


# Socialist Challenge

13 October 1977 No. 18

12p

## CALLAGHAN'S PRIORITIES



'It is our responsibility as democratic socialists to plan ahead and follow our vision to use the material resources and make them available to achieve a better society.'

**£250,000 FOR  
PROTECTING  
FASCISTS**

### FOR HOUNSLOW HOSPITAL THE AXE

DEATH. That was just one of the consequences of the body-snatching operations at the Hounslow Hospital work-in. Members of the occupation committee have now revealed that the patient grabbing had already started before last Thursday's raid by the health officials and police.

DEATH NUMBER ONE was that of 77-year-old Fred Ladyman, a founder member of the local trades council, who died on 7 October, a few days after health officials stopped him get-

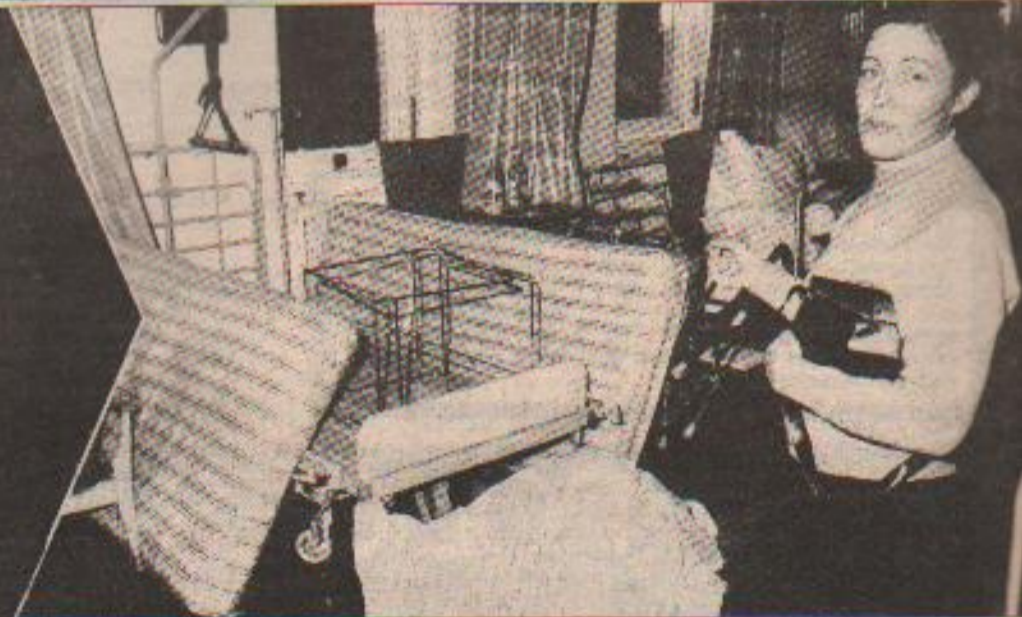
ting a bed at Hounslow Hospital. A phone call making arrangements for him to be admitted to Hounslow for a short period of nursing care was overheard by a member of the District Management Team. A mini-cab was sent round to Fred's home and he was admitted to the psychiatric block at West Middlesex Hospital because no appropriate beds were available. This was despite the 30 such vacant beds at the nearby Hounslow.

DEATH NUMBER TWO came as an elderly patient died days

after he was transferred in the 'commando raid' in pouring rain last Thursday.

These facts were related to a shocked meeting of London health stewards last Monday. All out strike action to lobby Wednesday's meetings of the Area Health Authority was accepted by the meeting, and stewards will press for ongoing action from Wednesday until the Hounslow is re-opened.

\* See page 7 for the full Hounslow story.



**GRUNWICK MASS PICKET 17 OCT 6.30 am**

#### REVIEW OF BOOKS

A 4-page extra including Francis Mulhern on 'The Crisis of the British Intel-ligensia'.

#### ARTHUR SCARGILL

'Why we must win at Grunwick'

— p. 4

#### SEAMUS COSTELLO and Ireland

— p. 8&9

ROBIN BLACKBURN ON 'THE WITCH-HUNTERS OF THE NEW RIGHT'

— p. 13

# Editorial

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## 'Party of government'?

THE LABOUR PARTY Conference was not allowed to debate the central policies of the government. Eager to ensure a 'united face' before the electorate in 1978, the Labour managers used every bureaucratic rule in the book to prevent a discussion on incomes policies, cuts in social expenditure or the fight for socialist policies. Over 180 resolutions were removed from the agenda in order to give the impression of a united party.

But while the big battalions of trade-union block votes, successfully marshalled by the collaborationist duo, Jones and Scanlon, saved the day for the Labour Party leaders, a development in Hounslow symbolised the growing distance between the Labour Party and its traditional base. Even while the strains of 'The Red Flag' were still echoing in the dreams of complacent delegates, groups of toughs acting on the instructions of the Area Health Authority had burst into the occupied Hounslow hospital in West London. Under the cover of darkness, they drugged and removed patients and vandalised the wards. Some left-wing MP's were to protest in strong language, but the refusal of the same MP's and their favoured leaders to organise a fight-back against the Labour government's policies had paved the way for actions like this.

Given the refusal to debate alternative policies, the most important discussion turned on the question of mandatory re-selection of MP's and inner-party democracy. But here too the trades unions helped to refer the matter to the incoming National Executive Committee, a ploy which Callaghan admitted on TV which would bury the issue for another year. Meanwhile Reginald Prentice has joined the Tory Party, stressing the necessity and urgency of mandatory re-selection.

The rank-and-file of the party — the constituency activists — were left completely leaderless in the face of right-wing attacks from the conference floor. The supposedly left-wing National Executive Committee acted throughout as a cover for the Government's policies. It was Benn who summed up on behalf of the NEC on the unemployment debate. The contents of his speech can be gauged from the fact that it was Callaghan who led the applause at the end of it.

### Composition of NEC

The composition of the NEC was unaltered, but the voting trend was clear. The votes of most 'left' members went down, the sole exception being Dennis Skinner, the only Labour MP to have voted against the third round of an incomes policy. But the right-wing Campaign for a Labour Victory was proudly touting the big vote of Peter Shore as an indication that he, rather than Benn, would succeed Callaghan. The Militant Group increased its votes as well, thus squeezing Tribune from the other side.

The Conference did nothing to boost the morale of Labour supporters in the country. If anything it ensured a Tory victory at the next elections. The dinosaurs meeting in Brighton this week will be on the warpath, baying for working class blood.

The decisions to abolish the House of Lords, to extend abortion rights, to support the Clay Cross councillors, to back the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe were all important. However, there was hardly a person at the Conference who believed that any of them would be implemented. In the lobbies afterwards there was nothing but cynicism and in the bars of the Grand Hotel there were ribald jokes at the expense of those who wanted to abolish the Lords.

In short it was not so much a conference as a public relations exercise. Labour is the 'party of government'. This was the overall message and it was welcomed by the Tribune left as such [at the Tribune meeting itself, Foot defended the government's record against Ms. Deal from the Grunwick Strike Committee].

These intoxicated half-hopes, half-belleets, reflect a complete isolation from the moods of Labour supporters throughout the country. If Labour suffers a crushing defeat at the polls there will be many more Reg Prentices and the party organisation will become even more truncated and moth-eaten. The 'party of government' might soon find that objective conditions are making its decline irreversible.

# Labour Party Conference

## The supreme moment will be (wait for it) next year

by GEOFF HODGSON

(Labour Party Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Manchester Withington)

IF CALLAGHAN's standing in the Labour Party is gauged by the length of time of his standing ovation then last year he got nought out of ten. This year, however, Conference gave five. Whereas last year forceful criticisms were made of the Government's right-wing economic policies, this year a motion criticising their record got a derisory vote, with virtually none of the trade union delegations voting for such necessary criticism.

On economic issues the Tribune left collapsed with a critical whimper in the face of the growing spectre of the coming General Election. This meant that the forceful criticism of the Government came from the only remaining major organised force in the Labour Party — *The Militant* grouping with its own brand of soft-edged Trotskyism.

### Labour left

How do we explain the virtual collapse of the traditional Labour left at the 1977 Conference? The Tribune left suffers from the electoralist failing of seeing votes as the be-all and end-all of socialist politics. As Perry Anderson put it in his brilliant essay on socialist strategy in the book *Towards Socialism: 'The whole modus operandi of social-democratic politics is geared to an illusion: it is predicated on the existence of a monocentric democracy in which power is co-extensive with the means of legislation. In this vision, society becomes a translucent formal design, in which power is distributed symmetrically to every adult citizen at regular intervals (elections), and is then immediately reconstituted into a new, unitary pattern (government). ... The entire energies of the social democratic party are thus polarised towards this one supreme moment; everything else is secondary.'* The supreme moment is expected to come in 1978.

Whilst criticising the electoralism of the Tribunes it is important not to fall into the obverse trap of regarding elections as irrelevant. Socialist policies require electoral legitimation as well as mass struggle; both are essential in advanced capitalist democracies.

The consequences for those working within the Labour Party

are that it is necessary to change the very practice of the Party itself. Policy questions are, of course, important, but of the 300 motions submitted by Constituency Labour Parties to this year's Conference, readers of *Socialist Challenge* will probably agree with at least 250. At present the left is in control of most Constituency Parties, albeit

without a coherent or clear political perspective. But that perspective can only arise through the struggle to change the practice of the Party. A move towards mass campaigning politics, with socialist ideas in practice, is essential. For that and other tasks the Labour left must organise.



Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

Well over a hundred people from all over Britain joined the pro-abortion lobby of last week's Labour Party conference, organised by the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign. Delegates were urged to support the two composite resolutions sponsored by LARC supporters.

The first composite, moved by Gillian Wilding from Hackney North Constituency Labour Party, demanded 'free abortion on request — a woman's right to choose' and called on the Government to introduce legislation to guarantee this right in law, as well as the improvement of NHS

facilities. It was carried by an enormous 70:1 majority. Fewer votes were cast against the resolution calling for the abolition of the House of Lords!

But the other composite, moved by Barry Beaumont of the Socialist Medical Association, which called for the abolition of the free vote of 'conscience' for Labour MPs, was defeated by 3,882,000 votes to 460,000.

So while the enormous pro-abortion card vote will ensure its inclusion in Labour's programme, MPs will have conference's backing when they decide to flaunt its decisions as they have done in the past.

LARC is pledged to continue the fight for the abolition of the free vote. Delegates at LARC's very successful fringe meeting, which attracted over a hundred conference participants, exploded the 'conscience' myth which free votes are supposed to justify. There was no such 'freedom' on the Labour Government's pro-USA policy on Vietnam, or on the sales of arms to Vorster's South Africa. And doubtless if the Pope were to rule against incomes policy there would not suddenly be a free vote on this question either!

### BATTLE HYMN FOR THE NEW SOCIALIST PARTY

The cloth cap and the working class  
 As images are dated,  
 For we are Labour's avant-garde  
 And we were educated,  
 By tax adjustments we have planned  
 To institute the Promised Land,  
 And just to show we are sincere  
 We sing *The Red Flag* once a year.

We will not cease from mental fight  
 Till every wrong is righted,  
 And all men are equal quite,  
 And all our leaders knighted;  
 For we are sure if we persist,  
 To make the New Year's Honours List,  
 Then every loyal Labour Peer,  
 Will sing *The Red Flag* once a year.

Firm principles and policies  
 Are open to objections  
 And a streamlined party image is  
 The way to win elections.  
 So raise the umbrella high,  
 The bowler hat and college tie,  
 We'll stand united, raise a cheer  
 And sing *The Red Flag* once a year.

So vote for us, and not for them.  
 We're just as true to NATO,  
 And we'll be as calm and British when  
 We steer the ship of state-o,  
 We'll stand as firm as them  
 To show we're patriotic gentlemen,  
 Though man to man shall brothers be,  
 Deterrence is our policy.

It's one step forward, one step back,  
 Our dance is devilish during,  
 A leftward shuffle, a rightward track,  
 Then pause to take our bearings,  
 We'll reform the country bit by bit,  
 So nobody will notice it,  
 Then ever after, never fear,  
 We'll sing *The Red Flag* once a year.

So raise the mushroom clouds on high  
 Within their shade we'll live — and die,  
 Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,  
 We'll sing *The Red Flag* once a year.

LEON ROSSELSON

# 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.

**1** 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 united 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, gypsies — 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 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.

### WANT TO KNOW MORE?

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, 328/329 Upper Street, London N1.

## Fighting racism in London's East End

The Bengali community in the East End are the Jews of the sixties and seventies. They are the scapegoats of today. They provide the cheap labour for most of the sweatshops in the area. While the community as a whole is threatened by racist attacks from fascists, some of the impediments which stand in the way of its self-organisation against racist harassment lie, unfortunately, inside the community itself.

That is what Hilda Kean, the Socialist Unity candidate in the by-election in Spitalfields ward, is discovering as she takes the fight for socialist policies into the heart of the East End.

A number of Bengali anti-racists are working with Hilda. One of them described the activities of the Bangladesh Welfare Association, a body controlled and manipulated by the owners of restaurants.

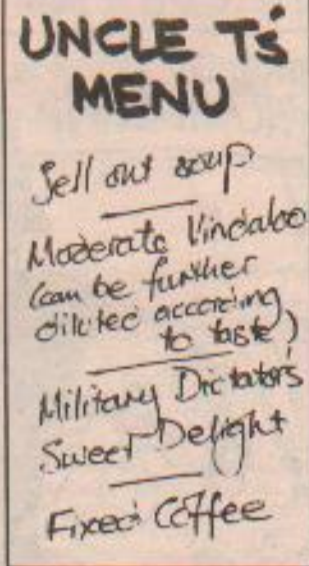
### Six arrested

Last month the Bethnal Green police arrested six Bengali anti-racists outside a meeting of the association in Club Row. This organisation had not held an election for the past eight years and there has been no public accounting of its funds. So when an election for officers was held on 3 September, many of the local Bengalis who challenged the restaurant owners and their cronies were denounced as 'enemies'

and thrown out of the meeting by the organisers, who then called the police.

The grey eminence of the association is Tassaduque Ahmed, the owner of the Ganges restaurant in Gerrard Street, Soho, and another opposite Paddington Station. Tassaduque is the archetypal Uncle Tom figure of the community. He has served on numerous 'race-relations sub-committees'; he has close links with Fleet Street; he even maintains a 'left' face.

Tassaduque became an opportunist extraordinary. When the Pakistani military dictator Ayub



Khan visited Britain in the early sixties, it was Uncle Tassaduque who garlanded and welcomed him. He'd moved a long way from Bengali communism! During the Bangladesh independence struggle, he became an uncritical supporter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He recently participated in hosting a reception for the new military dictator of Bangladesh — General Zia-ur-Rehman during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference.

In Britain Tassaduque backed the establishment (in the process increasing his restaurants' clientele). In 1973 the Sunday Times colour supplement ran a derogatory article about East End Bengalis. Outraged Bengali activists demanded an apology. Comrade Tassaduque organised a counter-petition backing the Sunday Times!

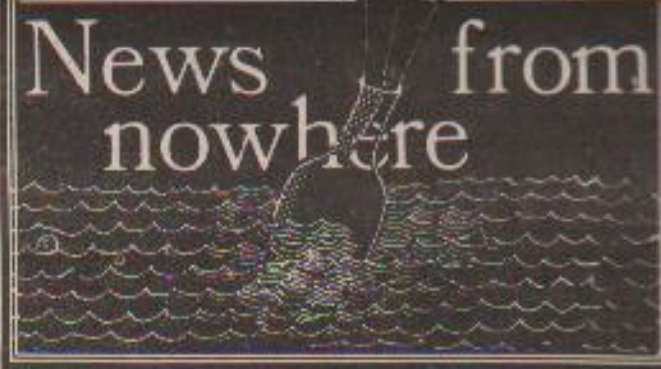
Recently, he attempted to sabotage a grant being awarded by Tower Hamlets borough council to launch a community magazine. Tassaduque reportedly said: 'We don't want to involve the Bangladeshi people in anti-NF activities. It is politics.' Tassaduque Ahmed does not himself live in the East End.

### Socialist Unity

The Socialist Unity campaign is of course centring its battle against Labour's Tory policies: cuts in social expenditure, inflation, racism and the rest.

At a Socialist Unity meeting in Toynbee Hall last Sunday Hilda argued for these policies before an audience of over sixty people.

Tassaduque Ahmed's menu offers class-collaboration on all fronts. His record is as soiled as the water of the River Ganges. It is only by fighting people like him and his labour mentors that the Bengali community will move forward.



### Get smart!

THE ASSOCIATION of Metropolitan Authorities (AMA) has announced that it will respect the 12-month rule and keep to the 10 per cent wage guidelines. Given the record of local governments, this news is hardly surprising.

What is interesting, however, is that the AMA is chaired by none other than Jack Smart, a Labourite worthy from Pontefract (remember Poulson?). Smart is the leader of the Labour group on Wakefield District Council. He was an influential member of the Layfield committee of enquiry into the finances of local government. The enquiry made no recommendations to improve wages and conditions. More importantly Smart is an employee of the Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mine-workers. He is a fulltime agent for the North Yorkshire panel of the coalfield. The fact the NUM pay claim is well outside the 10 per cent pay norm would not impress Smart too much. He is right-wing to the core.

In winter 1975-76 workers in the Wakefield MDC Public Works Department sought from the AMA information pertaining to various wage figures. Smart threatened them with the Official Secrets Act.

As far as the Yorkshire miners are concerned Smart was the protégé of the old right-wing leaders Bullough and Scholfield. They were hoping that he would succeed them to maintain the right-wing grip. But in the post-'69 period the miners moved to the left. So fortunately the Yorkshire Miners have Scargill rather than Smart.

Desperate by now, Smart formed the Yorkshire Association of Labour Miners, a right-wing outfit which remained still-born. It reminds us of all the old values nurtured by bureaucrats: privilege, secrecy and class-collaboration. Smart is down, but not out. Public sector workers in the area should bear these facts in mind.

### Promotions in 'Fort Southall'

RAY RADFORD is the commandant of Fort Southall, the name local residents give to the Southall police station. For his heroic acts in the area, Ray has now been promoted to second in command of the division.

An old police hand at controlling blacks, Ray was selected as the deputy in charge of the police sent to Anguilla in 1969. He is a veteran of the Notting Hill riots in the early sixties.

Fort Southall is fitted up with steel shutters. They can be dropped down over doors and windows at the press of a button. Radford says that the area has 'a lot of potential race problems'. That is absolutely true. Most of them are a direct result of police harassment of black people.

A short time ago there was a pro-Powell slogan on display inside the Fort. And last year a young Asian who was arrested for theft was released after it was discovered that the money had merely been misplaced. However the Asian had signed a confession inside the Fort admitting to having stolen the said amount.

Radford has recently returned from training at the National Police College in Hampshire. He was specialising in how to deal with 'terrorism'. The residents of Southall are warned.

### Reg Prentice is a Tory, OK?

REMEMBER ALL the press outcry when the Newham Lab-

our Party first wanted to replace Prentice? Remember Roy Jenkins and Shirley Williams leaping to Reg's defence? Remember all that hysteria about Trots, left-wing extremists and the like? So the Newham Labour Party was unrepresentative, eh? A small group of Trot trouble-makers!

Who does Prentice represent in Parliament now? His electorate? We trust that the Mail, Express and The Guardian will now be running a vigorous campaign to force Prentice to resign so that the people of Newham can elect a new representative. Or is that too undemocratic?

### Their credibility gap

LAST SATURDAY'S demonstrations in Manchester are covered in detail elsewhere in this paper. How the mass media covered the event on the day itself is of note. Take a small example: the actual size of the fascist demonstrators. Socialist Challenge reporters in Manchester estimated between 400 and 600 fascists at the most.

