peter Taylor in the New Statesman recently reported from Umtali that Muzorewa was shipping in busloads of supporters from Salisbury to

pack his meetings, while his former adherents now talked of the Patriotic Front guerrillas as 'comrades'.

Taylor reports that missionaries 'tell stories that would be treasonable if overheard in Salisbury' of mass popular support for the guerrillas and cooperation between guerrillas and missionaries.

The level of commitment blacks feel towards the regime can be gauged by the number of them in the armed forces. Since the introduction of the black call-up last year only about 2-3,000 of the 30-40,000 immediately liable have appeared at the recruiting offices.

British press reports hardly ever mention that in the bulk of the rural areas there is a dual power between guerrillas and army. In the South-west

Since the internal settlement, conscripts in the army are having to ask what it is they are defending. So far under the new government there has been little change in any direction...

I was told that 54 per cent of the whites in the armed forces are 'new Rhodesians' — in other words, mercenaries, who cannot be guaranteed to remain loyal to a black government.

There have already been incidents since the settlement where Rhodesian conscript soldiers have refused to put their lives at risk. As a result, large areas of the country are simply being abandoned to the guerrillas.

Civilians find themselves with at least two masters. A woman travelling to a church meeting has to have the permission of both the local guerrilla commander and the district commissioner.

At the civil level the administration has been rocked by the financial scandal involving the heads of the sanctions-busting organisation. It is alleged that, besides using illegal methods to circumvent sanctions, they were using the same illegal methods to enrich themselves.

By and large whites are numbed by the turn of events. The propaganda in the press, on television and on radio is as strident as ever, but business-

men and civil servants who have to plan for the future are planning for defeat — in a hopeless kind of way.

I did not meet one white Rhodesian who believed the battle could be won on the present terms. Towards the end of the year all aircraft out of the country are fully booked. If it were not for legislation preventing it, many thousands of whites would have left already. Despite the legislation I was told that up to 60,000 whites will go in the three months after December.

— Scottish missionary James Wilkie, writing in the Times, 24 July 1978.

It was after learning about Cecil Rhodes, the leader of the settlers, that Joseph understood for the first time the real meaning of the word 'imperialism'.

He discovered statements by Rhodes which showed him to be a racist: 'I believe in my race... The non-civilised races must disappear... every acre added to our territory provides for more of the English race.' This racism was the root and justification of his desire to conquer the whole of Africa.

He was also spurred on by his terrible greed for wealth. He told the British Prime Minister: '...if we do not take and open up the dependencies of the world which are at present

devoted to barbarism we shall shut out the world's trade.'

He openly admitted that he preferred 'land to niggers', and speaking of David Livingstone, the missionary, he said: '...philanthropy is all very well in its way, but philanthropy and five per cent is much better.'

Such was the nature of the man the whites looked up to. His statue was prominent in towns all over the country — a country that bore his name and would continue to do so until the people could reclaim it as Zimbabwe.

—FROM Black Fire, Accounts of the Guerilla War in Rhodesia, by Micheal Raeburn.

REACH INTO YOUR POCKET TO HELP MAKE ZIMBABWE AN ISSUE

In the Tribal Trust Lands, when no government men are around, Aricans are frank, less guarded than in the townships where every word can be carried to the Special Branch and its bearer rewarded for his trouble.

Here, the sentiments are the same: we support the guerillas because they are our children; they are the ones fighting for Zimbabwe, their battle is our battle, the transitional government has done nothing for us.

All this they say with no terrorist guns at their heads, as the government would have the rest of the world believe.

— TV producer Peter Taylor, just returned from a visit to Zimbabwe, writing in the *New Statesman* on 19 January 1979.

region around Bulawayo, for example, ZIPRA, the armed wing of ZAPU, must give its permission before even the bus runs. ZAPU strategy is based on the prospect of a relatively quick military victory and it has been responsible for the more spectacular armed actions.

In line with this it still keeps the bulk of its armed personnel across the border in Botswana and Zambia. ZANLA, ZANU's army, has the different perspective of prolonged civil war, has far more guerillas inside the country,

decline. Houses are standing empty because of emigration — there is no demand for the construction industry. And the country is no longer the tourist attraction it was.

Those who stayed used to refer to white emigration as the 'chicken run' — those who went were scared to face up to the guerillas. Now it is the 'owl run' — the wise thing to do.

It is not just the directly military threat which has this effect. For example, taxpayers have been stung for a compulsory three-year loan for military spending called the National Defence Levy.

The 'internal settlement' guarantees the maintenance of the present land tenure, in which white and black populations hold roughly half and half, despite the massive disproportion in numbers.

The white farmers' opposition to the Anglo-American settlement plan rests largely on the fact that it is tailored to the needs of the multinational agribusinesses such as Lonrho and Liebig. Under this plan there would be no handover of land to the black people but the small settlers would be squeezed out all the same.

The greater the Patriotic Front's military advances the less likely is any compromise. So, the white farmer reasons, the end is nigh.

The internal settlement election, then, is a desperate vote for the status quo, based

IN Michael Raeburn's *Black Fire*, the guerilla Kumbi is sentenced to death and addresses the judge:

'You are not a judge, you are a policeman paid by an illegal regime. You have the power to sentence me, but I do not accept your judgement, just as I do not accept the regime behind you.'

'You may be happy to see me die, but your joy will be short-lived. The people of this country are fed up with you and your people. They see you for what you are — a minority government, in other words, a bunch of tyrants, and they are determined to get rid of you.'

'We freedom fighters will see to it that you go, dead or alive. You are a fool to think the

regime will protect you. There are over five million of us and only a handful of you. You are outnumbered twenty to one.'

'The guerillas are leading the people of this country in a socialist revolution. We are fighting for a better way of life. This is what our people want. It is therefore scientifically impossible for us to lose.'

'Those who are opposed to the revolution will be swept away by it. It is an honour for me to die fighting for the revolution.'

'Thirteen Patriotic Front Supporters have been sentenced to death since the 'internal settlement'. Under both Smith's and the Anglo-American settlement plans the present judges would continue in office.'

on the faint hope that with a respectable vote, an increase in repression, more South African military and economic aid, and a Tory government in London, the Rhodesian Front regime might just scrape through.

That looks improbable, but the danger now is the destruction which the racist state could cause in its death throes. The recent escalation of the war into Angola, which doesn't even border on Zimbabwe, may be a sign of worse to come. The gun law wielded by the private armies of Sithole and Muzorewa is a symptom of the anarchy and

decay in white Rhodesia.

And worst of all a possible British military intervention on the pretext of putting an end to this chaos would bring further bloodshed and destruction, as well as denying the democratic rights of the Zimbabwean people.

For all these reasons a victory for the liberation forces is urgent and assistance for them a pressing task for the solidarity movement around the world.

A black Zimbabwean leader once said: 'We are our own liberators'. His name was Ndabaningi Sithole. In those days he was right.

## UGANDA

By Harold Wood

THE British press has predictably not drawn any of the obvious conclusions from eight years of dictatorship in Uganda. Secretly they are probably bemoaning the fact that Amin's overthrow means the end of a rich vein of racist copy.

No doubt there will be lots of exposés of Amin's terror; investigations of who was responsible for Amin will be rather thinner on the ground.

Amin's training in the King's African Rifles and at the School of Infantry in Wiltshire, his torture of Kenyan rebels in the 1950s, and the role of British and Israeli intelligence in organising his 1971 coup will all be conveniently forgotten.

So will the fact that the British Tory government was first to recognise the new dictator, the sale of British Leyland Land Rovers and trucks to Amin's army, the massive British investments in Uganda (ICI, Dunlop, and Barclay's Bank are among the household names involved), and the weekly 'whisky run' from Stansted airport to Kampala, which was only stopped when it became clear that Amin was going to fall.

The very manner of Amin's departure bore the marks of imperialism's responsibility for the state of African politics. It is surely an indictment of British colonialism that its clients could only be removed by armed invasion.

This holds great dangers for Uganda's future. The new conservative President, Yusef Lule, has announced elections two years from now — giving him time to use his Tanzanian allies to marginalise all opposition. Among those excluded from the new government is Milton Obote, the premier whose radical talk led imperialism to back Amin in 1971.

The oppressed masses the world over will heave a sigh of relief at the disappearance of Idi Amin. But that must be combined with the utmost defence of the Ugandan people's right to self-determination. Tanzanian troops should withdraw to allow immediate free elections.

No doubt Amin's successor will prove far less brutal — but he has yet to show that he will be more democratic.

## IRAN WOMEN

THE Iranian Women's Solidarity Group, whose appeal we published last week, is still looking for both money and volunteers to help organise a women's movement delegation to Iran. Latest sponsors include Pat Arrowsmith, Spare Rib Collective, Irene Brennan, Rose Knight and Toni Gorton.

The group's next meeting, which is open to all women who support its objectives, is at 5pm on Sunday 29 April, at South London Women's Centre, 45 North Street, Clapham, London SW4.

Future events include:

- 1 May, picket of Iranian Embassy, 16 Princes Gate, London SW7, from 5-7pm. The main slogan will be: **British Women Support our Iranian Sisters in Struggle.**
- 12 May, Iranian Women's Conference at the City University, London. The

afternoon session will be in English.

• 19 May, National Demonstration, 2pm, Trafalgar Square. March to Iranian Embassy.

## COLUMBIA

THREE thousand Colombians have been imprisoned in the last three months under the 'Statute of Security'.

While other Latin American regimes clamp down on the workers movement and left-wing opposition by destroying all vestiges of democracy, the new Colombian government of Turbay Ayala has maintained the facade of parliament and a two-party political system.

But this mechanism has been rendered powerless. Functions which once belonged in Congress — such as amendments to the penal code — have been taken over by the executive.

Under the Statute of Security military judges assume the same power as civil tribunals. 'Political crimes', such as strikes and demonstrations, can be prosecuted under common law.