At 4pm the Capital Radio news broadcast said there were 300 fascists on the demo. The BBC TV news at 5.25 [read by Richard Baker] asserted there were 700 fascists. However a direct commentary from the spot, with film footage, from the BBC person covering the event stated that there were 500 NF! The following morning the Sunday Times reported that there were 1,000 NF. Could it be that the numbers have to be constantly raised to justify the police spending £250,000 to protect a small group of Nazi thugs?

### A miller's tale



THE STUDENTS' UNION of the North London Polytechnic is dominated by the far left. In accordance with tradition they asked the Director to send a message for the Union handbook. The Director, Terence Miller, refused. The handbook reprinted the refusal which we reproduce below:

Dear Mr. Hayes,  
Thank you for inviting me to write an introduction to the 1977-78 edition of the Students' Union Handbook. In normal circumstances I would be happy to do this. Unfortunately the last two months have been far from normal.

You and your colleagues of the Students' Union Executive, and others, have occupied the administration building including my office for two months.

Not only have you 'occupied' the building, but you have caused extensive damage, and you have stolen property, including personal belongings of many members of the administrative staff. More importantly, you have forced open cupboards and filing cabinets, and have removed many papers and documents.

Finally you have forced open the safe in my office, using crowbars, jemmies, heavy hammers and cutting implements, and you have stolen the entire contents.

I think you must agree that I am somewhat disenchanted with the activities of the Students' Union Executive and it is for this reason that I am unwilling to write an introduction to your next handbook.  
Yours faithfully,  
T.G. Miller



Oswald Mosley (left) who attempted to terrorise the East End Jews in the 1930s, and Nazi Tyndal who seeks to do the same to the Bengalis today.



## Socialist Unity to hold national conference ...

LAST WEEK'S Labour Party Conference ended on a note of tranquillity, much to the relief of the ruling class. Wage freeze and unemployment will carry on unchallenged by the 'left' and women's rights to abortion will come under further attack because of the 'free vote' so passionately defended by 'left' and right.

The Socialist Unity Conference being held in London on 19 November now becomes even more important as a focus for organising a fight back against the attacks of the ruling class and their Labour allies. Individuals and organisations interested in discussing standing class-struggle candidates in by-elections and the general election should make

sure that they are at the London 19 November Conference. Details concerning the Conference — draft programmes etc. — can be obtained from Socialist Unity, Box 15, Rising Free, Upper Street, London, N.1.

The provisional agenda will be: Manifesto Programme, Attitude to the Labour Government. Organisation and future activities of Socialist Unity. If your organisation or Socialist Unity Group wants a speaker please write to Socialist Unity (address above). The next meeting of the Socialist Unity Steering Committee will be in Leeds on Sunday 6 November, please make sure that your area is represented.

## ... and campaigns in East End

THE SOCIALIST Unity campaign in the East End is gathering momentum. A meeting last Sunday in Toynbee Hall was attended by 60 activists, half of whom were Bengali. HILDA KEAN, the SU candidate for Spitalfields Ward, explained how the fight against racism was linked to the struggle for socialist policies on housing, inflation and so on.

The meeting was threatened by a group of fascists, fresh from harassing Bengalis in Brick Lane. However, they did not enter the hall itself. Because of the lack of support from SU supporters from other areas in London an emergency call was made to the local Socialist Workers Party. The SWP comrades responded magnificently. A dozen of their stewards arrived within minutes to defend the meeting. This is even more creditable given the fact that the SWP is not backing Socialist Unity, but is calling for a vote for Labour in the election.

The East End is an important fascist stronghold. The fascists are extremely worried that SU might push them into third place. They are therefore beginning to harass comrades and physical attacks are expected. Socialist Unity are therefore calling on their supporters in London to give some time over the next week to canvass and help in the campaign.

An impressive turn out for this Sunday's anti-racist march in Hoxton is also extremely important. The march is backed by the local London Labour parties and the South East Region TUC as well as the Communist Party and International Marxist Group.

The demonstration starts at Shoreditch Park, Poole Street, New North Road, London N.1. (Ham. Bus routes 76, 141, 271; nearest tube, Old Street. For details of the Socialist Unity campaign ring Alan at: 226 0571.

# Arthur Scargill on Grunwick: 'part of the whole class struggle'

Extract from a speech by Yorkshire miners' leader ARTHUR SCARGILL at a Grunwick meeting held at the Labour Party conference.

"The name of Grunwick has become synonymous with trade union struggle. Many issues in the past centuries have been focal points in the history of our movement. Grunwick is one of those focal points.

There are those in our movement who still believe that Grunwick is an issue confined to a North London film laboratory. They are either deliberately deluding the movement or they are living in cloud cuckoo land.

What is taking place at that insignificant North London laboratory is part of the whole class struggle; and the right wing of our movement is doing its best to sabotage the efforts that have been put forward over the last 14 months to bring that struggle to a satisfactory conclusion.

At every step there has been attempt after attempt to dampen down the organised struggle which has been put forward by the Grunwick strike committee and sections of the trade union movement. There are fundamental issues at stake.

There is the right of any man or woman to belong to a trade union of his or her choice. The right of the working class — not just one union — to participate in militant picketing, and to do so without the fear of intimidation by the police.

There is the basic right of individuals to communicate information to those going to work, or those who are bringing services or goods into that place of work.

## Break-neck

But at Grunwick there has been a deliberate campaign on the part of the authorities to physically prevent people participating in the picket line in an effective way. I ask the question: How does a man or woman communicate with someone going into a factory if the authorities allow those people to be placed in a car or bus and driven at break-neck speed through the picket line?

All this is not new. It happened during the miners' strikes in 1972 and 1974. Then it resulted in mass action by miners and other sections of the movement to ensure that picketing could take place; to impress upon those who were going in that they should join the dispute and not be part of a sabotage operation.

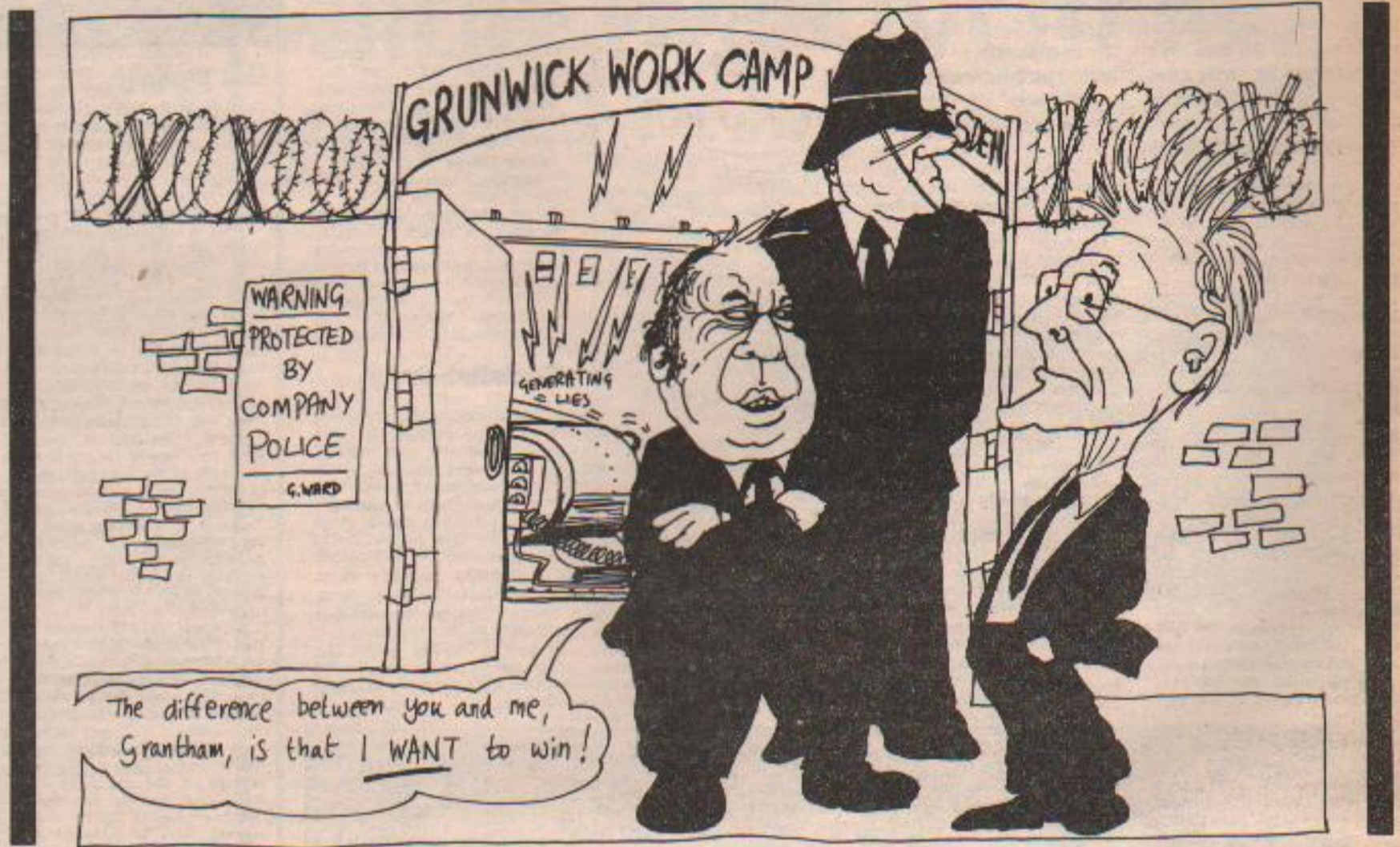
Some object to such tactics. People argue, yes you have the right to picket provided you do it within the framework of the law. What in effect they mean is that you have the right to picket provided it isn't effective. You never hear anyone criticise picketing until it becomes effective.

Do not be fooled, comrades, by those in the movement who are arguing for changes in the law. When they talk about changing the law on picketing what they mean — both those in the Tory ranks and tragically some of those within our own movement — are changes which will result in ineffective picketing.

## JOURNALIST WANTED FOR SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

Socialist Challenge requires an additional journalist, to work mainly on sub-editing and editorial management. While training can be given, we would prefer a comrade with some writing experience.

Applications to: Appointments, Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper Street, London N.1.



I have heard a lot of comments this week about the Prime Minister's speech. In the main it was a knockabout, election type speech designed to win maximum support from the general public. There were two aspects that caused me deep concern.

One was a call for a further year of wage restraint; but there was a deeper and more worrying aspect of the speech. It was a section that was not reported widely in the press, but it ought to cause concern to every man and woman in the British labour movement.

## Police powers

Callaghan said we have to take necessary steps to give further powers to the police in dealing with certain situations. While he didn't specifically mention Grunwick I think the inference was there, bearing in mind his previous statement when he said in Scotland that we should back our police even on occasions when they are wrong. My arrest was subsequently proved to be wrong, but it would be justified by that sort of statement.

There are those who believe we can have an amicable and easy solution to Grunwick. There are those in our movement who believe the quicker we can get out of this dispute the better, even if it means cutting our losses. But if we are defeated at Grunwick it is not a defeat for a small section of North London workers — it is a terrible defeat for the whole of the trade union movement.

I cannot for the life of me understand the problem. Why does this movement which proclaims 11 million members in the TUC find it difficult to bring this dispute to a successful conclusion?

Why can't we say we will organise a mass picket of 10,000 people a day outside the Grunwick factory? The pious words which were put across at the meeting of the TUC should be turned into real positive action. We ought to see the General Council of the TUC marching down Cooper Road at the head

of that 10,000 picket.

Anyone would think the movement wouldn't respond. But it is amazing the response there has been in the light of the attempts to dampen down the enthusiasm and co-operation.

The decision to hold a mass 11 July was not taken by the TUC but by the Yorkshire and South Wales areas of the national Union of Mineworkers. And it was a direct and deliberate decision by the TUC and APEX to draw people away from the picket by staging a demonstration of ineffective marching round North London.

Two hours I spent at the headquarters of the TUC when they tried to persuade me not to join the picket line. Well, I think that I have a greater obligation to this class and this movement than to listen to the tactics that should be deployed in 'an honourable way'. The thing we should have done is what we did do — demonstrate our solidarity in a positive way; and in a way that would have been continued but for the leadership of the TUC.

We ought to applaud the action of the postal workers. The tragedy was that there were those in the leadership who were deliberately trying to stop that action.

## Fanatics

I am told by those people in the leadership of the unions involved that we have to listen to what the law and order fanatics say. I would remind them that if we listened to that type of phraseology in the past none of us would have been in the TUC, because it was illegal to combine, illegal to join a political party of the left.

Why is it that we find it difficult to cut off supplies to this factory? Have our road workers lost the skill to dig up a road. I saw dozens of leaks in Cooper Road that are desperately needing attention. And the recent explosions in the gas industry show that the gas main in the area need checking. If it were possible to check the oxygen going in I would check that as

well.

We are involved in a class issue. That's the reason people like Sir Keith Joseph have become involved on the side of Mr Ward. The tragedy is that the trade union movement and the Labour Party do not seem to realise the enormous significance of a defeat at Grunwick.

There are a number of things that can be done. First we have to call upon the TUC to organise to cut off supplies — postal services, gas, water, electricity and every other service. Cut them off completely and demonstrate that this movement has real power.

We have to ask APEX to consider involving more people in mass action. If George Ward can involve NAFF and all that goes with it, then surely APEX has an obligation to involve wider sections of the trade union movement.

Thirdly: Why is it that the Government finds it difficult to nationalise this firm — take it over completely? And if they find that a little too socialist, why don't they introduce retrospective legislation to compel union recognition?

It may be that none of these things will come about because of the reluctance on the part of the trade union movement and the Labour Party to involve itself in the measures I have mentioned. In these circumstances, it becomes incumbent on those at the grass roots level of the movement to demonstrate its solidarity.

Remember this: a defeat at Grunwick is a defeat for the movement. A defeat for this movement and this strike, backed as it has been these last 13 months by the pressure of wide sections of the movement, would

set back the trade union cause many years. To underestimate that would be the worst mistake anyone could make.

I call upon this movement to involve itself in every possible way. If the official trade union and Labour Party movement will not become involved, then it's necessary for a grass roots reaction to take place.

That way we'll say goodbye to Mr. Ward, goodbye to the National Association for Freedom, and we'll bring a deserved victory for those magnificent workers who have struggled for 14 months, and I think 14 months too long.

Next week Socialist Challenge will feature an exclusive interview with Arthur Scargill.

## Oct 17 - and after

There is every indication that the mass picket of Grunwick on 17 October called by the strike committee will attract militants from throughout the country.

The South-east Regional Council of the TUC gave its support at the weekend. They join miners from Yorkshire, South Wales and Derbyshire, printers from London and trade union and Trades Council branches in many industries and areas.

The strike committee has made it clear that the mass picket will last all day. There will be no diversionary march, as was organised by the TUC on 11 July — the intention is not to allow anything into the factory on 17 October.

It also needs to be stressed that the strike committee do not see 17 October as a one-off affair, but rather as the start of a new campaign of mass picketing similar to that which brought the strike to the brink of victory in the summer.

Roy Grantham, the general

secretary of the strikers' union APEX, has denounced the picket, and the TUC will do nothing to cut off supplies or services to George Ward. Consequently if the mass action is to be sustained it needs to be built outside of — indeed in opposition to — these official union channels.

The most effective way is to build Grunwick support committees. An example of what is possible is provided by the Preston support committee established after a successful tour of local factories in the area by a member of the Grunwick strike committee.

The support committee was established by Trades Council activists in Preston. They organised delegations to the picket line from such factories as GEC and British Leyland. They led local postal workers over the Cacklewood affair, and they

won the support of Preston Dock Ship Stewards Committee for a lobby of the TUC.

There is no reason why militants throughout the country should not be doing the same thing. There is tremendous support for the Grunwick strikers at rank and file level — it only needs to be organised and co-ordinated.

There is no use hiding the fact that the strikers are in a worse position than they were before the Scargill inquiry, but victory is still possible. It depends on all those who attend the 17 October mass picket — doubling their efforts after that day.

Organising more large delegations to the picket line, canvassing support through their local labour movement, building support committees should be the priority of all militants.

Given the general significance of the Grunwick strike, solidarity with that strike is not just in the interests of strikers. It is in the interests of the entire trade union movement.

# Leyland workers: Unity is vital

## Corporate bargaining is not the answer

**Fifty million pounds. That's how much the National Enterprise Board has given Leyland for investment. And the Leyland bosses are so deep in crisis that they are using it not for investment, but to pay wages.**

Leyland's problems of profitability are little different from those of other capitalist firms. But even its recent productivity drives haven't been enough to turn the tide and increase investment in the face of a declining economy.

That's what led Lord Ryder to propose wide-scale rationalisation, speed-up and increased productivity from Leyland workers.

But before Ryder and his supporters are able to notch up any success in their plans, the shop floor strength and organisation of Leyland workers will have to be weakened.

This is the background to the consistent attempts by Leyland management to persuade the unions to agree to 'corporate bargaining'. Management would like to see one national bargaining date — November is proposed — with a 'significant reduction' in the number of bargaining units. There are now 58 such units at Leylands.

### Working party

The tactics used by Leyland have been clever. The senior stewards have been seduced into a working party that will put forward proposals on corporate bargaining. Leyland is hoping that the work of this party will

help overcome the massive shop floor opposition to corporate bargaining by dressing it up with concessions.

Their first attempt was the 'security of earnings scheme'. This little package offered minor concessions, but some of them are already guaranteed by the Employment Protection Act! It was soundly kicked out by mass meetings of workers throughout Leyland.

The most recent attempt calls for a common review date of November and a commitment to reducing the number of bargaining units over two years. To sell it to the shop floor, the latest proposals are enrobed with a self-financing productivity scheme and parity payments. Leyland is threatening that if this offer stays on the table much longer, they will implement corporate bargaining with or without union consent.

Management has lots to gain if corporate bargaining is imposed. First, 'leap-frogging' on wages will be cut.

When measured day work was introduced it was designed to block the wage drift. That hasn't happened enough for the Leyland bosses and the plant-by-plant bargaining structure at Leyland has helped workers to win wage increases — successes notched up by one plant are used

by workers negotiating in other plants.

Secondly, corporate bargaining takes one step further the attack on shop steward strength which was first begun through the introduction of measured day work.

Plant bargaining allows considerable rank and file control over negotiations through the shop steward structure. Negotiations would be put in the hands of national union officials. And these are the same 'leaders' who only too happily have policed the Social Contract for the past two years.

### Leadership

That's why the union leadership favours the deal. The Engineering Union has come out firmly in favour of corporate bargaining. The Transport Union has now accepted the principle — an about face from its previous support for plant-by-plant bargaining.

Both unions have now moved ahead to 'consider' the package through the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. The Communist Party has taken the cue and favours long term moves towards corporate bargaining. Some senior stewards have also supported it, because they consider that the

larger plants would have a stronger position around the negotiating table.

But the majority of stewards — and the rank and file — have voiced strong opposition. The benefits of plant bargaining, particularly in plants such as Cowley, are something most workers are not willing to part with.

Not that plant bargaining is perfect. Faced with a Government incomes policy, united action by all Leyland workers is called for if wage increases are to be won. But corporate bargaining is not the solution.

Talk of 'democratically controlled' national bargaining structure is fine on paper. In practice any moves in this direction today would hand over negotiations to full-time officials.

Opposition to corporate bargaining at Leyland doesn't involve abstract principles. For example, in the mines any moves towards local bargaining — especially local productivity bargaining — would weaken the unity of the union for action and should be opposed.

In totally rejecting moves towards national corporate bargaining, steps must be taken now to unite all plants for action in pursuit of an adequate pay claim negotiated through the present structures.

A conference of all Leyland stewards to discuss the action needed to restore living standards will lay a good basis for launching the kind of united fight which is desperately needed.

Next week's Socialist Challenge will include a review by Pat Hickey of the Communist Party pamphlet, *Leyland Save It*.