The government has also implemented article 28 of the Constitution, which applies in a 'state of war'. This means that anyone can be arrested on suspicion with no real right of defence.

Those found guilty by the military tribunals are imprisoned on the prison island of Gorgona. Friends and relatives whose names are discovered in prisoners' documents are often arrested, interrogated and tortured, only being released when they sign a statement saying they have been properly treated.

Prisoners are regularly moved from prison to prison to avoid the application of the right of *habeas corpus*.

The movement in opposition to this law is hampered by the fact that one of the statute's provisions allows for the sacking of workers for striking.

Nevertheless an opposition has emerged, with support among wide sectors of the population, helped by the emergence of a campaign of international solidarity, with organisations such as Amnesty International collecting signatures of protest at the arbitrary arrests and tortures.

# ON THE RUN

and seeks to build liberated zones. These are no-go areas for the white army and are intended to provide the social and political basis for reconstruction.

The brutal and ever-increasing air raids on Zimbabwean camps in the neighbouring countries, especially Mozambique, are a sign of the desperation the white regime feels at the fact that it is decisively losing the war.

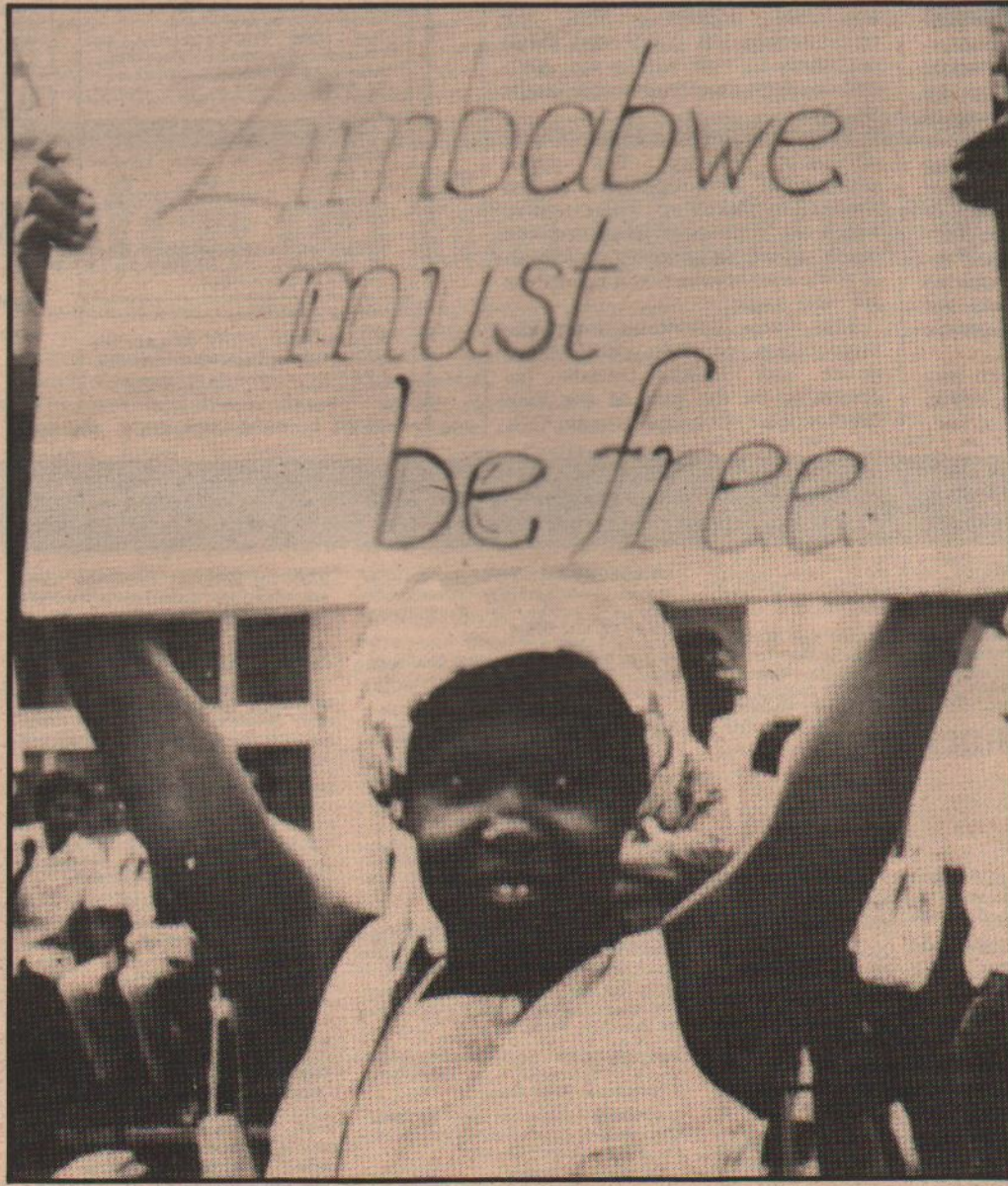
Having won control of large sections of the countryside, the guerillas are now venturing into the suburbs of major cities like Bulawayo and Salisbury. The most sensational example was in December, when the Patriotic Front attacked and blew up the country's major oil storage depot in Salisbury.

The symbolism of the depot blazing for six days in the white settlers' capital city was humiliating enough. But the loss of 28 out of 35 storage tanks also meant the destruction of 15 per cent of Rhodesia's oil.

Coinciding with the publication of the official British inquiry on the oil companies' sanctions-busting and the halt in Iranian production, this could hardly have come at a worse time for Ian Smith.

The white economy was already in a shambles. After the boom years immediately after UDI the Gross Domestic Product is now falling from year to year. Incredibly last year's budget actually cut military spending in real terms because the state was so much in debt.

The vital mining sector is in



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Angel Parra Isabel Parra  
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"For the right to live in our country"

8 May, Manchester: with Sullivan's Private Stock & Trevor Hyett, 7.30. UMIST. Tickets £1.40, from Paul Morris, MCCR, Eliot House, Jacksons Row, M2, Grass Roots Bookshop, N. West Arts, 52 King St., Virgin Records, Market St.

9 May, Leeds: with Roy Bailey and Leon Rosselson, Great Hall, Leeds University, 7.30. Tickets £1.50 from The Corner Bookshop, 162 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds — 45125; Barry Cooper, 0532 782296.

10 May, Edinburgh: with Scottish Baroque Ensemble, and The Boys of the Lough, 7.30, Usher Hall. Tickets £2.50, £2, £1.50p from Usher Hall (031 2281155).

11 May, London: with Chanter, Chris Searle, 7.30, Logan Hall, University of London, Bedford Way. Tickets £2 from CSC 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7 (01 272 4298).

# LETTERS

## The ANL is learning

I WRITE this letter in reply to the criticisms of the Anti Nazi League (22 March) because the accusations made are serious and, I believe, unjustified.

Since the ANL was formed it has made many serious mistakes, from the calling for state bans in Ilford to the NF mobilisation on the day of the second Carnival. I believe the organisation has been gradually learning, admittedly the hard way, and this was proved at Winchester.

At only short notice the ANL mobilised 1,200, stopped the NF from going to the prison (confining them to the empty town centre), and gave Relf a morale-boosting earful of 'Let Relf rot'.

The students from Leicester are either stupid or ill-informed in leaving the ANL. Cutting themselves off from the ANL and its activities simply doesn't help the anti-fascist/anti-racist struggle and those within it who also feel that the ANL should be more accountable.

The ANL has made a large impact, especially in the trade unions, and has changed the climate in favour of the anti-racists. Chances to convince trade unionists about the dangers of racism and fascism have never been better, and this is what the ANL is now putting its resources into.

Instead of anti-ANLism we need a positive attitude like that of Rich Palser if we aren't going to lose the best chance we have of turning the racist tide and beating the racists and their divisive ideas.

**P.M. GRANT (Steering Committee, Rail Against the Nazis — in personal capacity)**

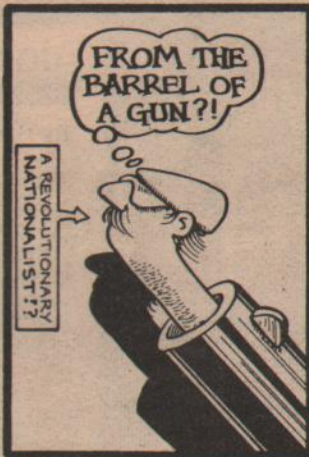
## Take up the State

THE case of convicted racist Robert Relf has raised a number of questions regarding the Race Relations Act 1976 (Amended).

On the one hand defence and strengthening of the Act can be criticised for encouraging the illusion that such legislation can tackle the racism which has been encouraged through successive Immigration Acts.

Yet at the same time it is absolutely necessary to defend the use of the Act against racists such as Relf. Most certainly it has proved to be an irritant to the fascists, since they have found it necessary to demonstrate against it.

We should therefore defend the Act whilst recognising at the same time that any gains made under it cannot be substituted for other important areas of anti-racist work, such as calling for the repeal of immigration controls, agitating for the 'No platform' position and black self-defence, etc.



To date the ANL has avoided intervening on these issues. At Winchester the ANL mobilisation was purely on the basis of opposing the NF. But some of the disenchantment that arose on 10 March was undoubtedly caused by a lack of understanding as to the issues at stake.

It was surely correct for the ANL leaders to refuse to charge the police lines in an effort to get at the fascists. But where we strongly disagree was that the day's events were described as a total 'victory' for the anti-fascist forces simply because our numbers had pressurised the police into serving Public Orders against the NF and the ANL.

Although the NF were not allowed to demonstrate outside the prison, the real victory lay with the forces of the state and the police — as has been the case for some time now. If the ANL is going to talk of confronting the Nazis, it must consider the sort of intervention which the state is making and look at ways of altering the balance of forces which anti-fascists presently face.