Skilled car mechanic at Leylands



Worker in the [upholstery] trim shop

# Teachers plan fightback in England... and Scotland

THE ANNUAL General Meeting of the Socialist Teachers Alliance re-affirmed the need to fight for a special salaries conference of the teachers' union when it met in London last weekend. It was attended by over 60 teachers representing every major area in England and Wales. The call was first issued at the Open Conference of teachers last July — attended by militants in the union including members of *Rank and File Teachers*, backed by the Socialist Workers Party.

The STA is a group of rank and file teachers committed to fighting inside the NUT against the anti-working class policies of the union's leadership. In recognising the need for alternative poli-

cies, the general meeting agreed to campaign for the adoption of a salaries policy at the special conference, including demands for flat rate salary increases coupled with automatic increases to immediately compensate for rises in the cost of living.

The STA decided to campaign for Dave Whitely, general secretary of Wandsworth Teachers Association, in the union vice-presidential elections. It will also be calling for a vote for Dick North, currently an NUT executive member and a leading militant of the *Rank and File Teacher*.

The decision to stand a candidate is in line with the policy of the STA to support the 'maxi-

mum unity of action of all forces prepared to fight the cuts, social contract and the executive's inactivity'. Open democratic meetings of the left to discuss platforms and candidates in the present and future elections will be organised, and a draft platform will be submitted to the *Rank and File Teacher* grouping as a basis for discussing joint candidates.

The STA meeting also declared its intention to campaign for NUT delegates to support the conference on wages called by the *Rank and File* Organising Committee and to write to the Co-ordinating Committee requesting representation on it from the STA.

THE FIRST SERIOUS attempt of militants in the teachers union throughout Scotland to map out the fightback against the Government's disastrous policies took place in Edinburgh on 1 October when 35 teachers attended the Scottish Rank and File Teachers conference. The conference pledged itself to campaign for a recall conference of the Educational Institute of Scotland, the Scottish teachers' union, to discuss the issue of pay. DES TIERNEY reports.

Teachers in Scotland have a hard battle ahead. The leadership of the union was a leading force at the Scottish TUC to support

the social contract — without reservation. In fact, it is so enamoured with the social contract that the executive called on delegates at the union's national conference in June to back Phase 3 before its terms were even announced!

The first step in getting a recall conference of the union will be a campaign for 2000 signatures. If militants are successful, the union is bound by its constitution to call a conference. Some of the policies adopted at the Rank and File Conference — to be put to the recall conference — will help ensure that Scottish teachers are in the forefront of the public sector fightback.

Conference adopted a resolu-

tion calling for a sliding scale of public expenditure, the nationalisation of Grunwick, and a unanimous vote committed the group to a campaign against cash limits through organising local public sector conferences. Despite a fraternal debate on the need to fight for automatic increases in wages as the cost of living rises, conference rejected this policy.

The Organising Committee elected in Edinburgh included members from the International Marxist Group as well as the Socialist Workers Party. The committee plans to produce a paper — to appear once each term — following the EIS recall conference.

## THE BATTLE OF GRUNWICK



view from the left  
By Geoff Bell, Mick Gosling,  
Jonathan Silberman,  
and Tessa van Gelderen

30p Socialist Challenge PAMPHLET

In easily readable sections and attractively designed, this 24-page pamphlet is a vital tool in nailing the lies of the capitalist propaganda machine as the mass pickets again swirl around Ward's gates.

Price 30p plus 10p postage. Orders for five or more post free, 20 or more post free and 10 per cent discount (cash with order). All orders to: Relgocrest Ltd., 328/9 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ. Tel: 01-359 8371.

## NATIONAL RANK AND FILE DELEGATE CONFERENCE

SATURDAY, 26 NOVEMBER  
CO-OP HALL, MANCHESTER

Socialist Challenge supporters are urged to get delegated from their organisations on the basis of the fighting policies of Socialist Challenge. The most important policies include:

- \*an end to the 12-month rule, to the 10 per cent norm and to cash limits
  - \*no productivity dealing to increase wages at the expense of jobs
  - \*for a minimum wage of £50, equal pay with no strings attached
  - \*for automatic increases in wages to compensate for rises in the cost of living; for a sliding scale of public expenditure
  - \*for mass solidarity with workers in struggle; for the nationalisation of Grunwick
  - \*for industry-wide shop stewards conferences on pay
  - \*for local shop stewards conferences to set up local action committees on wages
- Credentialed delegates from the Rank and File Centre, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4.



Erin Pizzey with supporters at the court on Thursday

## Women batter court ruling

THREE WOMEN and five children were welcomed at the Chiswick High Road battered women's hostel in West London last Friday, in defiance of a ruling by Acton magistrates. A court ruling the previous day found Erin Pizzey guilty of allowing the refuge to become overcrowded. Dozens of banner and placard-waving supporters arrived at the court to hear that the 72 women and children forced to use the refuge were double the numbers allowed by the Hounslow Council — a decision backed by a House of Lords ruling last May.

Battered women will have a legal right to be rehoused by the local authority when the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act comes into force in December in England, and in April in Scotland. But the enforcement of this 'right' in the face of the Government's cash limits will only come about if a massive campaign is launched for housing facilities. To date the Women's Aid Federation has been in the forefront of the fight to get facilities and in explaining how women battering is the product of a society steeped in sexism.

## Too much Life

A WOLVERHAMPTON headmaster's attempt to set up an anti-abortion lecture for fifth formers ran into trouble last week when women's rights activists tried to hand out leaflets arguing for contraception and abortion as the school students entered class.

pro-abortion leaflets handed out to the students from their hands. Local Women in Action member Janet Kerr says the head 'accused us of debasing peoples' morals' and admitted he was against abortion.

Head Storer had invited the anti-abortion group Life to the St Peter's Church of England School 'to make them aware of the dangers involved'. But a teacher at the school said Storer 'is trying to force his views on us and the children'.

The true scope of anti-abortion activity in schools is only slowly becoming known by teachers in the women's movement. If you have evidence of similar 'lectures', send it to Socialist Challenge and to teachers' journals such as Socialist Teacher and the NUT's journal, The Teacher. The addresses to write to Socialist Teacher, 221 Westcombe Hill, London SE3; The Teacher, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London WC1.

The measure of Storer's concern for a 'balanced' discussion was shown when he ripped

## Gay News vs. God

Mary Whitehouse says she has 'nothing against homosexuals' — just homosexuality, gay rights, sex education... and Gay News, against which she secured the recent conviction for 'blasphemous libel'. Despite Ms Whitehouse's protestation that her action was 'prompted by God', the imposition of a £1,000 fine on the one mass-circulation gay paper, and a nine-month suspended sentence for its editor Denis Lemon, is more of an attack on gays than a defence of heavenly hypocrisy reports JAMIE GOUGH

sexist, it carries almost no views to the left of its own liberal, reformist politics. It is, in short, quite prepared to silence others in order to remain 'respectable', especially with the courts.

The defence committee should discuss the nature of Gay News, while unreservedly defending it. The campaign should not be restricted to freedom of speech and legal equality for gays. The attack on the newspaper is a good opportunity to explain the wider implications of Whitehouse's defence of 'family morality', what it's like to be gay in our society — with increasing physical attacks and police harassment — and to put the ideas of gay liberation across to a wider audience.

The Gay News Defence Committee, which meets this Saturday, will need to mobilise wide support if it is to get the convictions overturned and the law of blasphemous libel thrown out.

\*Gay News Defence Committee: Saturday 18 October, 11am to 6pm, at Birmingham Gay Centre, 9-10 Bordesley Street, Digbeth. Tel: 021-643-7899. All welcome.

The sheer crudity of the prosecution case should make this task a bit easier — the main accusation was that the behaviour depicted in Gay News was 'perverted' and 'vile'.

\*Blasphemous Libel Fund raising event, 3 November, St. Pancras Tower Hall, London WC1.

Defending free speech and legal equality for gays need not, however, mean sowing any illusions in Gay News itself. It is a thoroughly bourgeois paper, male-oriented and frequently

Picket the Festival of Light. A picket has been organised by the All-London Gay Groups against Racism and Fascism on Saturday 15 October at 6pm, Outside All Souls Church, Langham Place, W.1

# Union news in brief

## Building workers fight back

A COMPREHENSIVE policy to unite rank and file workers in the building trade was adopted at the 1 October conference called by Building Worker in London. Building Worker is a paper published by militants who broke with the Communist Party-dominated Joint Sites Committee in London in September 1976. Twenty-five delegates elected a national committee and three area secretaries — from the northeast, Manchester and Nottingham — to plan future activity and organise the sales of the paper which currently number 2,500. JOHN HEWITT reports.

Delegates pledged themselves to a fight for a genuine national shop stewards committee for direct labour workers. This resolution is designed to counter the inactivity of the Communist Party following the recent 400-strong direct labour organisation conference in Manchester.

Practical support for the tunnel miners at Murphy's in Finsbury Park was begun at the Conference with a collection of £14. Conference delegates also called for support for the Labour Movement Conference on Ireland — in line with the policy statement which opposes all attempts to split workers whether on race, sex or national lines.

After a lengthy discussion on a resolution calling for complete support for the Right to Work campaign 'as the best organisation for unifying the anger of the unemployed workers with the strength of the employed workers' Conference rejected the resolution by a vote of 8 to 16. Although Building Worker fully supports the campaign, delegates considered that including this as part of the group's policy statement as was proposed would lead to sectarian criticism. It was agreed to add a more general point to the policy statement stressing the urgent need for unity between the employed and the unemployed.

Despite the small number of delegates, the policies adopted can provide the basis for a strong fighting group within the union

## Call for one day public sector strike

Public sector workers in Birmingham have called a conference on pay this coming weekend. Sponsored by a number of local union branches, district committees and shop stewards committees, the conference will be particularly concerned with the cash limits imposed by the Labour Government to hold down wages in the public sector.

Support for the conference is growing rapidly. CHRIS BIRD — a member of the National Union of Public Employees' social services branch in Birmingham, reports his branch's discussion on what the conference should do:

'A Birmingham-wide public sector strike on 1 November as a first step in the fight for a decent wage.' That's the call the annual general meeting of my union branch decided last week to put to the conference on pay.

The one-day strike is different from one-day actions against the cuts which NUPE has called over the past year. These actions were local, and together with the one

national demonstration on 21 November in London, were seen as the solution to fighting the cuts.

Socialist Challenge supporter Martin Tolman was the branch member who made it clear that the strike would be an opportunity to assess our strength and to forge the unity that is vital between all public sector workers.

The motion was opposed by the branch secretary and Communist Party member Martin Cumella. He argued the action would be 'premature'. Speaker after speaker considered otherwise. They called for the 15 October conference to give a fighting lead over pay.

Roger Howarth of the Socialist Workers Party backed Tolman's motion. He said: 'Public sector unions are preparing a sell-out. This makes it doubly urgent to prepare for a real fight now, and not wait until the sell-out has already taken place.'

The motion was passed by 60 votes to 30, and this call for a strike and demonstration on 1 November, and further strike action from 1 December, will now go to the Birmingham conference. If conference accepts the motion it can provide a badly needed national focus for a fight on pay.

### PUBLIC SECTOR PAY CONFERENCE Saturday 15 October 10am-1pm Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth, Birmingham

- \* £55 minimum wage
  - \* Automatic sliding scale of wages
  - \* 35-hour week with no loss of pay
  - \* Consolidation of Phase 1 and 2 payments
  - \* Increase in annual leave entitlement
- Open to all public sector union delegates and shop stewards in Birmingham and surrounding areas. Observers welcome from all other regions.

Independent of the bureaucracy. Copies of the policy statement and Building Worker, issue no. 9 available at 3p from: 19 Red Post Hill, London SE24.

## Labour movement democracy

If the conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement adopts the proposals which its organising committee debated last weekend, a small but important step will be taken in furthering the fight back.

JOHN ROSS reports on three important decisions taken at the meeting.

The CDLM conference — to be held on 23 October in Birmingham — will centre on two questions: the fight against wage controls and solidarity with Granwick or other struggles for unionisation.

A 7-point programme on wages is to be proposed by the organising committee. It includes breaking the 12-month rule and the 10 per cent pay norm; catching-up claims, protected by cost of living increases to compensate for the fall in living standards under wage controls; and rejection of productivity bargaining.

It goes onto call for: a national minimum wage of £60; equal pay for women; the abolition of cash limits and automatic increases in social spending to compensate for inflation; and a campaign to the labour movement for a leadership supporting these policies, together with the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

The organising committee will propose a campaign for labour movement-based support committees to mobilise for mass pickets at Granwick, and to fight for the boycott of essential services.

Platform speakers at the conference will include workers from Pords, British Leyland in Cowley

and Longbridge, Desoutters, as well as militants involved in the Birmingham public sector conference.

It was decided to propose special resolutions against the imposition of corporate bargaining in British Leyland and in support of the Hounslow hospital occupation.

The second important decision is to support the Rank and File

### CDLM CONFERENCE Sunday 23 October Digbeth Hall, Birmingham

Credentials (50p) from: K. Lee, 44 Devonshire Road, Handsworth, Birmingham 20.

Organising Committee conference on 26 November. The organising committee of the CDLM proposed that supporters should fight to get the maximum number of trade union bodies to send delegates and to put forward the policies of the CDLM at the conference.

Finally, the first issue of the bulletin on the car industry — decided at a CDLM cars conference — will appear at the beginning of November. Other opposition groups in the car industry will be approached for a wider conference against the managements' offensives.

## Buses like Concorde

A strike by 300 maintenance workers has kept buses off Liverpool streets for over 3 weeks. They came out when a works study team was introduced without consultation with the union. MARK TURNBULL reports.

As every trade unionist knows the only purpose of work study teams is to make workers slave away a bit harder for less money. But the Merseyside Passenger Transport executive (MPTE) went more than that. When it successfully applied for a 1 per cent fare increase last month, the MPTE met a hostile response — especially from the Trades Council who argued that Liverpool has the most expensive public transport system in Britain since the 18 per cent increase just 7 months ago.

Ian Williams, chairperson of Liverpool Trades Council's transport committee, said 'A young couple in Kirby wanting to visit the cinema in Liverpool would have to pay £1.60 in fares, probably out of their social security because 40 per cent of people in the area are unemployed. The trip would become like a trip on Concorde — out of the reach of most people'.

One indicator of just how expensive fares are is the rise in the number of taxis in Liverpool since 1974 — from 300 to 835.

So here we have yet another first for Liverpool. Last month's figures put Merseyside 'Top of the league for drunks'. Every month Liverpool is top of the unemployment league. And everyday the 'rich' Liverpooluddins — those with jobs — have the privilege of riding on the most expensive transport system.

## Scanlon on carpet

MOVES ARE under way in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to rule out of order the AUEW's vote for the 12-month rule at the TUC.

Union president Hugh Scanlon cast the vote in favour of the rule against the wishes of his entire delegation, and now attempts are being made to raise the issue at the union's appeal court.

John Boyd, the AUEW's general secretary, appears to be trying to head off the carpeting of the president, but it seems likely Scanlon's trickery will eventually be ruled out of order.

## Nottingham's George Ward

WHEN E.H. Architectural Products Ltd in Nottingham decided at the beginning of August to cut the wages of the firm's workforce, shopfloor workers took strike action. The employers refused to negotiate with the union, the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union, although it has been given nominal recognition in the past.

A few days after the strike began the workers were dismissed for breach of contract. Efforts by the union and conciliation body ACAS have all invoked the same response: 'The workers no longer work here so there is nothing to talk about.'

Applications to industrial tribunals from the 17 of the 24 shop floor workers who are on strike have proved fruitless. Realising that the law will not help them fight against their dismissals, the workers have turned to the one tactic which offers victory:

to mobilise the rest of the trade union movement.

The strikers have been backed by the Nottingham Trades Council which has offered them the use of its strike fund. They have called a series of mass pickets. As Brian Simister, vice-president of the Trades Council, said to a meeting at the picket line on Wednesday, 'If this employer wins, it will be a defeat for the whole trade union movement in this area. Support must be won from the stronger sections of the movement in building the mass picket'.

The next mass picket will be at 7am on Wednesday 19 October. Be there! Details from: B. Simister, 32 Greys Road, Woodthorpe, Nottingham. Donations and messages of support to: Strike Committee, c/o C. Stevens, District Officer, Thorn House, Long Eaton, Nottingham.

The National Working Women's Charter Campaign is holding a trade union school on 26 November at Friends Meeting Place, Church Street, Reading.

It is designed to help women trying to organise and raise the question of women's rights at the workplace and within the unions. Or for women who may just be interested to know more about what rights exist and how other women have fought to improve them.

For more information, contact: Anita Turnbull, Flat 2, 3 Coleridge Road, London N8. Tel 01-348 1760 (home), or 01-340 8060 ext. 54 (work).

# 'There should be a revolution about things like this'

The scene at Hounslow Hospital last Friday was one of desolation. Parts of beds lay scattered around the wards. Flowers thrown on the floor showed the brutal haste of the snatch squad of officials, consultants, police and scabs. False teeth floating in a mug remained behind after the body snatchers had hauled patients out of their beds into the waiting fleet of scab ambulances.

They started to pour into the hospital. Workers going to the late shift at the airport. Housewives doing their shopping. Visitors bewildered at the rapid departure of their elderly relatives. Health workers from as far as Central London and the East End. They stood, some shaking with anger at what had happened to 'their' hospital.

And it is 'their' hospital — ever since the staff at Hounslow declared a work-in and demanded that the hospital be transformed for use by the community. That is a hospital based on the needs of the people living in the area; not on the Government's need to run down, to wreck, to close.

It was management's fear of the growing support for this demand that provoked their unannounced raiding party.

Support from the thousands who signed petitions, from meeting after meeting held in the labour movement; support gained from MPs. And the increasing number of patients being referred to the hospital by sympathetic GPs and doctors as the chill of autumn started to set in among the elderly people in the area.

The area health authority suddenly 'discovered' that it had underspent its budget by £500,000 — more than enough to

keep the hospital open while negotiations went on.

The way in which the Hounslow Hospital was dealt with is a warning to other hospitals under occupation, like the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Plaistow Maternity. But it is also a trailer for the sort of action that management will take against occupations in industry and on the campuses once the revised laws on criminal trespass begin to be used.

The work-ins going on at the London hospitals are an inspiration and lead for the scores of hospitals which face closure all over Britain. That issue was one among many which the Labour Party Conference last week was not permitted to discuss. Another was an emergency resolution condemning the Hounslow Hospital raid, which Alan Fisher, general secretary of NUPE, had promised to move on behalf of the occupiers.

The workers at Hounslow realise that they can only rely on their own strength and the strength of all those who are interested in keeping their hospital open, to win the fight.

This is the mood which makes a nurse at Hounslow say: 'I am not a nurse any more. Now I am just here to fight to keep the

by STEVE POTTER

hospital open.' Or as housewife Ellen Cleary, who after seeing the damage in the wards, shouted out: 'There should be a revolution about things like this!'



The morning after, ward sister Cynthia Scott surrounded by empty beds

## Work-in The lessons of Hounslow



How effective are 'work-ins' as a tactic to prevent hospital closure? RICH PALSER assesses their strengths and limitations.

UNITY FOR struggle using the hospital as a base from which to launch a campaign against closure was the main gain in the Hounslow work-in.

This was made possible by the active participation by all workers in running the occupation, and democratic discussion as to how the campaign should be taken forward.

The work-in blunted the attempts by health officials to gradually reduce the number of patients and strip the hospital's facilities. It allowed the workers to demonstrate that the argument of the authority that 'there is no demand for the hospital' was hollow.

The Hounslow workers won the support of a number of local GPs, who ignored the instruct-

ions of the health authority that no more patients were to be sent to the Hounslow. By this means they averted the proposed 'temporary summer closure' — which would have meant the hospital never being re-opened.

### Control

Finally, a work-in can open up the road to workers' control over health facilities — control imposed by the struggle of health workers and the local working class community.

At Hounslow all access to the hospital by management personnel was controlled by the action committee set up to run the campaign, and the workers began to impose their own decisions as to how the hospital should be run.