We would argue that this means we should continue to build the ANL — but in the light of political developments which render the ANL's founding statement substantially out of date.

**LEAMINGTON Socialist Challenge Group members**

## Problems on the ground

THE problems raised by the counter-mobilisation to the NF at Winchester on 10 March will not be solved just by holding an ANL conference. How to involve all those won to the ANL over the past year, how to combat growing fascist influence on the terraces, how to respond to the massive police defence of NF marches, how to carry out consistent anti-racist activity — these are amongst the real problems facing ANL groups which do not result just from the undemocratic structure of the national ANL.

Socialist Challenge should pay attention to these problems as well as the general question of political line.

It should be more actively concerned with building the ANL.  
**MIKE TUCKER (Southampton ANL treasurer)**

## Need for anti-racist strategy

THE events at Winchester and other anti-fascist demonstrations over the past year have clearly brought into the open the many problems which the ANL faces. The main problem facing anti-fascists today is the extent to which the state is prepared to go to let the Nazis organise and march.

There is a sizable and growing proportion within the ANL who feel that collaboration with the law has become the main concern of the ANL leadership. There is also a strong feeling that the ANL leadership is deliberately trying to tone down the militancy of the anti-fascist movement in order to appease the so-called 'liberal' elements in the ANL.

Again, the lack of organisation, cohesion, and coordination has been amply revealed by the events at the second Carnival, the NF Cenotaph march, and Winchester. The tendency of the ANL leadership to play down clear failures like the Cenotaph march is deplorable.

There is also a feeling that the ANL is turning more and more into an 'appeasement' body rather than an active campaigning body, and under these circumstances it is absolutely imperative that the revolutionary left (SWP and IMG) reassesses its role within the ANL and develops an effective anti-fascist strategy.

What is also needed is an effective anti-racist strategy. The whole problem of institutionalised racism needs to be picked up. The extent to which the state goes to protect the Nazis should serve as an indication to those who believe that it is only the NF who count.

This means picking up things like immigration controls, 'sus' laws, police and judicial racism (as illustrated by the case of the Virk brothers), etc. Consequently an ANL

conference is absolutely necessary to discuss strategy, pick up such issues, and coordinate activity — for the general election.  
**UNMESH A. DESAI (LSE ANL and Central London SWP)**

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.

## Idea of unity

THE letter from Leicester Poly CARF (22 March) argues that the ANL has not only failed to mobilise effective opposition to NF marches but has also served to obstruct those who seek to confront racists and not march off in the opposite direction.

Why is it that the ANL 'marches off in the opposite direction'? The answer is to be found in their idea of unity. Not unity with the oppressed, defending black workers in their struggles, but unity with supporters of a racist Labour government — Benn and Bidwell among others.  
**MARY WILLIS (Manchester 12)**

# bookmarx

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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 2352.

**GREATER MANCHESTER** Socialist Challenge. School students who support the paper and would like to get involved in anti-fascist activity, please contact Chris (273 5947, day) or Steve (226 4287, evening), or write to Manchester SC Centre, 14 Piccadilly.

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

**OLDHAM** Socialist Challenge group meeting: 'Return Labour but fight on'. Thur 26 April, 8pm, at Sergeants-at-Arms pub (top room), King St. (opp. Co-op). Main speaker: Jeff West (Ardwick SU candidate). Other speakers from Abdul Azad Defence Committee, SWP.

**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 Pittington, Durham.

**MIDDLESBROUGH** Socialist Challenge sales, Saturday lunchtime near the lottery stand at Cleveland Centre. Also available from Newsfare 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, 1-5pm. For details of local activities contact John Ford, 553 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.

**YORK** Socialist Challenge is on sale at the York Community Bookshop, 73 Walmgate or from sellers on Thursdays (12.30-1.45) at York University, Vanbrugh College; Saturdays (11.30-3.30) at Coney Street.

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

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

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

## SOUTH WEST

**BATH** Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday, 2-3.30pm, outside Macfisheries. Ring Bath 20298 for further details.

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

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

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

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

**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.

## SOUTH EAST

**NORWICH** Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday in Davey Place (opp. market) and bookstall Thursdays at University of East Anglia.

**BRIGHTON** SC forums fortnightly on Tuesdays. Contact Micky on 605052 for details.

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

**HEMEL HEMPSTEAD** supporters meet regularly on Sunday evenings. For details phone Mick on Hemel Hempstead 41037.

## LONDON

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

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

**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.

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

**HACKNEY** Socialist Challenge group meetings temporarily suspended until after election. For details of activities meanwhile write c/o PO Box 50, London N1 2XP or phone Martin on 359 8180 (day).

**HACKNEY** supporters sell every Saturday, 12-2pm, in Kingsland High St, Dalston — meet outside Sainsbury's.

**HAR'JIGEY** 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.

**LEYTON** readers can buy Socialist Challenge from Patel's Newsagents, 326 Lea Bridge Road, E10.

**WALTHAMSTOW** readers can buy Socialist Challenge regularly from Sheridan's Newsagents, 86 Hoe St, E17.

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

## UNDER REVIEW

### Comments from Ally Pally

# Voices of the voteless

'HI, it's your alien culture' announced the big banner at Ally Pally in London on Saturday, and that's what awaited the 5,000 who came to Rock Against Racism's final gig in its militant entertainment tour.

They were mainly youth. Socialist Challenge took the opportunity to ask about issues that concerned them.

**Georgina, 12, from Dulwich, South London:** It would be good to have meetings at school to discuss racism. If someone is offensive to a black person in the playground we go up and have an argument, but neither side really knows enough about racism to keep it up.

Meetings would give us more arguments to use. Most of the teachers are very right-wing, so we don't have anti-racist discussions in class.

Some kids think they support the NF but when you ask them why, they don't know. They suppose it's because their mum supports it.

Me and my mum and some of my friends if they're not busy go along to all the anti-Nazi things we know about. RAR interests kids who aren't

formally interested in politics. They come along and become interested in politics.

**Fahim Qureshi, 18, from Luton:** I'll be voting Labour to keep the Tories out, but the Labour government is racist. The Labour Party is okay, only they don't do much. They come round once every five years.

Racism should be made a major issue in the election: how black people are in the worst houses; the harassment by the pigs; telling the truth about the Nazis, who are being given time on the box. Yet the BBC bans *Dread, Beat and Blood* because they're afraid black people might be encouraged to stand up for themselves.

Unemployment needs to be taken up in the election, particularly how it affects black people. I used to work night shifts for a catering firm on £23 a week. It's not worth it. A lot of kids don't want to work because you get ripped off. I'm at college now.

I'll be going along for the demonstration in Leicester on Saturday. Black people should be playing a more dominant part in the ANL, standing up for themselves. I used to be very quiet...

**Sheila, 17, from Watford:** I'm always on about unions in the office where I work. I'm supposed to make coffee three times a day, but when the boss

wants a cup I have to drop what I'm doing, which I don't think is right.

There's a bloke who keeps asking me to do envelopes and if I'm busy he goes complaining to the boss. Such a sneak. We're not even allowed to pop out for five minutes to get an ice cream because the boss says it doesn't look very businesslike.

When I talk about getting a union they say it's impossible. The option is either I should do what I'm told or I should get out.

**Stephen, 17, from Kennington, South London:** There's quite a bit of NF around our way. We discuss it with them. Quite a few have changed, but a lot don't bother listening.

The black kids get fed up, so there's violence and that. But white kids do the same. There just isn't enough there; not enough mixing. Jobwise, if you come from where we come from you ain't got a chance. I make air fresheners, which is not a whole lot of fun.

**Mandie, 17, from Islington, North London:** I'm a sales ledger control accounts clerk and I'm treated like shit. I'm giving the job up. It's not worth being wound up every evening because you've had a lousy day at work. When you go into the Jobcentre they ask if you want to be an office worker, a child minder — never an engineer.

I don't think I should have a vote. I would rather there wasn't anyone to vote for. All the political parties give out all this shit and when they get into power they don't do anything.

The age of consent is a load of crap, because no one takes any notice of it. No one thinks about it, until they're taken to



court. It should be abolished.

We need to have more carnivals because there's a strong feeling of unity and you feel really glad you came along. But they're so few and far between.

I'm in the Camden RAR club which does local gigs with

tickets as cheap as possible to get kids along. The club means you can build up a relationship; come along and say 'I thought so and so was wrong with the gig'.

We're hoping to tour Camden with a band on the back of a lorry just before the

election.

• The Revolution stall at Ally Pally was kept busy, with over 200 sales of the revolutionary youth paper.

Have you received your copy of Revolution's election special? It's 10p plus p&p from PO Box 50, London N1 2xp.



## Mediawatch on the elections

By Roger Protz

THE opening sorties of the election campaign have put tax cuts at the centre of the battle. The message from newspapers and television is clear: tax cuts are a good thing and only wild lefties are opposed to them.

One of the most disturbing aspects of media power in Britain is the way in which opposition to any reactionary proposal is either ignored or paraphrased in a manner so crude as to give the impression it was conjured up by someone who should be certified.

The few muted bleats of disapproval to the Tory-Lib-Lab frenzy over tax cuts is dismissed as the blatherings of hopeless malcontents.

Long before the election, the press was awash with stories about the poor, over-taxed British [by which they mean the middle-class British] and the dreadful plight of pop stars, Harley Street drop-outs, and soft-porn writers forced to decamp to the United States or other off-shore tax havens.

Almost without exception, the media ignored recent findings that showed that Britain was well down the league table of

tax-paying nations — ignored, of course, because such findings tended to destroy their fabricated propaganda.

The fact is that Britain has a relatively progressive tax structure based on income rather than spending — I can use the word relatively with some caution — and the politicians and their press supporters are anxious, nay delirious, to change it in favour of the well-off and the disgustingly rich.

Just as a percentage pay rise benefits those on the highest wages, a percentage tax cut will help those who earn the most.