If the demand for Hounslow to be maintained as a community hospital is won, workers' control will be vital in ensuring that the

## What you can do

\*Send money and messages of support to the defence committee

\*Organise meetings for Hounslow Hospital speakers

\*Support the picketing and occupation

\*If you are in the health service, send resolutions demanding national strike action to save the Hounslow and other hospitals facing closure

\*Book the film by the Newsreel Collective of the struggle to keep open the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, available from The Other Cinema

Details from: Hounslow Hospital Defence Committee, Staines Road, Hounslow, Middx. Tel. 01-570 4448 ext 55.

hospital genuinely caters for the needs of the local working class community — rather than the needs of the health authority for rationalisation and cutbacks.

But a work-in cannot, in the last analysis, prevent closure, as Hounslow shows only too clearly. What the work-in did achieve was preventing closure by 'stealth', a gradual run-down; thus forcing the authority into the most brutal commando tactics to remove the patients.

### Force

Management remains quite prepared to use force, backed up by the type of police presence used in the Hounslow, to impose the closure. Its action is dictated by the Labour Government's cutbacks, not by a misguided desire to improve health care by

closing the hospital.

The work-in tactic can only be a way forward against closure if it becomes a base to prepare working class mass action to force a halt to closure. What counts is the extent to which the work-in can win the commitment of the local labour movement — workers in the hospitals and factories and offices — to mass action, should the closure be attempted. As Hounslow shows, a commitment to strike action until the closure is halted can be crucial.

First and foremost this means commitment to strike action in the hospitals governed by the area health authority which wants the closure.

Area stewards bodies are vital means of providing that solid unity of all health workers against closures.

### Strike action

Secondly it means commitment to strike action by workers outside the health service in that area — a commitment that must be built for through a local defence committee such as that set up at Hounslow.

Thirdly, it means demanding that the union leaderships commit themselves to making such action official, providing strike pay to maintain the strike, campaigning for that action among the membership, and calling solidarity strike action by workers in other areas on a regional and national basis.

All the fine statements of local MPs and dignitaries come to nothing unless they contribute to building this commitment to action — so that any attempt at closure is met by a wave of strike action backed by street demonstrations which can force the health authority to concede the demands of the workers.

It is this action which is now essential for Hounslow to be kept open. The task of the EGA and other hospitals working-in against closure must be to make sure they are ready for when the commandos get round to them.

## How it all began

THE BATTLE for Hounslow Hospital began in July 1976. In line with the policy of the Labour Government, the Ealing, Hammersmith, and Hounslow Area Health Authority cut £500,000 from hospital spending in West London.

Local health workers immediately launched a protest campaign against the run-down which was to hit Hounslow and other hospitals. Promises of support poured in from the labour movement. Local engin-

earing and airport stewards met to discuss action, and one-day strikes were organised in hospitals.

The first of the cuts was due to bite last April, with the closure of the casualty department at Hounslow. But in March, workers at the hospital had already decided to defy the AHA and keep the Hounslow open.

One result of the campaign was that the Community Health Council, a lay advisory body to the AHA, came out in support of the workers' demand that Hounslow be transformed into a community hospital.

The official date for Hounslow's closure was 31 August. On that day hundreds of health workers, other trade unionists, housewives and patients marched in protest.

Despite this show of strength, Secretary of State for Social Services David Ennals declared that there was little opposition to the closure.

But alongside work-ins at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Plaistow Maternity Hospital, this type of action has become a nationally recognised focus for the fight against health cuts.

The Hounslow campaign seemed likely to open up deep splits in the area health authority — due to meet on 12 October. These splits would have been the first sign that the work-in had started to compel the authorities to change their tune.

So, six days before the AHA was due to meet, the body-snatching health officials launched their commando raid.

## Beware scab ambulances

ALONG WITH the police, health officials, and top-table consultants who carried out Thursday's raid were the facilities of the Private Ambulance Company Ltd.

The company operates a nation-wide service from its headquarters at 20 Granville Gardens in West London. Its fleet of converted Volvos, Corvairs and Minis are in increasing demand, and not just for the scabbing.

Heathrow airport is one of its largest customers. Now airport stewards are threatening action if these body-snatchers are allowed to ply their trade at Heathrow.

## We're staying put!



OCCUPATION! That was the unanimous decision of the Hounslow workers the morning after the wrecking of their hospital. Barricades went up in the hospital to prevent any further invasions by health officials. Staff were told by management to report to nearby West Middlesex Hospital. But they are staying put.

The hospital is now the organising centre for strike action to prevent the closure. A conference in the afternoon attended by representatives from the other hospitals in the London area decided to call for strike action from Wednesday 12 October to prevent the closure of Hounslow, Plaistow, Weir and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospitals.

The same day will see a mass lobby of the area health authority which was responsible for the raid on the hospital. Delegates also voted to call on the national officers of the health service unions to organise national strike action. The call for action has been taken up by ten London hospitals who have pledged strike action.



# IRELAND

We are now into year ten of the present Irish 'troubles'. It was on 5 October 1968 that a small civil rights march was batoned off the streets of Derry and when the facts of 'John Bull's slum' became internationally known.

Since then the civil rights struggle has been transformed into a liberation struggle aimed at ending British presence in Ireland. GEOFF BELL reports.

This transformation occurred as it became obvious that a 'reformed' Northern Ireland was not possible; that it was the undemocratic Loyalist State which itself was the problem, rather than the policies of that State.

At the end of nine years the anti-democratic practices of the State have increased. When the civil rights demonstrators first went onto the streets they were not protesting about internment, about torture by British troops, or about the murder by those troops of 14 civilians one afternoon in Derry.

Neither were they drawing attention to the acts of rape committed by British troops or its employment of assassination squads. They were not even protesting about the refusal of Britain to grant self-determination to the Irish people as a whole.

Since 1968 there have been protests about such things; the more Britain has become directly involved, the

greater has been the abrogation of the democratic rights of the Irish people.

There seems little chance that the present Labour Government will cease this involvement. Recently Northern Ireland secretary Roy Mason stated: 'The myth of British withdrawal is dead forever.'

## Isolation

There have been many prepared to resist such diktats. Over the last seven years the resistance has been led by the Provisional Republican movement, a movement Mason now claims to be beating. There has certainly been a decline in the military activity of the Provos, although its main target — British military personnel — has had more casualties this year than last.

Nevertheless it is clear that the simple policy of bombing Britain out of Ireland is not working, and there are signs that many in the Provisionals recognise this. In June this year leading Belfast Republican Jimmy Drumm stated: 'The isolation of socialist Republicans around the armed struggle is dangerous... We need a positive tie with the mass of the Irish people...'

'We need to make a stand on economic issues and on everyday struggles of the people. The forging of strong links between the Republican movement and the workers of Ireland and radical trade unionists will create

an irrepressible mass movement.

Especially in Belfast, of the last nine years socialist politics among the masses in a real way. While it is difficult to tell; other leaders remain tied to the interests of the armed elite working against the people.

But even among the politicians the eventual re-united Ireland is again of. Both the new Fianna Fáil in the South and the Social Democratic and Labour Party in the North have recently taken a similar position. The words are transformed into action. The importance is that the pressure these politicians

One of the main stumbling blocks to re-unification remains the community in the North. The evidence of attitudes in the 'moderate' Alliance Party last week they no longer share between the Socialist Unionist Party. Calls for Loyalist hero Gusty Spence by the Ulster Defence Association talks with the Provos were by Andy Tyrrie, the leader, with the comment: 'Gusty has been in jail too long.'

## Independence

The only new idea to emerge from the Loyalist camp in the last few years is the advocacy of independence. That one who advocates is the extreme John McKeague says the motives behind such

McKeague and his colleagues in the North of Ireland of present Britain 'interfered' with



## Long Kesh Letter

For the first time in many years, Ireland is today witnessing a growing movement towards revolutionary unity and regroupment. Already two separate fusion processes are underway — the Movement for a Socialist Republic (Irish Section of the Fourth International) and Peoples Democracy are planning to fuse in the near future, and similar talks are underway between the Socialist Workers Movement and the Irish Socialist

Party. These fusions are both welcome and opportune, as is the desire of many in all four organisations for a further regroupment between the two fused groups. In his latest letter, our regular correspondent from Long Kesh Internment camp writes of another move towards anti-imperialist unity.

## For Republican and Socialist unity

In Ireland, Republicans have traditionally opposed British imperialism, both politically and militarily. This opposition has seldom been a united one. It has been prone to fragmentation and in-fighting caused mainly by the elitist attitudes of individuals within various republican groupings.

In the past year a genuine effort has been made in Derry to remedy this splintering with the creation of the Irish Front. The Irish Front embraces various anti-imperialist groups, including the Provisional Republican Movement, the Irish Republican Socialist Party, the Nationalist Party, and various Prisoners' Welfare and Action Committees. All agree on four basic demands:

- \* To end harassment, torture and intimidation;
- \* The withdrawal of the British occupation forces and an end to British interference in the political, cultural and economic life of the nation;
- \* Full support for the political status campaign, leading to an unconditional general amnesty for all political prisoners at home and abroad;
- \* The repatriation of all Irish political prisoners in British jails.

In January this year the Irish Front established area committees throughout Derry, and a central committee was formed with one person from each area and two representatives of each

affiliated organisation. They decided the nature of the Front would be a 'broad' rather than a 'popular' one. This aimed at preventing opportunist infiltration similar to that which occurred in the civil rights movement in the late '60s, when bourgeois politicians used the mass popular movement to further their own careers.

The same experience allowed the Front to pass a resolution prohibiting any leading figure in it from participating in local or central government elections.

The first edition of the Irish Front bulletin appeared on the fifth anniversary of Bloody Sunday. On St Patrick's Day (17 March) they organised a Prisoners' Day with a massive parade of about 10,000 people.

A new air of hope is at last developing after many years of despair caused by petty squabbling between the rival anti-

imperialist groupings in the working class areas. Attendance at meetings and public protest has increased rapidly and people can identify with the Irish Front without fear of offending a neighbour with a different strain of anti-imperialism.

Perhaps as a result of the activities of the Front, and in spite of adverse propaganda propagated by reactionaries in the Church in Derry, socialism is becoming more acceptable to the working class. People who once frowned on such a philosophy are now beginning to identify and agree with the policies and ideals of such renowned socialists as James Connolly and James Larkin — the founders of the trade union movement in Ireland.

The progress of the Front has had another effect. Almost the entire leadership, including its

chairperson Seamus O'Kane (a member of the IRSP), has been arrested and tortured since they organised a 4,000-strong march against Elizabeth's visit to Ireland.

This experience in anti-imperialist unity in Derry has been successful. We can only hope that a further expansion of the Irish Front will occur; on the same basis of anti-imperialist unity.

I recall a well-publicised controversial rape case earlier this year when a Coldstream Guard was convicted of the rape of a young girl in London and received a suspended sentence because the judge didn't want to interrupt the soldier's career in the army.

In a protest march after the case one woman said she sympathised with the people of Northern Ireland who had to bear this rapist and his regiment on their tour of duty. She prophesied that similar rapes would occur in the North, committed by British troops.

Her prophecy has come true. Two members of the Black Watch regiment, Raymond Brown and A.H. Beattie, were jointly charged with the rape and assault of a 19-year-old woman in Newcastle, County Down. Both have been granted bail.

Yours,  
Tíocfaidh Ar La

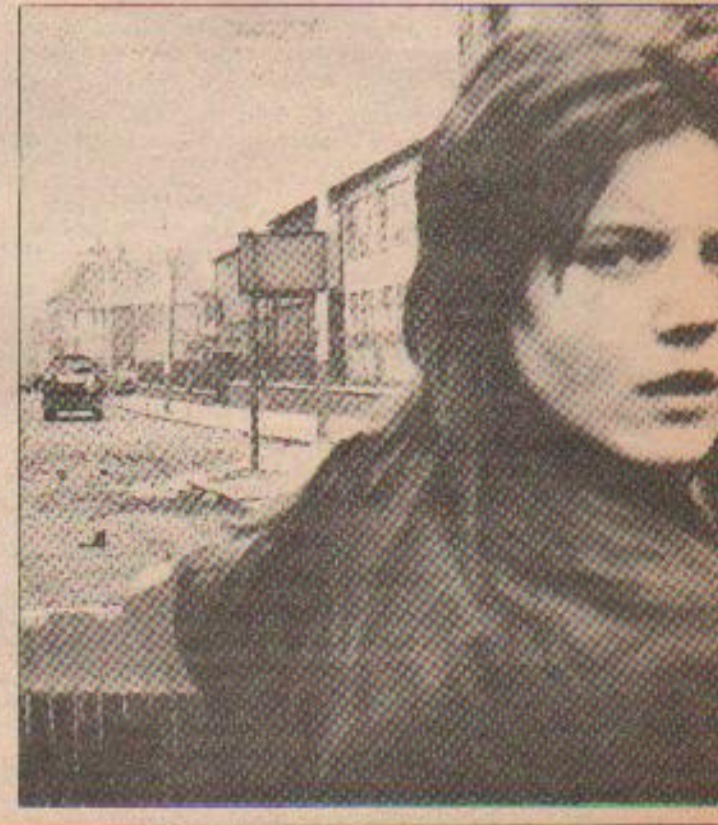
## Women orga

The fight against women's oppression in Ireland has been suppressed or ignored for nearly fifty years — a victim of the 'carnival of reaction north and south' which James Connolly predicted would follow the partition of Ireland.

But in recent years the surge of renewed interest in both women's liberation and socialism which has swept Europe and the United States has begun to be reflected in Ireland.

Some steps towards the isolation in which women in both parts of Ireland were taken at the first 32 C liberation conference on 1 and 2 October.

A hundred and fifty present, representing women from Belfast, Dublin, Galway, Limerick, Cork and other areas. The conference indicated the wide range of interests in contraception, nursery facilities, equal pay, and the liberation of women in the





# — INTO YEAR TEN

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pression of the northern minority. They are quite happy to ditch their beloved British 'link', in order to be masters in what they regard as their own house.

As for Britain itself, at least until after the next General Election, the Labour Government appears to have no policy but continued repression. As the *Irish Times* commented recently: 'Mason opts for the para-military solution.'

The dangers of such a 'solution' do not need spelling out. Although it is not as likely as Mason pretends, the defeat of the Provisionals is a possibility; and such a victory for repression would have frightening consequences for the working class in Ireland, and indeed in Britain.

It can be avoided. The type of mass resistance offered to the British Army

in such areas as Turf Lodge in the last year will in the long run worry Britain much more than bombed cinemas.

The contribution to Republican and socialist unity in action made in the past six months by the Irish Front in Derry and the Relatives Action Committee in Belfast are major gains for the Catholic minority.

The moves towards unity now taking place among the revolutionary left in Ireland are as timely as they are welcome; and the spread of socialist ideas among many of the younger Provisionals could have tremendous implications for the future.

Year ten is unlikely to see the victory of the Irish struggle for liberation, but if such fragile steps are consolidated and multiplied they have in them the seeds for victory.

## Death of a revolutionary Seamus Costello

Seamus Costello, a founder and leader of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, was assassinated in Dublin on 5 October. In tribute to comrade Costello we print an extract from an address he made to the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland last year.

The IRSP's first and most important demand is that Britain should immediately and publicly renounce all claims to sovereignty over any part of Ireland or its coastal waters.

Second, Britain must immediately disband and disarm all of the locally recruited pro-imperialist forces such as the Ulster Defence Regiment, Royal Ulster Constabulary, and RUC Reserve, and withdraw all troops from Ireland. Finally Britain must release all political prisoners, grant a general amnesty, and abolish all repressive legislation.

As socialists, we believe that these demands are attainable and that the development of normal class politics throughout the whole country will follow such a development. Every republican and socialist organisation in this country supports these demands, and in our opinion the vast majority of Irish people would also support them if given the opportunity.

At rank and file level in all organisations we have found an almost unanimous desire for unity in the struggle against imperialism. Unfortunately, this desire for unity is not reflected in the attitudes of the leadership of some of the organisations involved. At the very point in the struggle when unified action is absolutely essential we found leaders more concerned with maintaining their own positions or influence, or in pursuing faction fights and vendetta against former comrades.

At the very point in our history when a thorough and all embracing re-assessment of overall strategy and tactics is so vital to the success of the struggle, we found leaders unwilling to admit or concede the slightest possibility that they ever made a mistake.

Some say that the civil rights struggle as expounded in 1968 and 1969 is still valid and that the democratisation of the six county state is the central demand. They expect Britain to impose a Bill of Rights on a Loyalist majority whose position of marginal supremacy depends on the total denial of civil rights to the Nationalist minority. They say that the most revolutionary demand in Ireland today is 'peace at any price', and they prove their point by marching with the most reactionary elements in Irish society.

It should also be said that the elitist and conspiratorial approach is no substitute for the development of a people's struggle. The wonder is that

after six years of struggle some of those involved are not prepared to re-assess their strategy and tactics.

The presence of British troops in Ireland is but one manifestation of the imperialist presence and must be seen in the context of the overall relationship between Ireland and Britain. Some say that Britain would really like to withdraw from Ireland and that she is only waiting for a suitable opportunity to do so without losing face. The fact is that British economic interests can only be guaranteed through her continued military and political presence, and through the maintenance of partition which has been the instrument through which the working class in both parts of Ireland have been divided for almost 60 years.

Even if Britain didn't have to protect her own economic interests in both parts of Ireland, she would still be under tremendous pressure to stay and protect interests of American and European multi-nationals who control large sections of our economic life.

Almost every sector of our economic life is now subject to exploitation by British and other multi-national concerns. The most obvious areas are oil, gas, mineral resources, insurance and banking companies, light engineering, textiles and artificial fibres, motor assembly, fertilizers, fisheries, the construction industry and the breweries.

As revolutionary socialists, we are conscious of the international implications of our own struggle. We regard our struggle as part of the world-wide struggle for the emancipation of working class people. Our contribution to that struggle must be to create an independent socialist state here in Ireland, and at the same time extend solidarity to all genuine revolutionary movements abroad. An independent socialist state based on the history and traditions of our own working class would be an inspiration, not only to the British and European working classes, but to oppressed peoples everywhere.

We are confident that the momentum of the last seven years can be maintained and that even if the leaders of the various revolutionary organisations are not capable of giving the necessary leadership, new leaders will emerge from rank and file level to fill the vacuum.

Too many sacrifices have been made for us to fail now. So let us move forward to victory.



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struggle. The development of these small and fragmented women's groups is itself a reflection of the problems of taking up the oppression of women in a country dominated north and south by imperialism. There is no mass feminist movement because conditions in Ireland are fundamentally different from those existing elsewhere in Western Europe.

Due to imperialist domination, Ireland is economically and socially underdeveloped. The alliance between Church and State in the south, and Unionist ascendancy in the north have ensured very little progress on women's issues.

Abortion is illegal north and south, and contraception is available only to a limited extent. In the south, divorce is illegal, women workers are generally super exploited and un-unionised, and welfare benefits are denied female school leavers. While much of the legislation on women's rights won in Britain — on abortion, divorce reform, equal pay and opportunity — has been blocked in the north.

### Autonomous

Women are in the forefront of the fight back. Some of the most militant struggles in the anti-unionist areas in the past 18 months have been led by women. It is women who have led the fight to get the troops out of Turf Lodge and St James in Belfast, and it is women who have led the struggle for political status for republican prisoners. In the south, women have also played a key role in the developing trade union struggles, such as the recent telephonists' strike.

While the Belfast conference discussed these issues, it didn't reflect the involvement of all these women, but

only those committed to the feminist movement.

An autonomous women's movement is an absolute necessity if women's issues are not to be relegated to second place in the anti-imperialist struggle, but such a movement will not grow spontaneously as in Britain. It will be best built by linking up with women in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle, and indeed the trade union struggle.

The relevance of women's liberation to the anti-imperialist struggle is shown by the treatment just handed out to two 15 year olds in Belfast's New Lodge Road. During questioning last Thursday at Musgrave police station these young women were made to strip — it was the second time that week such a form of 'questioning' was reported. After the first instance an Army office said such stripping was 'normal procedure'.