Although politicians would never speak in such vulgar terms, what they are actually advocating is an attack on the incomes of the poorest sections of society in order to benefit those who have grown rich at their expense.

And while the press desperately searches for examples of social security scroungers, they ignore one of the great scandals of our time: income tax fiddling and company perks.

You would never know it from reading the British press, but far more money is lost to

the Inland Revenue every year from fiddles and perks than by the tiny handful who abuse state benefits.

Middle management — the very people that Tories and Liberals are busting their intestines to help — already have unlimited expense accounts, company cars [worth about £2000 a year in lieu of salary], clothing allowances, education allowances for children, dress allowances for wives and 'fact-finding foreign trips', better known as holidays.

Now the politicians want to boost these unearned incomes by slashing income tax at the expense of another media hate expression 'public expenditure.' That means education, hospitals, and other services that benefit those in genuine need.

THE campaign got under way with the Margotallies celebrated trip to her local shops, proving what a nice, typical suburban housewife she is. I doubt whether the average suburban housewife is usually accompanied to Tesco and

Sainsbury by a posse of press people and desperately clicking photographers.

Just in case you thought the press just happened to be outside her Chelsea bijou residence by chance, let me put you right.

Every national paper, TV and radio station was phoned by Tory Central Office and told they had a 'super idea' to start the great vote chase:

'We're sending Margaret down to the shops tomorrow morning to show that she's got the common touch and knows a good slice of pork belly when she sees it.'

And so the dutiful hacks turned up and snapped away at her in the butchers, the bakers and the candlestick makers, noting her every carefully rehearsed utterance. She'd probably never been near the shops before in her life but the image of a 'woman of the people' was carefully manufactured.

Her shopping exhibition set her back twenty quid. Just like you and me, isn't she?

### For Trotsky

By Kevin Creighton, 16

Living in the shadow of a great man  
What can we do but try to understand  
His books and his writings are written on the walls  
His voice is whispered in the silence.

His following is small  
But his teachings are known  
Many have died  
But their voices have shown  
That silence can shout in the darkness.

## Theatre picket

By Paul Colbeck  
NT Strike Committee

THE National Theatre has gone ahead with the sacking of the 70 striking stage, workshop, administration and maintenance workers who last week were told that they would only be accepted back to work if they signed a contract which effectively removes the right to withdraw labour.

Their union, NATTKE, has made the dispute official but refuses to instruct the rest of its membership not to cross the picket line.

The strikers are calling for financial support from other trade unionists and for support on the picket line, particularly between 6pm and 8pm each weekday at the public entrance to the theatre on London's South Bank.

EACH TIME THE MEDIA MENTION 'BALANCE' SEND US A QUID!

# Socialist Challenge

## PUNCTURE DUNLOP'S CLOSURE PLAN!

'WE'VE SAVED a million jobs!' James Callaghan declared at an election meeting in the North-west last week. The Labour Party's official leaflets were more modest, putting the total at 300,000.

The number of jobs lost is another story. On Merseyside unemployment now runs at 12 per cent, touching 30 per cent in some inner-city areas. On 19 April, the Dunlop factory in Liverpool is scheduled to close.

The Dunlop workers have no intention of going quietly, but will they manage to stay?

By Dave Packer and Tommy Healey

THE fight of the Dunlop workers to save their jobs and stop another 2,300 joining the long Merseyside dole queue is gaining widespread support. Nearly every major company in the area has embarked on drastic cuts in personnel levels and rationalisations to boost profit margins.

All these companies have allowed their plants to be run down through lack of investment and it's working people who have to suffer from the effects of the capitalist market.

Unfortunately, the officially-backed Joint Trade Union Action Committee that leads the struggle at Dunlops has not challenged this capitalist logic. Its members have become tangled up in the arguments about profitability. A so-called 'viability' plan presented to the management — who have not yet responded — is an attempt to 'sit down with the company' to come up with a compromise deal.

This would only mean cuts in personnel levels, speed ups, different shift systems and many other concessions. Will a no-strike clause rear its head?

Stan Pemberton told last Thursday's well-attended mass meeting that the viability plan could lead to the loss of 1,000 jobs. And as one worker argued

at the meeting, 'How can you expect us to fight when nearly half of us will lose our jobs?' Another asked, 'Who decides who goes with this viability plan?'

The profitability plan is quite different from the fighting policy needed to unite the work force and defend jobs. It has nothing in common with the Lucas Aerospace workers' plan.

The Dunlop workers' campaign has certainly shown a great deal of militancy. Two hundred sat down outside the local Plessey factory and were joined in the demand for jobs by the Plessey workers, with vociferous attacks on Labour's candidate in the Edge Hill by-election.

A Jobcentre was occupied, together with two local radio stations, where Dunlop workers successfully demanded airtime to put over their case.

There has been a march by women, and last week a column of the Dunlop workers filed through the main shopping centre in Liverpool with copies of **Dunlop Spekes**, the campaign broadsheet.