### THE IRISH SCHOOL of the International Marxist Group on 15-16 October

Speakers from Ireland, USA and Britain include: Bernadette McAliskey, Fergus O'Hare, Brian Grogan, John Ross, Geoff Bell, Brian Lyons ...and a surprise celebrity from the Socialist Workers Party, USA.

Registration fee: £1.30. A few places open to Socialist Challenge supporters. Details: C. Smith, PO Box 50, Upper Street, Islington, London N1. 01-359 8371.

### SOCIALIST CHALLENGE Public Forum Ireland: the struggle continues a socialist perspective

Guest speakers: Bernadette McAliskey [Independent Socialist Party]; Brendan Kelly [Movement for a Socialist Republic]; Fergus O'Hare [Peoples Democracy]; Alistair Renwick [United Troops Out Movement].  
Friday 14 October, 7.30pm, at NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, off Theobalds Road, near Holborn, WC1. Admission 65p. All welcome.

LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFERENCE ON IRELAND  
Organised by the Leicester Troops Out Movement  
12 November, Highfields Community Centre  
Details from: Paul Winstons, 7 College Street, Leicester.

## Journalism in South Africa A high risk occupation

In South Africa it is not just the insurgent student and youth who have had to face repression. Trade union militants have also been singled out by the racist regime, writes ROY ALEXANDER.

This summer the police rounded up eleven activists of the underground workers group, SACTU, associated with the African National Congress (ANC), putting them on trial before the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg under the Suppression of Communism and Terrorism Acts.

One of them, Joseph Mdluli, never made it to the trial — he died in police custody during 'interrogation'.

Two of the accused were kidnapped by the South African police in Swaziland, where they had gone into exile, and illegally brought into the country to stand trial. All were tortured.

### Convicted

Nine of the ten were convicted, and five (who had all served previous terms on the notorious Robben Island) sentenced to life imprisonment. They included militants who had held responsible positions with railway workers', bakers', transport workers', and textile workers' trade unions.

The other four received sentences of from seven to 15 years.

Meanwhile the police have also been attacking the independent Union of Black Journalists (UBJ), a trade union closely associated with the black consciousness movement, and important because of its considerable influence in the black-orientated mass media.

UBJ members played an important role in exposing the Government's propaganda offensive around the Soweto massacre — by reporting, for example, police agents' incitement of migrant workers against the student movement. As a result 13 UBJ members, including the President, Joe Thlooe, were detained.

### Banned

They were eventually released, but harassment continued. The 'Bulletin of the UBJ', which the union produced to break the conspiracy of silence by the South African press, was seized by the police, all future numbers

banned, and three UBJ officials prosecuted for producing it.

Another UBJ official, Thenjwe Mntso, was arrested. In custody she was threatened with death (another detainee had recently died while in custody), and forced to stand for three days without food, drink or toilet facilities while being physically abused. She was released without charges, but served with a

## The Day the cops declared war on our kids



**'THE POLICE THREW THE FIRST STONE'**



Sam Nzima captures the agony of death

Union of Black Journalists Bulletin — now banned — exposes the news that the tame white press would not print.

banning order confining her to the township where she lives (thus preventing her working) and forbidding her to associate with the UBJ.

In February of this year another UBJ official was taken into custody. Joe Thlooe wrote to the Minister of 'Justice' to protest at harassment. Five days

later the Government delivered its response — Thlooe himself was detained, and, as of July this year, was still being held incommunicado. Other arrests, in-

cluding the rearrest of Mntso, has brought the number of UBJ militants in jail to five.

Solidarity with the growing independent black trade unions, and defence of their militants victimised by racist repression, is a central issue that must be taken up in the British trade union movement in preparation for next year's 'week of trade union action'.

### Smith & Nephew

*'British multi-nationals are past masters at bending with the wind to preserve the benefits that derive from being able to exploit workers around the world. In 1974, after the powerful 1973 Durban strikes of black workers, the textile company owned by Smith and Nephew became the first South African firm to recognise an unofficial black union, the National Union of Textile Workers.'*

*But ever since they have had the South African Government blowing in the opposite direction. Recently they decided that it was time to bend the other way — and withdrew recognition from the union. The company's black workers are undoubtedly planning their response — but it is to be hoped that the trade union movement here will have something to say about it as well.*

## UN and South Africa An empty threat

At the United Nations General Assembly on 27 September, Foreign Secretary David Owen made vague threats against the South African apartheid regime if it did not bring pressure to bear on Ian Smith to accept the neo-colonial Anglo-American package for Zimbabwe. 'The world would not allow South Africa to continue to sustain the Smith regime', he said.

GEORGE CUNVIN points out that the value of these threats can be judged by the past effectiveness of the UN.

In 1963, through resolutions 181 and 182, the UN imposed an arms embargo on South Africa. Giving evidence before the sub-committee on Africa, Committee on International Relations of the US House of Representatives on 14 July, Sean Gervasi, an economist who had worked for the UN Namibia Commissioner, proved that today South Africa is militarily far stronger than it was before the 'embargo' was proposed.

'When the arms embargo began, South Africa had a relatively small military establishment, with less than 13,000 men in the Permanent Force and total military expenditure of approximately 120 million rand. The Air Force had a few modern aircraft and only a few helicopters. The Army had a collection of old British and American tanks, armoured cars and artillery.

'Lacking even a small mobile

attack force, the apartheid regime had an essentially defensive capability.

### Awesome

'Today... South Africa has an awesome military capability. The Air Force possesses more than 600 combat aircraft, including nearly 150 Mirage III and Mirage F-1 aircraft, as well as some 300 Aeromacchi MB-326 strike-trainer and strike jets, 40 Lockheed F104 G fighter bombers and 50 North American F-51D Cavalier counter-insurgency strike aircraft. It also has more than 200 helicopters. There are well over 1,000 aircraft in service with the South African Air Force.

'The Army possesses more than 500 tanks. A large number of these are Centurion Mk 10s with 105mm guns and better armour and engine than the Mk 5 and Mk 7 models which South Africa



Owen the Con

is usually listed as having. The Patton tanks are an improved model fitted with a British 105mm gun.

'The Army has nearly 200 Panhard armoured cars with 90mm guns... made in South Africa under French licence... it possesses several hundred other armoured cars and nearly 1,000 armoured personnel carriers.

Some of the latter are very recent American and British models. It has a large number of self-propelled guns — medium and heavy artillery, of 88mm, 105mm and 155mm, mounted on tank chassis.'

South Africa's vast armory has been provided chiefly by the US, Britain, France and Italy,

either through direct supply, or manufactured under licence in South Africa.

Gervasi's carefully authenticated report goes on to show that although South Africa has a relatively small standing force, it has a pool of some 450,000 trained personnel and can mobilise large numbers at relatively short notice by calling up the Citizen's Force reserves, composed of men with military experience, who are trained every year.

Because the Western countries have openly violated the UN arms embargo, South Africa today has tremendous military advantage over its weaker and poorer neighbours. Most of the major weapons now in service with the regular Air Force and Army have been delivered in the last ten years — well after the imposition of the so-called embargo.

### Equanimity

Sean Gervasi concludes his evidence by pointing out that: '... the US and other Western powers have allowed vast quantities of arms to be sent to South Africa and have, for all practical purposes, ignored the UN arms embargo against South Africa.'

'In so doing they have helped South Africa to impose apartheid and have encouraged a state whose policies they profess to abhor... these states... have taken the side of the apartheid regime and have, in fact, armed the white minority regime for the military confrontation which is now developing in southern Africa.'

No wonder Vorster regards with equanimity the new 'threats' from the UN. He knows just how effective they really are.

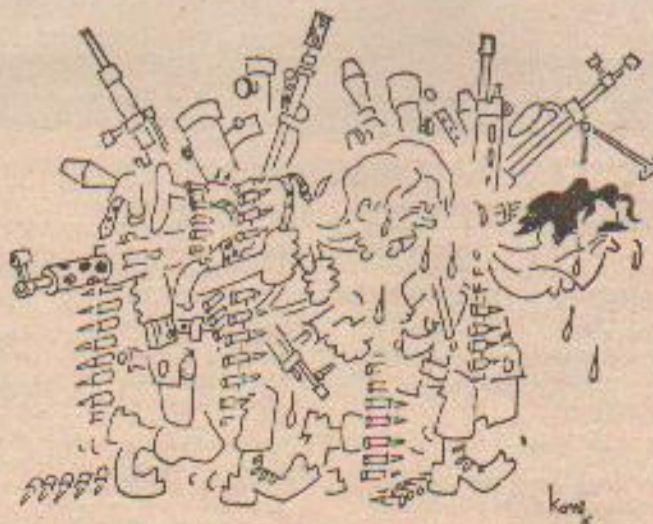
## SALT in the wound

continued from back page

All this means little as far as detente is concerned. But in the crucial political arena East-West relations have run into trouble.

Soviet disarray in North-West Africa and the Middle East and the crisis of the bureaucracy's relationship with the Western Communist Parties; imperialist setbacks in Southern Africa and the beginnings of working class upsurge in Southern Europe; both serve to destabilise the world system of alliances that each side wants to keep intact.

US imperialism has drawn a very careful balance sheet of recent events, particularly in Africa. The real importance of Carter's human rights campaign is that it represents a more interventionist policy after the post-Vietnam retreat. The Indo-Chinese people scared imperialism away from any direct inter-



vention in Angola and Mozambique. Despite the more subtle diplomacy of Carter and Andrew Young, America will not hesitate to send in the Marines if Angola threatens to repeat itself in Zimbabwe or Namibia.

### Dichotomy

On the Soviet side the bureaucracy is faced with the awkward dichotomy of how to extend and consolidate its sphere of influence (for primarily strategic reasons) without threatening its overall relationship with imperialism. The contradiction flows from the simple fact that, although the social system on which the Soviet bureaucracy is based is incompatible with capitalism, the interests of the bureaucracy itself are as dependent upon the maintenance of the world order as are those of imperialism.

The problem is only compounded by the growing crisis of the workers' states and Com-

munist Parties. In the East the past couple of years have seen a rise in independent opposition to the bureaucracy's rule. Such an opposition is incompatible with the interests of both the bureaucracy and imperialism. That is why Jimmy Carter has to play it very careful on human rights.

At the same time the crisis of the Kremlin's relationship with the 'Eurocommunists', which is a distorted reflection of the threats to the status quo in East and West, opens the prospect of a revolutionary crisis in capitalist Europe where the Soviet bureaucracy has no direct means of intervention, while the Western parties' criticisms of the Eastern regimes can only fuel the internal opposition.

### Fine and dandy

So the commentators who tell you that all is fine and dandy with detente are deceiving you... and probably themselves as well. Apart from SALT the main

evidence they use is the progress towards reconvening the Geneva summit on the Middle East. Quite apart from the massive obstacles to even getting all parties to the conference table, the antagonism between the Zionist state and the Palestinian people — one rooted deep in history, not in the minds of its political representatives — can only be resolved in the real world of the class struggle.

### 'Soft line'

But if detente is shaky it isn't finished. Since it is only another word for the preservation of the international status quo, you can bet that both sides at Belgrade will be fighting to make sure that nobody upsets things too much. There is already evidence of a new 'soft line' from the Kremlin and no doubt the Americans will tone down their contribution as soon as it gets to the serious discussion. And neither side will be tactless enough to mention last weekend's events in Berlin.

Dictator visits London

# The great Panama Canal fraud

ON 12 OCTOBER the Prime Minister had a visit from General Omar Torrijos, Panama's 'maximum leader of the revolution' — or military dictator. It was just a courtesy call, as Torrijos was passing through London at the end of a European jaunt, but in the obscure language of diplomatic protocol it implied British support for the latest attack on the democratic rights of the Panamanian people.

by JUANAGUIRRE

continue unhindered and American imperialism has the permanent right to 'defend the neutrality of the canal from any threat for an indefinite period'. It takes little imagination to see that the main 'threat' to the Canal Zone is likely to come from the Panamanian people themselves, as they decide to put an end to imperialism's unrestricted presence on their territory.

The LSR (Revolutionary Socialist League, sympathising organisation of the Fourth International), which has been a major target for Government repression, points out that 'There is no guarantee that the Americans will withdraw from our territory in the year 2000. Today we have the eyes of the world on us, today we have international support, today imperialism has been weakened by Watergate and Vietnam.'

Spokespeople for US imperialism, from the Administration

and the Pentagon to Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger, have been unanimous in their praise for the accords. After discussions with Pentagon representatives and the US negotiator, Kissinger is reported as saying that 'the new treaty marks an improvement over the present situation' for 'secure access' to the canal — an unequivocal answer to those who claim it as a victory for 'human rights'.

## Hands off

Catarino Garza, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party (US supporters of the Fourth International), stated his party's position:

'Carter's new agreement simply continues US domination by more "modern" means...

'In contrast to the intrigues of these big business politicians, the Socialist Workers Party offers a simple one-point plan: 'US Hands Off Panama!'

'Let the Panamanian people run their own country without the threat of intervention from Washington!'



## 'Concession'

The accord between the Panamanian and United States governments, published in August, was presented as a massive concession to the people of Panama by Carter, the expert on democratic freedoms. In fact the agreement recognised the legitimacy of the US occupation of the Canal Zone.

The deal was that the Americans would pull out by the end of 1999, though US warships would continue to have unrestricted access to the canal. Until then the US military occupation would

## Interview with Egyptian socialist

# The January rising and after

The mass rising in Egypt in January shook the regime to its foundations. After the setbacks in Lebanon and the demoralisation of much of the Arab left and Palestinian movement, these protests against food price rises opened new vistas for the mass struggle in the Arab East.

Nine months after these momentous events M. JAFAR asked S. YOUSIF, an Egyptian revolutionary, for his assessment of their significance.

Did the uprising have any effect on Sadat's post-'73 policy of an 'economic opening' to the West?

The confusion in governmental and bureaucratic circles led the regime to retreat on a number of fronts. For instance, the cuts in food subsidies, the immediate cause of the uprising, were immediately annulled. Then the regime started to say that the cuts had only been proposed for discussion and not for immediate implementation!

In general, however, we should not expect the policy of an economic opening to imports and capital investment from the imperialist countries to change significantly. Whether this will actually lead to capital coming into Egypt from either the imperialist countries or the Arab oil producers is a different question.

We think that the entry of the Egyptian masses onto the political scene will scare off even those few capitalists investors who might have been stupid enough to believe the regime's propaganda before these events.

What about the supposed liberalisation and relaxation of

censorship that the bourgeois press talks about so much?

Here the regime's response was different. It closed down the politically active student societies and clubs in the universities and imprisoned hundreds of left-wing activists across Egypt.

A hysterical anti-communist atmosphere was created in which the left was portrayed as 'saboteurs' who had incited the masses to riot. In fact the uprising was completely spontaneous, and if anything the far left lagged behind the masses in their understanding of the situation.

But the Sadat regime went even further. It put pressure on the officially recognised 'Party of the Left' for its mild criticism of the Government's intervention during the uprising.

This pressure led eventually to the resignation of that party's secretary, Lufti Al-Kholi, from his position as editor of the left journal *Talia*, which is funded by the Ahram foundation, along with another well-known Arab weekly called *Rose Al-Yousif*. Both publications have traditionally served as an officially sanctioned safety valve for the

reformist opposition.

But the regime is likely to use repression very selectively and on the whole lightly, as any mass response would certainly topple it. We can see the contortions this involves in the case of the two prohibited journals.

On *Talia* in particular they are now entering the unending labyrinth of the Egyptian legal system. The regime prefers to expend the energy of both the revolutionary and reformist left in unending legal and administrative procedures as opposed to brutally and directly repressing them.

A common tactic against the revolutionary left is to threaten very hard suspended sentences — ten years, for example, for belonging to a revolutionary organisation. The people are then let out with a permanent threat of being taken back in to serve their sentences if the authorities so decide.

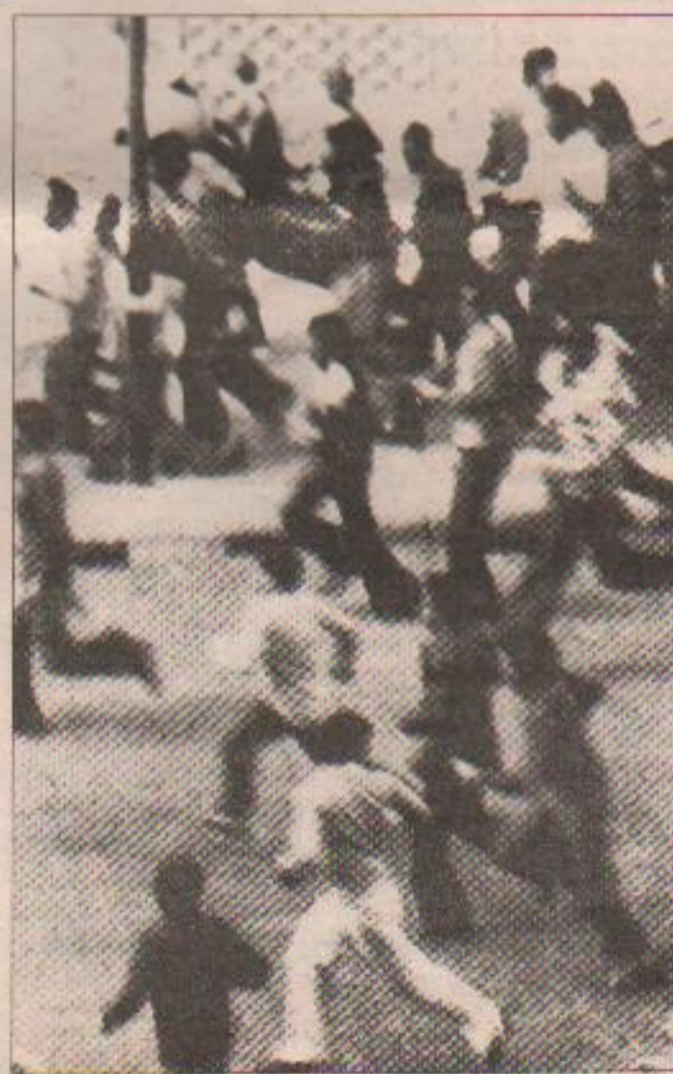
Much of the bourgeois press coverage of the January events concentrated on the role of the Egyptian Workers Communist Party. Can you tell us something about this organisation — its politics, origin and relative weight in the Egyptian working class?

This organisation, like all the other Egyptian far left groups, has its 'public' face in the student clubs and cultural societies in the universities. Its base is primarily student and petty bourgeois with an as yet limited influence in the working class.

Ideologically the organisation arose out of a critique of Nasserism. But it has not criticised Stalinism, and its theories represent a sort of patched up version of Stalinist formulas in all their backwardness.

This has strengthened the internal bureaucratisation of the organisation and fostered a paternalistic conception of itself as the ideological 'overser' of the Egyptian masses. This is an obstacle to its linking up with the spontaneous initiatives of the masses.

For example, in 1972 the workers for the first time occupied the factories instead of merely going on strike, and set up their own factory councils. This has been repeated on a number of occasions. The Egyptian Workers Communist Party, and the left in general, has been unable to understand the importance of



these developments and they have not put forward slogans for workers control and workers power.

The EWCP is now passing through a deep crisis as a reflection of its partial loss of popularity through the rise of the other far left organisations in 1975. The loss of many cadres and the bureaucratic manner of handling organisational questions led to large splits just before January. Three currents were formed, all operating independently, but under the same name.

What about the other groups on the far left?

Many organisations grew up in the period since 1975. The most important are the 8 June organisation, the Democratic People's Party and the Trotskyists, the Revolutionary Communist Group.

The Trotskyists are the only current to have criticised Stalinism and presented an internationalist perspective for the revolution in Egypt, linking it up with the Arab revolution. However, the blow directed to the organisation with the arrest of many of its leading cadres in 1975, undoubtedly affected its activity for a while.

As for the others, quite frankly I do not see significant differences between them and the EWCP.

## In Brief

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The *Rand Daily Mail* has published a report, based upon medical examinations, which demonstrates that Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader, was murdered in police custody. Interviews with three doctors revealed that Biko was overweight when he died — which contradicts the official story that he died on hunger strike — and there were indications of brain damage. The South African Press Council has upheld a complaint by Justice Minister James Kruger that the article violated the 'press code' which requires self-censorship by newspapers.

**POLAND:** Coalminers in Silesia went on strike last week against the shortage of meat in the shops. The action is reported to have stopped when the meat supply was restored.

**RUMANIA:** A widespread miners strike is reported to have won concessions over pay and pensions after the personal intervention of President Ceausescu. As in Poland, another grievance was the shortage of meat.

**SPAIN:** A massive demonstration called by the leading trade union federations in Madrid last week protested against the rising cost of living. Despite the opposition of the demonstration's organisers, large numbers of workers raised the demand 'Down with the Government' and 'For a workers' government'.

**ZAMBIA:** The Zambian Government has taken out writs against British Petroleum (with a majority state shareholding) and a number of Shell subsidiaries. Among the charges is the charge that the companies conspired to install and keep the Smith regime in power in Rhodesia.

**USSR:** Thirty-five prisoners in labour camps in the Urals have begun a hunger strike against the lack of 'elementary human rights' in the Soviet Union.

**USA:** A congressional report reveals that the United States wastes enough food each year to feed nearly 50 million people.



'THE MOST important theoretical work to have come out of the countries that have abolished capitalism since Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*. That is how Ernest Mandel describes *The Alternative* by East German dissident Rudolf Bahro in a long, but not uncritical, review in the latest issue of *Inprecor*.

This issue, No. 13 (*New Series*), also contains an analysis of the differences in the international women's movement as expressed at the Paris socialist-feminist conference and afterwards; a critique of the 'medium-term programme' of the Italian Communist Party; reports of fusion conferences between groups supporting the Fourth International in Canada, Mexico and the USA; articles on Vance's visit to Peking and the situation in Sri Lanka after the elections; and a declaration by the Fourth International calling for US withdrawal from Panama.

Price 30p. *Inprecor* is available from *The Other Bookshop*, almost all *IMG* branches, or by post from *Inprecor*, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP [add 10p for p&p].

## An unusual hobby

by CHRIS O'BRIEN

GINO Scalamandra, ranked as the fifth best backgammon player in the world, appeared at the Old Bailey last week charged with possession of more than \$100,000 in dud cheques and forged banknotes.

As we have reported in previous weeks, Scalamandra was arrested last December after extensive police investigations of the Universal Banking Corporation, the bank responsible for paying money into the accounts of well-known fascists throughout

Europe.

Scalamandra, 47, explained that he always carried forgeries in his wallet with his own genuine money. He explained that he would never have passed a dud note to a fellow backgammon player. Instead he planned to buy a large picture frame and display the forgeries in his luxury New York flat when he had time.

But when police in London searched the flat where he was staying they found forged bills to the value of \$150 and arrested him. Mr Recorder Hawser granted Scalamandra a two-year conditional discharge.

## What's Left

Rates: 3p per word. Display: £1.50 per column inch. Deadline: 3pm Saturday before publication.

**PICKET** the Leicester National Front annual general meeting, 14 October at NF offices, 337 Humberstone Gate. All Midlands anti-fascist committees should arrive for 7pm. **ROOM** available in West London for 3 to 4 months from 1 November. Phone Charlie, 01-802 8560 between 8.30-10am, or 6.30-8.30pm.

**RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S** latest pamphlets: 'New Essays' — on Trotsky, Post Mao China, Hegel and Frankfurt School. £1 (inc. p&p). Also 'Sexism and Revolution in Mao's China'. 35p from 17 Hornsey Parry Road, London N8.

**JAM TODAY** and Dire Tribe at Advisory Service for Squatters benefit. Disco and late bar. Friday 11 November, 8pm. 90p (60p for claimants) at Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5.

**INTERVENTION** No 1 contains Marxism, Method and Revolution by Ken Turbuck. An analysis of the nature and role of cadres, sects and sectarianism based upon a textual analysis of Gramsci. From Intervention, 539 Battersea Park Road, London SW11. 40p post paid.

**'THE STRUGGLE** for a Vanguard Party' — new publication from the Revolutionary Communist Tendency explaining the most important tasks facing revolutionaries today. 15p plus 10p postage from RCT, BM RCT, WCV1 6XX.

**THE MOVEMENT** of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) is holding a meeting on 14 October, as (1) a homage to the struggle of the Latin American resistance, (2) a homage to the heroes and heroines killed in the development of this bitter struggle of resistance, and (3) to show the people of this country some aspects of our international policy, mainly concentrated on the development of the Junta of Revolutionary Coordination in the South Cone of Latin America. 14 October, 8.30pm, New Theatre, LSE, St Clements Lane, London WC2.

**LABOUR LEADER**: monthly paper of Independent Labour Publications (ILP). Annual subscription £2. Free sample copy from 49 Topmoor Sides, Leeds 11.

**SEAMUS COSTELLO** Memorial Meeting, Camden Centre Small Hall (formerly St. Pancras Assembly Rooms), Bedford Street, Friday 21 October, 8pm. Guest speaker from the Irish Republican Socialist Party, including tapes of Seamus Costello's speech to the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland.

**RALLY** to launch the Manifesto of the International Communist League. Debates and discussions on the main issues of a revolutionary strategy for today, with all the tendencies of the revolutionary left. Workers' struggles, Ireland, women's liberation — how today's battles relate to socialist perspectives. Re-building a revolutionary Marxist tradition. 2-6pm at the Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Rd, London N4. Saturday 15 October. Tickets 15p. The I-C.L. Manifesto, 'The Fight for Workers' Power', can be obtained from left bookshops, or from I-C.L. at 35p.

**SOUTHAMPTON Women's Group.** An introduction to the Women's Liberation Movement — a day school, Saturday 22 October. Featuring Sheila Rowbotham and local speakers, workshops, displays, etc. Disco, band, bar starts at 7.30pm. Creche and accommodation available. Details from Christie, 210 Derby Road, Southampton.

**RED WEEKEND.** 2nd Communist University of Manchester, 4.5-6 November. Students Union, Oxford Road. Two plenaries — Marxist Methodology, the Role of the Intellectual. — Nine specialist courses, 27 speakers. Social with Henry Cow and Frankie Armstrong. Registration £2. Details from 83 Clyde Road, Manchester 20. Phone 061-445 3755.

**BADGES** Equal Pay Now, NHS cuts mean backstreet abortion, and Women's Liberation symbol. Usually 15p each — special offer! All 3 for 30p. Half price for bulk orders of Equal Pay badges. 10 badges for 75p. Orders to IMG Women's Commission, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

**PRATE JENNY** — a socialist theatre company doing a play on Ireland, seeks full-time administrator. Must have trade union and Irish work experience. Tel: 01-960 5675.

**SOCIALIST CHALLENGE** social against racism. Saturday 22 October. Sarson's Head, Leicester. 8am. Admission 50p.

**WHY REVOLUTIONARY** Socialism? Huddersfield Socialist Challenge meeting. Speaker: Steve Jones. Sheffield engineering workers (AGEW). Friday 14 October, 8pm. The Zetland pub (opposite the Polytechnic).

**MIDDLESBROUGH** Socialist Challenge meeting. Bob Pennington on 'Revolutionary Socialism: Why and How?'. In the Buttery Bar, Teeside Poly. Wednesday 19 October at 8pm.

**DURHAM** Socialist Challenge meeting. Bob Pennington on 'What is Socialist Challenge?'. at Dunelm House, 1pm on Thursday 20 October.

# What really happened in Manchester and the lessons we must learn

By Mick Gosling

THOUSANDS OF men and women in uniform, accompanied by jeeps, squad cars and ground-to-air cameras marched in military-style formation through Hyde, Manchester on Saturday 8 October. This flagrant breach of the 1936 Public Order Act was put on by the police at a cost of £250,000 in order to ensure that one fascist — Martin Webster — could take a Saturday afternoon stroll in Tameside.

At the same time police chief James Anderton colluded with the Front in organising a secret, poorly attended fascist march in the Levenshulme area of Manchester. Neither the Home Secretary and the local council nor the press and public were informed of the Front route. Even so unsuspecting tenants in the Levenshulme area greeted the Front march (which was between 300 and 600 strong) with a barrage of abuse. And in this lies the essence of the police operation.

By early morning the centre of Hyde had been reduced to a ghost town by police operations. Shops were boarded up, the 50-stall market closed and cameras installed on the top of buildings. Anderton was at pains to announce that riot shields were on hand and police had been trained in 'public order techniques'.

'I am not out to frighten people away, but if this is what has happened it will be a wonderful bonus', he added. Anderton had learnt the lessons of Lewisham and Ladywood. It's only when tens of thousands of local people have come out against the fascists that they can be driven off the streets. Solution: make the local people prisoners in their own community; put an equal sign between the fascists and anti-fascists with the Public Order Act; make Hyde look like Belfast — and then go behind locked doors with Martin Webster and arrange a fascist march elsewhere.

The illusion that the police had

invoked the Public Order Act to stop the Front marching, an idea seized upon by Colin Barnett to call off the promised 20,000-strong mobilisation of the North West region of the TUC, has been exposed as a nonsense. The decision of Tameside Trades Council, by 39 votes against 12, to go ahead with their mobilisation at Hyde Town Square, backed by the International Marxist Group, has been vindicated.

We went to Hyde not to assault Webster but to defend the right to organise against fascist provocations in the strongest possible way. In fact at the present time the greatest threat to the democratic rights of the workers movement comes not from the fascists but from the state, a point further amplified by Robin Blackburn on p.13 of this paper.

### HOW TO CALL

Throughout the day speeches from the platform established by the Tameside Anti-Fascist Committee and the IMG stressed this point. And eventually a crowd which reached 1,500 at its peak, ably assisted by youthful soccer fans, greeted Webster with continual choruses of 'Go home you bum, you Nazi scum', and other anti-fascist slogans.

The disappointing turn-out in Hyde reflected the confusing and demobilising effect of the use of the Public Order Act. But the anti-fascist cause was not helped by the unilateral decision of the



The counter-demonstration and rally in Hyde

Photo: JOHN SMITH (JFL)

Socialist Workers Party to send their supporters to Stockport on the basis of a rumour. Ignoring the issue of democratic rights, ignoring the decision of Tameside Trades Council to continue with its mobilisation despite the sabotaging role of the North West TUC, the SWP at the last moment called a national mobilisation for Stockport. No wonder only 600 turned up despite the SWP's normally excellent mobilisation for these events. It is hardly surprising that a large proportion of them were thoroughly demoralised.

First the SWP had a national mobilisation for Tameside; then without consulting any other forces they called a 'victory march' to celebrate the imposition of the Public Order Act; when nobody else supported it they cancelled it — at the same time they warned anti-fascists against going to Hyde because it was a police trap; finally at two days' notice a national mobilisation was called for Stockport.

Underlying all those flip-flops was (i) an underestimation of the importance of defending the rights of fascists to organise and (ii) a simplistic 'confrontation at all costs' notion in fighting the NF. The issue of fighting racism is reduced to street warfare and, worse still, to street warfare between the SWP and the NF. Ironically enough, the 300 members who eventually got through to Levenshulme only did so on the basis of information co-ordinated by the Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre and Tameside Anti-Fascist Committee.

But first prize for unalloyed sectarianism must go to the Communist Party. A call was put through the Stockport district of the Engineering Union for a rally in Stockport's Mersey Square. 150 of the Party faithful turned up to hear CP speakers say they were having 'nothing to do with the SWP jamboree'. At the same time three times as many people were attending the SWP meeting on the other side of the square. Not a single *Morning Star* seller was to be seen over in Hyde. IMG members intervened in both the Mersey Square meetings and spoke to a further picket of 200 SWP members outside Stockport Town Hall, emphasising the importance of defending democratic rights and building a united anti-fascist movement.

### AGAINST US

Manchester's Piccadilly Radio interspersed its usual Saturday afternoon football reports with 'live coverage' of the Tameside, Stockport, Levenshulme events. At full-time what was the score? For the police a tactical victory in isolating the anti-fascist forces from the local population and beginning to re-establish their

control of the streets after Lewisham and Ladywood. However, the police did have a referee, complete with yellow and red cards, on its side; namely the Public Order Act. It's unlikely that many anti-fascists will fall for this dummy again.

For the National Front, a defeat. Their style is to swagger into some black community with fanfares and ceremony to give the impression of their overwhelming strength. Now they are forced to scurry through back streets with an 8,500-strong police escort — and even then they dare not announce the venue of their march.

For the anti-fascists a lot more teamwork is needed to make them an effective force — as demonstrated by the victories won in Wood Green, Lewisham and Ladywood. In particular the strikers up front sometimes have a tendency to run offside, seeing only the goal of smashing the fascists and not co-ordinating this with the defensive work of upholding our own democratic rights against attacks by the state. Greater teamwork can also ensure that the large labour movement crowds standing on the terraces are won into an active fight against the fascists, ensuring a lasting victory.



Nazi/Tynda! (centre) advising police chief, with bowler-hatted ghoul and NF leader Fontaine looking on.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

# Reading- Webster wants us prosecuted

A MEETING called by the Trades Union Council last week set up a Reading Campaign Against Racism and Fascism. This was the third meeting called by the Trades Council since the end of August, and was attended by over 50 delegates from TU branches, political organisations and the Council for Community Relations. An eight-person EC was elected to prepare details of activities, education and propaganda.

Reading Borough Council has reversed the previous decision to allow the NF to use the Old Town Hall on 29 October for a national meeting, under considerable pressure from local anti-fascists. But this ban has still to be ratified by the full Council on 11 October, and it is known that some Councillors may well try to revert to the original decision to allow the Front to meet.

In any event the NF are looking for alternative premises in the town, and may even try again to book the Town Hall in late November or early December.

Meanwhile, Martin Webster, has sent recent copies of *Socialist Challenge* to the Chief Constable of the Thames Valley Police, alleging they show that 'leftwing extremists were planning to use violence against people attending the Front's October 29 Meeting'. Webster wants the police to institute a prosecution under the Public Order Act.

### THE ROAD MAKE TO WALK ON CARNIVAL DAY

The Battle for the West Indian Carnival in Britain

By Race Today Collective  
Price 50p

Carnival 1977 marked the 12th anniversary of the West Indian Carnival in Britain.

The monthly journal, *Race Today*, under the editorship of Darcus Howe, chairman of the Carnival Development Committee has, over the past three years, publicised the development of the West Indian Carnival and the battle to keep it on the streets of Notting Hill where it originated.

This pamphlet, by the Race Today Collective, is a collection of these articles outlining the origins, development and struggles to date.

Single copies plus p + p 65p.  
A discount of one third is given on orders for more than three copies.

Orders should be sent to Race Today Publications, 74 Shakespeare Road, London, SE24 0PT.

THE PUBLICATION of a special report on **The Attack on Higher Education: Marxist and Radical Penetration** by the Institute for the Study of Conflict is the opening shot of a new campaign to isolate and purge Marxists and radical teachers. The ISC is becoming practiced in the art of issuing blacklists and McCarthyite innuendo. Among its previous publications are **Sources of Conflict in British Industry**, published in February 1974 and providing copious information on Marxist influence in the trade unions, and a guide to **Trotskyism: 'Entryism' and Permanent Revolution** by Peter Shipley.

The Council of the ISC combines a few right-wing professors with such gentry as Brigadier Thompson and Sir Louis Le Bailly, described as 'Director General of Intelligence, Ministry of Defence 1974-5'. In this instance the Report itself is compiled predominantly by the academics, with Professor Julius Gould as author of the final draft.

The Report purports to supply a critique of Marxist and radical ideas, but the reader is continually reminded that something more sinister is afoot than the struggle of ideas: 'What is urged is that... such analyses so accumulate as to yield a false or loaded account of society with practical implications...' (p.3).

## 'Perversions of theory'

The Report comes to a menacing, but vague, conclusion. 'Why need one feel so cautious about extremists on the left? They constitute a clear and present danger to the liberal mode. They thrive on perversions of theory and perversions of fact. They rely, like any other network, on mutual support in the making of appointments. They depend for their influence in education on their skill at exploiting the ambivalence of others — especially of administrators or of colleagues. There is nothing undemocratic — let alone McCarthyite — in insisting, as this report seeks to do, that such ambivalence is neither honourable nor necessary.' (p.47)

At some points the Report attempts to rebut what are held to be Marxist and radical arguments. The critique of Marxist and radical ideas is cursory and slapdash. Marxist scholarship in Britain today is stronger than it has ever been, and the range of Marxist literature available is varied and lively. Gould's report skips lightly from topic to topic without ever pausing to consider anything in depth. This section of the Report seems primarily designed to give the timid or ignorant Governor, administrator or Head of Department the confidence to flush out the left-wing members of the teaching staff. The Report helpfully appends lists of Marxist and radical publications, and names all those who gave courses at the Communist University in 1976.

There is also a 'Coda on Publishing' which seeks to finger 'red' infiltration of major publishing houses, and other appendices itemising 'case material' in the form of exam papers and course reading lists which illustrate Marxist bias. The latter appendix does not inform the reader of the general context of the bibliographies supplied and in any case seems mainly designed to list the favoured reading matter of the radicals.

This 'false and loaded' account of 'Marxist penetration' evidently itself has *practical implications*, though these are left to the imagination of the reader.

Who is expected to read the Report? Nominally it costs £5 and is hard to obtain. It is unlikely, therefore, to be of much use as a purely ideological weapon for combatting Marxist ideas. Indeed if this had been the purpose of Gould and company then they could certainly have found some more effective outlet for their critique. The red conspiracy has yet to take over *Encounter* magazine or *The Times* with its specialised supplements. There are even capitalist publishers left prepared to consider anti-Marxist books.

## Specialised purpose

Evidently this Report has a more specialised purpose than that of mere ideological disputation. Complimentary copies seem to have found their way in large numbers in Principals and Vice-Chancellors, as well as to the lay membership of Boards of Governors. In short it is directed at potential academic George Wards, prepared to clean reds out of the colleges just as George Ward has cleaned trade union militants out of his factory.

The reception accorded to the Report in the bourgeois press has been mixed. Most papers have treated its publication as a major news event and very few have objected to the naming of names which was its major function. The *Economist* did suggest that the intellectual calibre of the Report left something to be desired, and that it was unwise to smear Marxists as indiscriminately as the Report had done. The *Daily Telegraph* was predictably ecstatic over the Report. The *Times*, though more restrained, conceded that the Marxist academics were indeed 'enemies of liberty', but innocently enquired what the ISC thought should be done about it and suggested that the extent of Marxist penetration had been exaggerated.

# The witchhunters of the new right

Robin Blackburn, himself a victim of a witch-hunt in 1969, argues that the Gould Report is 'directed at potential academic George Wards, prepared to clean reds out of the colleges just as George Ward has cleaned trade union militants out of his factory'.



Photo: MARK RUSHER

Margaret Thatcher acknowledging the applause at a recent Tory meeting. Her election to the Tory Party leadership swung it further to the right. She employed Robert Moss as a speech-writer and graced some of NAFF's 'social occasions'. The Tory Party conference in Brighton this week might succeed in preserving a shoddy unity, but the fact remains that NAFF ideologues are acquiring an increasing influence amongst the party rank-and-file.

It would be wrong to suppose that the mildly critical response to Gould's Report will significantly reduce its effectiveness. After all George Ward's behaviour has been criticised in much sterner terms without the Grunwick strikers getting their jobs back. In 1969 the sacking of Bateson and myself from the London School of Economics was deplored in a *Times* editorial with similar lack of practical effect.