But the campaign is to win support for the viability plan, and the most crucial occupation still needs to be carried out — that of the Dunlop plant itself.

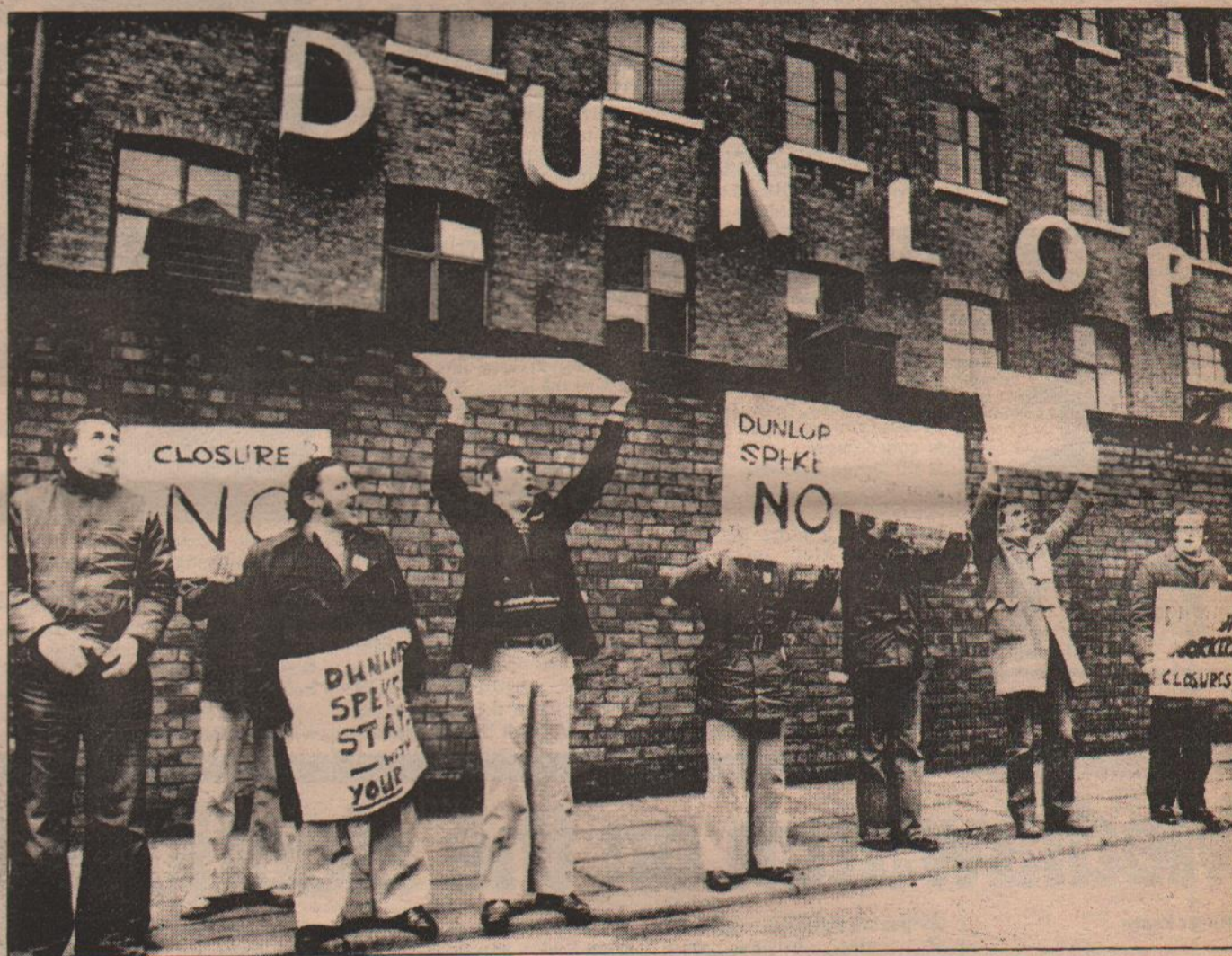


Photo: NEWS LINE

What interest has a big multi-national combine in minor disruptions in its Liverpool plant? Only actions which hit the company where it hurts — in the pocket — will force the company to back down.

What needs to be stepped up are actions like the picket at the Dunlop firm in Birmingham or

the 'community picket' at the Speke plant itself to stop the movement of 15 million tyres stored there.

The recent decision to boycott Dunlop products by the National Port Shop Stewards' Committee will give a real boost to the strike. But only an occupation of the plant — showing that the workforce means business — will lay the

basis for a campaign throughout the labour movement on both a national and international level. This would provide the best conditions for the fight for policies to save jobs and meet workers' needs.

To date, the Action Committee is far removed from the days when the Dunlop Stewards' Committee saw the

need to take on the multi-national through the international combine committee based in Italy, Spain and Britain.

Scrap the profitability plan! Occupy to save all jobs! Nationalise Dunlops under the control of workers! For a 35-hour week with work-sharing and no loss of pay!

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Tickets and further information from: Revolution: PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

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