By treating Marxism as a totalitarian poison equivalent to fascism the major journals of bourgeois opinion are already opening the path to a purge of Marxists, even if they are distressed by some of the methods that will then be used. There is certainly good reason for all those who work in

higher education to strengthen the work of the unions and of the Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy. Prior to the publication of the ISC Report there were already many signs of a new witch-hunting campaign; after a previous article by Gould, the authorities of the Open University set up an enquiry into the extent of Marxist influence on its courses.

An article by Robert Moss in *Free Nation* of 30 September points to the major practical implication of the findings of the Gould Report. He writes of the urgent necessity of 'rooting out those who seek to use the lecture hall as a platform for the class war'. Moss commends to the attention of his readers the device whereby the West German Government restrains radical influence in the

education system: 'In their post-war constitution the West Germans made it a basic principle that "there is no freedom to oppose freedom", and, on this basis, they proceeded to enact a law that forbids the Government to employ people who are hostile to the constitution. Teachers and university lecturers, like civil servants, are defined as civil servants... The law has prevented more than half West Germany's universities falling under predominantly Marxist influence. But the principle is one we should note: that our tolerance towards the enemies of the open society cannot be unlimited.'

The absurd throw-away remark about Marxist influence in West German universities should not lead us to imagine that Moss belongs simply to the lunatic fringe of the right and does not need to be taken seriously. The National Association for Freedom is neither absurd nor ineffective. It has excellent lines of communication to the leadership of the Tory party and is linked to the most dynamic element within contemporary Conservatism. The drive towards the strong state in Britain will be mapped out by the respectable ultra-right, of which the NAFF and ISC are important pillars.

Despite NAFF's cant about freedom and liberalism, the authoritarian thrust of their policies is clear enough. Fortunately this offensive of the new right coincides with a tendency for the left to pay more serious attention to the task of extending democratic rights than has been the case for a long time. Because of its links to the Soviet or Chinese bureaucracy a section of the left was for a long time unable to take up an unequivocal and candid defence of democratic rights. Even on the revolutionary left the role of democratic demands in the struggle for socialism, and the scope of democratic rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat, were only rarely considered, and then discussed in the most generalised terms.

It is surprising, to say the least, that George Novack's important contribution to the discussion of these questions, *Democracy and Revolution*, published in 1970, aroused no discussion or controversy in this country. The debate on Portugal and on Eurocommunism has now certainly begun to pose all these questions in a timely fashion. The Fourth International's theses on *Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* furnish a major theorisation of the Marxist conception of socialist democracy and its relationship to bourgeois democratic forms, which begins to equip us with the perspectives we need.

## Democratic objectives

I stress the wider political context of the drive towards the strong state and the role of democratic objectives in the class struggle since a clear understanding of these questions will be vital in tackling the campaigns of the NAFF and ISC. Typically the 'strong state' recipes of the new right seek to qualify and withdraw those extra-parliamentary democratic rights which allow bourgeois democracy itself to reflect anti-capitalist forces in society as a whole. Although the measures they propose strengthen the powers of the state, they do not seek to replace the parliamentary regime or parliamentary legitimacy.

As Robert Moss hints in the article quoted above the aim is to improve on the West German model, not that of De Gaulle's original Fifth Republic. The new right also specialises in an ideological appeal to the mass of the population in which they offer themselves as champions of individual liberty and the 'rights of Englishmen'. Needless to say, this demagogic concern for rights and liberties does not extend to a concern for the rights and liberties of trade unionists, black workers, Marxist teachers, gays or women. Exposing this demagoguery and hypocrisy is a vital task for revolutionary socialists in Britain today, which cannot be left to liberals or social democrats.

The tactics needed to combat this 'new right' must dramatise the real distribution of power, and the real limits on democracy, in contemporary bourgeois society. There has been a quite erroneous and counter-productive reaction to the new right which seeks to deny the means of expression to its representatives. One could sum up this reaction in the slogan: 'No Platform for Reactionaries'. This style of political protest may give momentary expression to the feelings of those involved but is invariably impotent and self-defeating in the long run. An attempt to ban Sir Keith Joseph from speaking in universities, for example, would certainly fail, and certainly brand its authors as intolerant bigots despite their failure.

The fact that many of the academics or politicians of the new right add a tinge, or more than a tinge, of chauvinism or racism to their ideas does not alter the need to confront those ideas ideologically. Eysenck's pseudo-scientific notions have acquired greater currency as a consequence of the campaign supposedly designed to prevent him expounding them. When the labour movement or any oppressed or exploited group of the population finds itself the target of *physical* attacks and provocations, then the organisation of a defensive force is obligatory.

The attacks and the provocations of the new right are ideological in character, relying on bourgeois legality for practical implementation. The only effective way of combatting this offensive is to develop a new awareness in the labour movement and in society as a whole of the need to defend and extend democratic rights, and to develop the tactics which clearly bring out the repressive objectives of those who have mounted it.

# Klymchuk and Shirley Williams The official view

REDMOND O'NEILL has accorded me the singular privilege of misquoting me twice in one issue of Socialist Challenge as well as including a photograph on the centre pages. While I welcome the attention given to the National Union of Students, I feel that I should correct one or two of the many misconceptions in the articles entitled 'Shirley Williams' Racist Circular' and 'The Klymchuk Affair' which appeared in Socialist Challenge.

Briefly, in relation to the Circular 8/77, it should be explained that the Department of Education is by no means introducing new concepts. The circular is an enabling device to facilitate arrangements already underway and sanctioned by Circular 1/77 which provided for the possibility of quotas. As anyone who has followed our campaign on overseas students will be aware, this is something that we have consistently campaigned against and indeed formed one of the major planks of our campaign last year. It will be so again this year.

misconceptions occur in the article on Andriy Klymchuk. Our objective is to allow Andriy, who has been arrested under Soviet law, the maximum rights available to him to produce his innocence. Hence, we have demanded that he should be allowed an open trial with adequate defence and full information as to the evidence of charges against him. It was we who initiated the defence committee mentioned in the article. The differences on the question of immediate release did not 'dominate' the meeting of the defence committee.

There are two bases on which the demand for immediate release can be made. First, the assumption that Andriy Klymchuk is innocent; this is not an assumption that I believe anyone has defended until now. Secondly, that Soviet law is wrong in itself. It may be open for some of the political parties or organisations interested in the case to argue that, but it is impossible for NUS, with no policy on this question, to make such an argument.

Even more fundamentally, I do not believe it would assist Andriy to turn his case into a full scale assault on the Soviet law, which is what Redmond O'Neill and his colleagues appear to wish to do. At this point, Andriy Klymchuk's best interests are served by ensuring that he has the best possible chance to prove his innocence and be released on that basis.

I hope that this letter helps to clarify for Socialist Challenge

readers some of the misconceptions which appeared.

TREVOR PHILLIPS (National Secretary, NUS)

REDMOND O'NEILL REPLIES:

TREVOR PHILLIPS accuses me of misquoting him without supplying a single example of where I have done so. In reality he objects to the contents of my article.

Trevor argues about ensuring 'the maximum rights available to him to prove his innocence'. But the problem here is that it is not inconceivable that Klymchuk might sign a 'confession' in which case according to Soviet law he is 'guilty' and a defence campaign on the basis of a 'fair trial' will collapse. If Phillips has any real illusions about 'Soviet law' we would recommend to him Santiago Carrillo's latest book.

Phillips is perfectly aware that recent NUS national conferences have censured the Executive for refusing to defend democratic rights in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Recognising the legitimacy of Soviet law and the KGB goes against a defence of demo-

cratic rights because these laws institutionalise state repression.

At the last Defence Committee meeting, Phillips was alone in defending his position. He omits to mention this small fact.

The basis of the committee was altered so that its central demands now are: 'Drop All Charges' and 'For Klymchuk's Immediate Release.' This was a big step forward.

On the question of Overseas Students: Phillips is correct in pointing out that Shirley Williams' latest racist arrangements are a continuation of previous policy on quotas. The point is that these quotas are being implemented now. The NUS refused to launch a national campaign to stop the increases. The far left did. Our tactics involved occupations, area demos and national co-ordination. As such we were far more effective.

We have to rebuild a campaign this year. The NUS Executive should co-ordinate and lead such a campaign. Previous experience suggests that they will not. So once again it will be left to the Socialist Students' Alliance and other far left students and groupings to carry the struggle forward.

## Poems from Ireland

BUT

Frightened out of his roaring habit,  
Old Shaggy Mane, Imperial Lion,  
purrs softly into attendant microphones;  
but when night comes and the cameras have gone. . .

HOWEVER

'The Army does not make changes': however,  
rifle-butts alter  
the shape of a woman's face  
and the light in a boy's eyes.

PEACE

Elegant hands spin in a web  
for words of peace; soft  
shapes send patterned shadows from the seat of power.  
This peace is defeat: the  
defeat of 'our enemies'.  
Peace brought down to a  
rhetorical weight or counter.  
A soft tongue at the centre  
but an edge to the words like steel.  
Peace, peace, peace, peace:  
Repeat 'peace', and find  
another sound of war.

REMINISCENCES

HIS

We spent the afternoon in bed;  
in the evening I wrote a love poem  
while you cooked supper.  
Normally, I write slowly but this one  
flew onto the page. I was delighted  
and read it to you as you washed up.  
It's a pity you don't like poetry;  
I think that's what spoiled our relationship.

HERS

You ran your finger down my spine;  
hearing, in dark night silence,  
the smooth sound of it, you said:  
'That's the only music I can play.'  
But remember, if you wish to return,  
that I'm no instrument, musical or otherwise.

by STEVE MACDONOGH  
(Chairperson of the Irish Writers Co-operative,  
and a member of the Movement for a Socialist Republic)

## Support anti-Begin demo

AS YOU may know, the recently elected Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, is scheduled to visit Britain as an official guest of the Government in late October. Given the continuing denial of national rights to the Palestinians, which Israel stands for, as well as its military aggression in southern Lebanon, we have decided to mount a campaign against this visit.

We seek the widest possible support within the trade union, student, and progressive movements for this campaign — the focus of which will be a demonstration on Sunday 30 October. We have chosen this date as it is the 80th anniversary of the notorious declaration of Balfour.

British Foreign Secretary in 1917, in which the formation of an exclusively Jewish state in historic Palestine was first openly advocated by a major imperialist power.

We hope that your readers will support our campaign by promoting both the demonstration and other events that will be part of the campaign and joining our regular planning meetings. The demonstration will assemble at 12.30pm. Speakers Corner, with a rally at 1pm and a march to the Israeli embassy at 2pm.

H. AL-RAWI (Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 58 Old Brompton Road, London SW7. Tel: 01-584 1743.)

# BOOKFAIR

How many people outside the major cities would be able to get a book or pamphlet that would arm them with arguments about racist ideas, inform them about dangerous working conditions or inspire them with accounts of other struggles and victories?

Now many people have wandered fruitlessly round their local bookshop or library feeling sure there must be more to read than romantic fiction, war stories and car maintenance. Books that can help them fight effectively in the real world instead of escaping into a fantasy world.

The number of socialist books and pamphlets published in this country has increased enormously in the last few years but the availability of such literature in shops and libraries around the country could be much improved. In order to encourage this we have invited booksellers, librarians, trade unionists and teachers to show the whole range of socialist literature now available. All books will be on sale to the public and there will be special discounts to encourage trade orders on the day.

At the fair there will be facilities for small meetings, including one for left bookshops to discuss common interests and show all security after recent right-wing attacks on many shops. Suggestions for other events would be welcome. Food and drink will be available throughout the day and evening, and everyone should have a good time.

For further information contact Evelyn Barker (Bookfair organiser), 260 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2DE. Phone 01-832 6745.

Camden Townhall  
Euston Road,  
London NW1  
3 Nov.  
12.30-9pm

## For a Scottish Workers Republic

WHILE I welcome Bob Purdie's timely but partial return to his positions on Scotland of several years ago (see Red Mole, 8-22 April 1971), I would like to take up some points to help him further back along the road.

Bob Purdie has dealt with the question unscientifically, however, by being overtaken by events and seeking to explain them away. He has failed to understand that Scotland is an oppressed nation in the classical Leninist sense of being a nation prevented from building its own national economy because of the actions of foreign imperialism.

That 'Britain' is an imperialist power does not need explaining to socialists. But it does not follow that there is a 'British Nation' any more than the existence of a unitary state in the USSR should lead us to believe that the truth in the bureaucrats' assertion that there is

such a thing as the 'Soviet Nation'. Britain, like the Soviet Union, is based on the national oppression of the nations which form its periphery.

The Union of Scotland and England in 1707 was not a free union of peoples bound together by capitalist development, entered into voluntarily — but a take over. It is not true, as the sectarian suggests, that Scotland shared in the spoils of British imperialism; rather that Scotland's nascent bourgeoisie received material privileges in return for selling Scotland's national freedom, a deal they were forced into by Scotland's bankruptcy and England's economic hegemony under threat of further trade war.

If we look at the relative strengths of English and Scottish capitalism just before the take over in terms of share capital we see that England was economically over 28 times

stronger than Scotland. This pattern has continued to the present day when the majority of Scottish workers are employed by firms whose ultimate ownership is outside Scotland. Scotland is oppressed.

It is correct to exercise a certain amount of caution when examining the question of nationalism. Socialists demand the right to self-determination for oppressed nations and only oppressed nations. To call for self-determination for a nation which is not oppressed puts us on the same side as the ruling class. Comrade Purdie correctly points out that advanced nations which are occupied by a fascist power are oppressed, as can be nations with post-capitalist economies.

But this does not excuse his calling for an Assembly for Scotland. Scotland's problems are not to be solved this side of capitalism and it is dangerous to

suggest that they can be. To suggest that Westminster should hurry up with the 'devolution' proposals is as reactionary as suggesting that the SNP is capable of giving Scotland real independence. The Labour Party's proposals are parliamentary. The SNP completely accepts this parliamentary framework. We can support neither.

The idea that Britain is a nation is thoroughly imperialist and reactionary and has been a millstone round the necks of Scottish and English workers for almost three centuries. The idea of an Assembly is reformist. Socialists call for self-determination — that is the right to secession; the right to form an independent state.

Time to get back to the 'For a Workers Republic of Scotland' line, Bob.

ED ROBERTSON (Edinburgh)

# Socialist Challenge

## EAST ANGLIA

NORWICH: For details of Socialist Challenge support group contact: C. Scott, 7 Clarence Road, Norwich.

COLCHESTER Socialist Challenge supporters group meets fortnightly on Tuesdays, 8pm. Room 3.322 University of Essex. New discussion meeting, 18 October. 'Fascism and how to fight it'. For further information contact Mike at 11 Angelsea Road, Wivenhoe.

## SCOTLAND

For information on Socialist Challenge contact Scottish Socialist/Socialist Challenge bookshop, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow (Tel: 041-221 7481). Open weekdays 10-4. Late closing Thursday 8.00pm. Wide range of FI publications.

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

## SOUTH/WEST

PORTSMOUTH Socialist Challenge readers group every Monday, 7.30pm at Wiltshire pub (upstairs), Hampshire Terrace.

BRISTOL Socialist Challenge Forum every fourth Tuesday of the month, 17 October, Steve Potter for editorial board of SC speaks. Further details from John Smith, tel Bristol 33567.

Tuesday 25 October, 'The October Revolution — 60 years on, Focus on Eastern Europe', Baptist Mills Centre, Horely Road, Bristol 2, 7.30pm.

SOUTHAMPTON Socialist Challenge group supporters meeting, 27 October. 'Russia: is it socialist?' Anchor pub, East St., 8pm.

CARDIFF Socialist Challenge meeting, 18 October. Steve Potter for Socialist Challenge editorial board. At the Joint Students' Union building, Park Place, 7.30pm. 'Left Unity and Socialist Challenge'.

PONTYPRIDD Socialist Challenge meeting. Student Union building, West Giamorgan Polytechnic, 1pm. Steve Potter, 'What is Socialist Challenge?'.

PORT TALBOT SOCIALIST CHALLENGE meeting on Thursday, 20 October. Steve Potter for the editorial board speaks on 'A Socialist Challenge to Labour'. Further details: tel. Swansea 460086.

## NORTH WEST

For details of activities in the NW write or ring the Manchester Socialist Challenge Centre, Third Floor, 14 Piccadilly, Manchester 1. 061-236 2352.

Open Tuesday 8-8pm, Thursday 6-8pm, Saturday 10-11pm. Room available for meetings. Duplicating services.

LIVERPOOL Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly on Wednesdays at Stanlev House, Upper Parliament Street. Next meeting 19 October.

BURY Socialist Challenge group meets at the Royal Hotel, Silver St., every Wednesday at 8pm.

WARRINGTON Socialist Challenge discussion and action group meets every Tuesday, 8pm at Bowling Green, Liverpool Road, Warrington.

## LONDON

SOUTHALL: Supporters group meets fortnightly. For details phone 01-573 5095.

BRENT Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly on Mondays at Willaden Junction Hotel, Station Road NW10. 7.30pm.

## YORKSHIRE

SHEFFIELD readers meet fortnightly, 7.30pm, the Lion Hotel, 3 Nursery Street (off the Wicker), Sheffield.

YORK Socialist Challenge group meeting, Friday 14 October, University of York, speaker Bob Pennington.

HULL Socialist Challenge meeting, Friday 28 October, Tarq All, 'Socialist Challenge and left unity', 1.15pm at University Union. Evening meeting, 7.30pm, Bevin House: Tarq All, 'The Labour Government and building a socialist opposition'.

LEIGH Socialist Challenge group just formed. First meeting at Courts Hotel, Church Street, Leigh, 24 September, 7.30pm. Then Thursday evenings, every fortnight.

## HOME COUNTIES

BASINGSTOKE readers' meeting every Tuesday at Chute House, Church Street, 8pm.

## MIDLANDS

For details of activities of local supporters contact Socialist Challenge Centre, 76b Digbeth High Street, Birmingham. (021-643 9206).

LEICESTER Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly at Highfields Community Centre. Next meeting 19 October. Speaker, Brian Heron, recent Socialist Unity candidate. 8pm.

NORTHAMPTON Socialist Challenge forum. Geoff Bell on 'Britain's campaign of repression against the Irish people'. Wednesday 25 October, 7.30pm. The Fish, Fish Street, Northampton.

NOTTINGHAM Socialist Challenge meetings, Thursday 20 October, 7.30pm at the International Community Centre. Bob Pennington will speak on 'Socialist Unity'.

# Sharper than the lens

Peter Kennard worked on what was then the Socialist Labour League's daily paper, *Workers Press*, as a full-time photomontage artist from September 1973 to May 1974, a period which included the twilight of Heath's Government, the Industrial Relations Court, the confrontation with the miners, and the three-day week.

The spreads he produced then are now on show at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London until 28 October. Also exhibited are black-and-white canvases which Kennard made in response to specific events in South Africa, Northern Ireland, Italy and West Germany, and fragments of his work-in-progress, which he describes as 'towards a study of the word and image of human rights', and 'an

attempt to puncture false unities in the transmission of information'.

Kennard has consciously tried to combine his activity as a socialist with his practice as an artist. This has been unusual enough in post-war Britain, where the main tendencies in the visual arts have all led further and further away from involvement with the material conditions of life, or any response to

by PETER FULLER

history.

## 'Professionalism'

Kennard has had to confront a double crisis; that of the artist whose 'professionalism', and whose capacity to represent the material and social worlds in a culturally significant form have been eroded by the development of mechanical means of reproduction — like television, photography, film and mass printing; and that of the socialist at a time of extreme fragmentation on the left characterised by the absence of a non-sectarian revolutionary party and, between 1972 and 1974, by the absence of

a non-sectarian revolutionary press.

His most interesting attempt at a solution was his photomontage work. Photomontage evades the artist's secondary position in relation to the camera and mechanical reproduction. The montage artist must arrange the given elements, provided by the photographer, in such a way that they penetrate reality more deeply, or represent it more immediately, than the photograph on its own.

## Concrete

If the montage artist works for a newspaper, he or she also

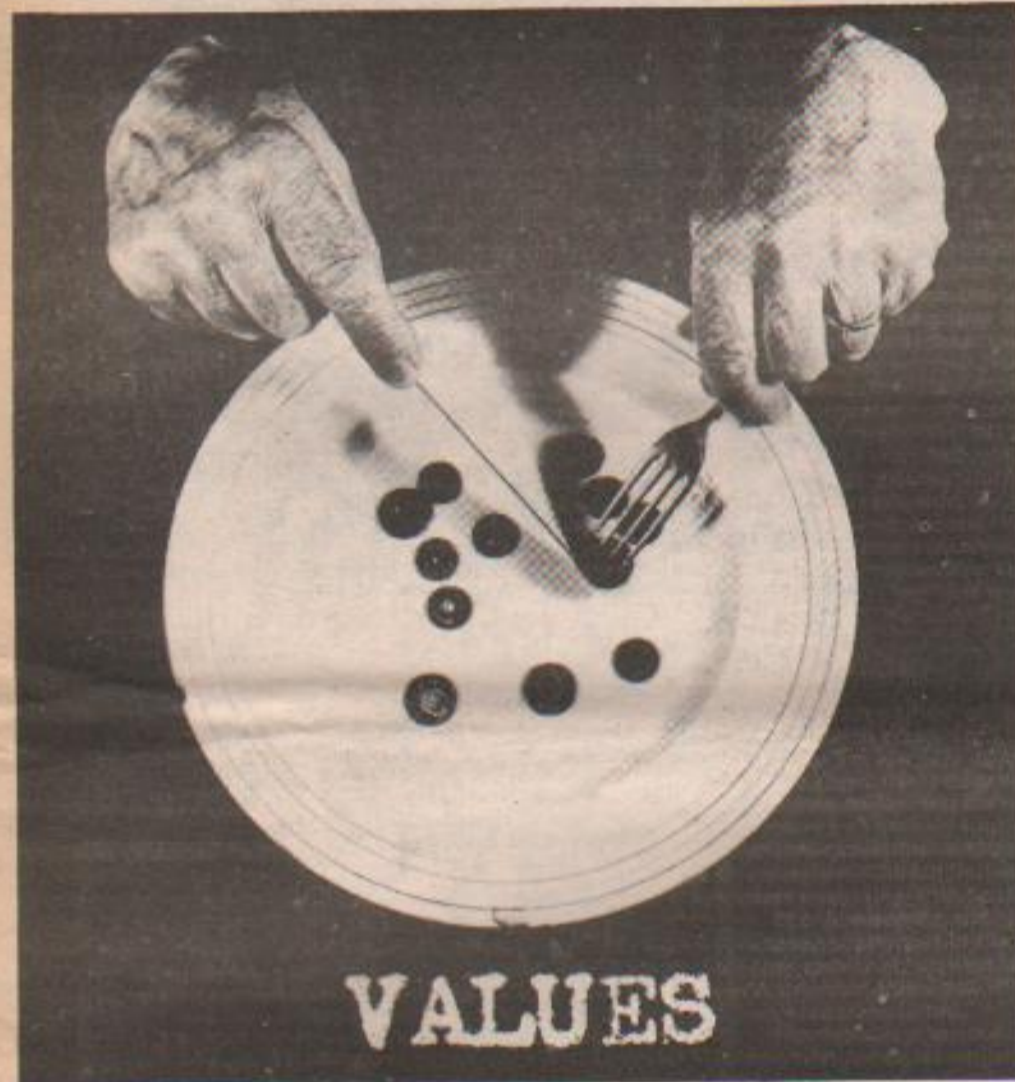
makes use of mass printing to reach a concrete audience, and is compelled by the very nature of his or her practice to respond to events, and to stand in a definite relationship to history. Nevertheless, specifically socialist photomontage work is dependent on the existence of a credible socialist press. (As a simple technique, of course, photomontage has long been assimilated by the bourgeois magazines.)

Kennard, who is about to start contributing montages to *Socialist Challenge*, modestly intends his ICA exhibition as a 'self-critical examination of his political and aesthetic development'. Inevitably, he is haunted by the ghost of Heartfield, the German photomontage artist who opposed the rise of fascism in the 1930s. History made it easier for Heartfield than for Kennard struggling with the constraints of the *Workers Press* in 1973/74. The iconography of European

fascism in the 1930s was easily manipulated, and an imaginative artist like Heartfield grasped its objective character in many dramatic, widely published, single images. The reality of Britain in 1973 to 1974 was harder for the montagist to represent — not least because Heath's Toryism was not wholly identifiable with the interests of capital.

An image of Hitler receiving a literal back-hander from German businessmen was one thing; a two page spread of a pig with Heath's face protesting against higher bacon prices in the EEC is another. But Kennard's limitations as an artist are only partly to blame for the difference between the two.

PETER KENNARD'S exhibition, *Values*, is at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, Nash House, 12 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1 until 28 October. Admission free.



## Science in Society

# Hair-brained or hairy—'sociobiology's' option for women

What do the following have in common: a popular television series in which the 'criminal' hero is described as the 'XYY man'; a Sunday Times article on Richard Dawkin's book *The Selfish Gene*; and a report in a women's magazine by a Cambridge consultant who suggested that the stress of becoming emancipated was making women hairier?

The answer is that they all illustrate the growing popularity of attempts to explain social phenomena in biological terms. These sorts of explanations, now frequently called sociobiology, are currently very fashionable. Lorenz, Ardrey, and Desmond Morris are almost household names!

Not only are they found in the mass media but they receive serious attention even in academic circles. Cambridge University, for instance, recently established a fellowship in Sociobiology.

This kind of explanation is not new. For example, biological theories of racial inferiority originated in the late nineteenth century, were popular again in the 1930s, and reappeared most recently in the late 1960s. The political implications of this kind of research are clear: challenges to race/sex/class inequalities are defused by pointing to their biological futility.

In this article we want to look at biological explanations of sex differences, and use this to raise wider questions about the position of scientific explanations in capitalist society.

## 19th century

In the nineteenth century, when women were demanding access to higher education, biological theories about their intellectual inferiority began to appear. Initially they were expressed in terms of differences in size of the brain or parts of the brain. As brain science developed, so supposed 'findings' about sex differences changed, but nevertheless women remained inferior!

At the same time, theories of menstruation suggested that, for girls, intellectual work would use up the energy vital for pubertal development. Medical (all male) experts, writing in *The Lancet*, argued that higher education would render women infertile and hence endanger the 'race'.

Since World War I these type of ideas haven't received much attention. But a major revival of interest has occurred in the last ten years directly related to the rise of the women's liberation movement. According to today's theories, women are not actually inferior to men, they just think differently, and the menstrual cycle makes them moody and unreliable.

These differences have been variously attributed to brain differences, hormones and genes



— and 'explained' as a 'remote but necessary' consequence of our evolutionary past (man, the hunter; woman, the childbearer). It follows that women could never be such good scientists, engineers or architects as men, or hold positions of responsibility. Attempts, such as the women's movement's to 'go against nature' will result in disaster (e.g. hairiness).

All these sociobiological theories therefore assume that human behaviour can be understood by studying animals. What they forget is that there are discontinuities between human and other animals. For example, language, the ability to separate the conception of a task from its execution, the great capacity to learn, and the ability to create our own history, are all uniquely human characteristics.

And the empirical data is no better. It is confused and controversial. It is therefore tempting to simply dismiss these ideas. Yet they are taken seriously. The Inner London Education Authority refers to Hutt (one of the best known researchers) in its pamphlet 'Career Opportunities for Girls'. Betty Lockwood (Chairman of the Equal Opportunities Commission), referring to employers' claims that women cannot do certain kinds of jobs, agrees that the limits of equality — that is, fundamental sex differences — must be examined.

Thus we can see that, like ideas such as racial differences in IQ and genetic abnormality in criminals, these theories are widely quoted and believed. And in a period of education cuts and high unemployment, it's not difficult to see how they can be used.

Why are they so attractive? Clearly they appear to explain the world we experience, and as they use the status-quo as their

by DOT GRIFFITHS and ESTHER SARAGA

starting point, they appear much simpler than political explanations. Scientific knowledge and explanations have a special status in capitalist society, a status which derives both from the view of science as an objective, value-neutral activity, and its success in changing material conditions. We learn this view of science at school where it appears esoteric, mystifying and often difficult, but as a subject which nevertheless has great explanatory power.

The media's presentation of science reinforces the deference to scientific expertise which this view of science produces.

So biological explanations of sex differences carry greater authority than political explanations, and despite constant challenge, the ideas do not disappear and are very powerful. It is not sufficient just to laugh at theories about women getting hairier, or even to dismiss them as bad science. They must be criticised politically. Under capitalism biological theories are integrally implicated in the continued oppression of women.

The centrality of science for modern capitalism — in production, ideology, and the means of repression — makes it important for socialists to consider scientific questions, just as Marx and Engels did.

Socialist Challenge invited the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, the largest organisation of socialist scientists in Britain, to contribute on the many aspects of the politics of science. The article above is the first of what will be a regular series.

More Ink Links books for the period spring '78 to spring '79

Special pre-publication — all books, including Ernest Mandel's at 25% discount. Postage 20p per book; FREE for three or more titles.

Catalogues requested will be sent in December. Write to: Ink Links, 271 Kentish Town Road, London NW5 2JS.



**A Prison of Measured Time — Critiques of Sport** by J-M Bröhm. £3.25; £6.50 cloth, 200pp. Sure to cause an uproar and much needed debate on the British left so complacently silent until now on an issue crucially hindering the development of mass working class consciousness.

**A History of Zionism** (provisional title) by Nathan Weinstock. £4.50; £9.00 cloth, 330pp. An able and passionate piece of Mandel partisanism — TLS reviewing French edition. A book to make left Zionists re-think, and many of their opponents avoid over-simplification.

**The American Labour Movement 1886-Today** by Daniel Guerin. £3.25; £6.50 cloth, 250pp. This excellent introduction by an eminent Marxist and gifted writer (author among other works of *Fascism and Big Business*), captures the whole movement, 'warts and all'.

**Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Communist International**. £4.95; £12 cloth, 500pp. Newly translated and never before complete in English, this is an indispensable reference work for all militants and students of the Comintern.

**Russian Futurism and Formalism face to face with Marxism**. £4.00; £8.00 cloth, 235pp. A newer translated debate. This book presents a clear exposition of formalism as a school of literary criticism and the objections raised to it by the Bolsheviks editing the cultural journal *Pravda and Revolution*. This book also contains two essays by the old Bolshevik Gorkov; both defending the Futurists against Trotsky's attacks on them in *Literature and Revolution*.

**Theory of Law and Marxism** by E. Pashukanis. £3.50; £6.50 cloth, 220pp. A seminal work of Marxist theory from the 1920s. While Marxists have attacked the hypocrisy of the content of bourgeois law, they have neglected to study the forms of the juridical superstructure. These forms, far from being neutral technical tools, are ineluctably linked to the property and production relations of capitalism. Pashukanis studies those links drawing important conclusions, not least, that the disappearance of capitalist relations entails, by necessity, the disappearance of all forms of law.

**A History of Economic Thought** by I. J. Rubin. £5.50; £11.50 cloth, 400pp. From the English mercantilists to the end of classical political economy, including major studies of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Rubin's *Theory of Value* won wide acclaim. This book will surely establish him as one of Marxism's most outstanding economists.

**A Contribution to the History of the Fourth International** ('International' Series) by Pierre Frank. £3.00; £6.00 cloth, 160pp. A succinct, serious account of the major problems of analysis, tactics and strategy through which the Fourth International developed, divided and consolidated itself from 1938-1973.

# Socialist Challenge

## Support Lenin (and us)

A VERY POOR start. That is the only way that the new autumn fund drive can be described. This week only £35.10 came in. Next week, together with an initial balance sheet of *Socialist Challenge*, we will explain our urgent financial requirements.

Our new fund drive logo making its debut this week makes Lenin look very grim. The best way to cheer him up, especially with the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution rapidly ap-

proaching, is to fill in the podium from which he is speaking. You can help by sending in your contribution now. Don't let Lenin and *Socialist Challenge* down. Our thanks to those of our supporters who did help us out in the fight for another £1800:

Anon	£7.00
C. Ungar	£10.00
R. Razare	£1.25
Bury supporters	£10.00
K. Margolis	£5.00
Bradford reader	£1.00
S. Clements	£0.25
TOTAL	£35.10

With 5 November on the way our Bury supporters beat Guy Fawkes and organised an early bonfire party. From this one event they made £10 for the fund drive. We look forward to *Socialist Challenge* bonfires being lit all over the country on that famous occasion. Organise your bonfire party now and send us a financial rocket.

## Permanent night out

After the great success of the first *Socialist Challenge* film benefit at *The Other Cinema* during the Marxist Symposium we have decided to make these a regular monthly event.

These film benefits will be held on the last Saturday of every month, and the proceeds will be equally divided between *The Other Cinema* and *Socialist Challenge*.

The first film will be the classic *Quemada*, which brilliantly puts the theory of permanent revolution into cinematic scope, with Marlon Brando leading a national liberation struggle on an island in the Greater Antilles — and then stabbing it in the back when things get a little out of hand. *Quemada* is directed by Gillo Pontecorvo, who made *Battle*

of Algiers. The venue is *The Other Cinema* at 25 Tottenham Street, London W.1 on Saturday, October 29 at 6.45pm. Tickets £1.50 at the door.

After the film there will be a short talk by Paul Sharp of the Caribbean Socialist Group, and the discussion can continue afterwards in the cinema club bar where cheap drinks are available. Let's be quite frank about this, comrades. Where else in London could you possibly get a film, discussion, and social all for £1.50? Be there!



# Support 29 Oct B'ham NAC Demo

OVER THREE million women picked up their daily paper last week to learn that they could be risking death by taking the Pill. It's hard to invent a more graphic example of the gap which exists between the motives and interests of the drug manufacturers and doctors, and the needs of women for safe contraception and abortion.

A report from the Royal College of General Practitioners advises all women over 30, and particularly those over 35, to consult their doctors about switching to other methods of birth control because of the increased risk of circulatory disease and death faced by a fifth of the 3,200,000 Pill users.

As one paper put it: 'The truth, however brutal, has at least ended the uncertainty'. And this is precisely the point — the structure of the health service has always ensured that women are kept in ignorance of the whys and wherefores of the 'treatment' they are 'given'.

## Keep calm

The Royal College, along with the rest of the medical hierarchy, tells women to 'keep calm' while straining every sinew to prevent women having the slightest control over their own bodies. The Pill manufacturers say there is 'nothing new' in the report, and will go on reaping vast profits while putting women's health at risk.

As the Pill report burst into the headlines *Pirate Jenny II* theatre group and the National Abortion Campaign caravan were touring the country. JUDY WATSON, a member of *Pirate Jenny*, reports: The theatre group has so far visited Stroud, Bristol and Cardiff — and a depressing series of stories about anti-abortion doc-



First day of the NAC caravan at Winchester. Local councillors refused to let the caravan park in or near the shopping precinct. It ended up in a car park on the outskirts of the town.

tors we have heard. Cardiff has been promised an out-patient abortion clinic since 1973; the premises and funds are available at the Heath Hospital, but are not being used for their intended purpose. A survey of Cardiff's GPs showed that 85 per cent did not even know of its existence!

In Bristol facilities are a bit better; but two consultants are anti-abortion, and the local day-care clinic is being transferred to another hospital. In Stroud one local GP informed a woman that she'd have to think again if she expected him to arrange an abortion in the town.

One of the slogans for the 29 October national demonstration in Birmingham is 'Women's

Choice not Doctor's Choice'. This is what we must fight for. We must press area health authorities to provide full abortion facilities in their area. If reactionary doctors are preventing this we should call for their replacement by doctors and gynaecologists who are prepared to carry out terminations. See you in Birmingham on the 29th!

The caravan and *Pirate Jenny II* are continuing their tour with the exhibition and the play *Bouncing Back* with the following schedule: N & SW LONDON: Thursday 13 October. Caravan in SW London, *Pirate Jenny* at Wheatsheaf, Tooling Bec, 8pm. BRIGHTON & CENTRAL LONDON: Friday 14 October. Caravan at Holl-

way Industrial Estate, Brighton. *Pirate Jenny* at ALRA benefit, LSE Old Theatre, Houghton Street, WC1. CAMBRIDGE: Saturday 15 October. *Pirate Jenny* at Mumford Theatre, College of Art, 8pm. Caravan in town. STOCKTON & W LONDON: Monday 17 October. Caravan at Stockton. *Pirate Jenny* at Hounslow Hospital, Staines Road, Hounslow, 8.30pm. LIVERPOOL: Tuesday 18 October. *Pirate Jenny* performance. (Tel 051-207 5484 for details). Caravan in town. MANCHESTER & LEEDS: Wednesday 19 October. Caravan in Leeds; *Pirate Jenny* at Manchester Poly, Aytoll Street, 12.30. Also Frances Shaw Social Club, Corbett Street (off Ashton New Road), 8pm.

YORKS & HUMBERSIDE: Thursday 20 October. Caravan in York and Hull. *Pirate Jenny* at Leeds Poly Students Union, Common Room, 1pm and Leeds Trade Club, 8pm.

## Belgrade security conference SALT in the wounds

Events in two East European capitals last week showed two slightly different ideas of how to fight for human rights. While delegates at the Helsinki recall conference in Belgrade churned out the usual platitudes, several hundred demonstrators in East Berlin demanded that the 'Russians get out' and sang songs by the expelled left-wing dissident Wolf Biermann. RICHARD CARVER reports.

Possibly the Berlin protests, in which police killed one person, were deliberately timed to show their contempt for the imperialist leaders' defence of 'human rights'.

The case of Wolf Biermann is a good illustration of the distinctly tactical nature of Western concern for political liberty. After his expulsion from the East, Biermann, an avowed Marxist, faced criticism from the right wing every bit as ferocious as the condemnations from the Stalinist regime.

The champions of Solzhenitsyn, Bukovsky, Sakharov and other right-wing critics of the East European bureaucracies are nowhere to be seen when repression is aimed at Biermann, Robert Havemann or Rudolf Bahro.

The none too startling conclusion is that when it comes to big power politics 'human rights' should not be allowed to get in the way of Realpolitik.

### Examination

Neither side at Belgrade would benefit from too close an examination of its human rights record. Violations by the Eastern bureaucracies are well known, if only because the bourgeois press is determined that they should be the central issue of Belgrade.

The same is true of the West. Commentators noted the curiously muted tone of the British contribution in the early sessions. Lord Goronwy-Roberts managed a few banal comments about 'It is to human beings that human

rights belong' and left it at that.

His own explanation was that the imperialist delegations had made an agreement to downplay the issue. What he did not mention was that a number of other delegations — and not just from the workers' states — were distinctly unhappy about Britain's human rights record in Ireland. Internationally verified accounts of British torture leave a weak flank against a Soviet counter-attack if the US delegation overplays its hand on human rights.

Whatever delegates may say about violations damaging detente, the issues are just too important to let trifles like murder, torture and suppression of democracy get in the way. So the real point at issue in Belgrade and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks is the future of East-West relations: detente, peaceful co-existence, call it what you will.

### Agreement

Since a recent statement by President Carter, Western newspapers have taken it as read that

a new SALT agreement limiting nuclear proliferation is imminent. Without access to the actual substance of the talks it is impossible to know whether to take this at its face value.

But it is clear that no paper agreement can stop the arms race. Recent military innovations in the West have forced the workers' states to respond. The American cruise missile will be met by a Soviet defence system and soon a Soviet cruise missile. The increase in conventional weaponry by the West European states — not covered by SALT — demands an answer from the workers' states.

And, most of all, Jimmy Carter's neutron bomb — not the most discriminating way of defending human rights — will doubtless have accelerated Soviet research in the same area. The Americans are protesting that the cruise missile and neutron bomb are tactical weapons and therefore not covered by SALT, but ultimately it is irrelevant. Even if the USSR accepts that argument it cannot but develop its response to imperialist nuclear aggression.

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