

INTERNATIONAL

Socialist Challenge

POLAND: ROUND 1 TO THE WORKERS

EYEWITNESS:
INSIDE
THE
LENIN
SHIPYARD

From Jean-Yves Touvais in Gdansk

Workers throughout the world will be inspired by the victory of the Polish workers. Their 18-day general strike in the Baltic ports has yielded fantastic results.

On Monday Lech Walesa, the leader of the Lenin Shipyard workers, signed the Gdansk Pact which included:

- ★ Full recognition for a free trade union in the Gdansk region and the right to strike.
- ★ The right for trade union journals to publish whatever they choose and a liberalisation of the censorship laws.
- ★ The release of the 25 leading dissidents who were arrested earlier during the strike, including the leading figure in the KOR, Jacek Kuron.
- ★ Pay increases have been promised, meat imports are to be increased to allow lower prices, and improved housing programmes are planned. Meat rationing will be looked into.
- ★ The Polish government has declared it will speed up economic reforms, decentralise management, and ensure that a national debate takes place on the question.
- ★ Women with babies will be allowed to stay home for three years with full compensation. Family allowances will be raised to the level of the army militia. Retirement pensions will be increased.
- ★ No victimisation of strikers and a case by case study of those workers victimised in previous strikes to gain re-employment.
- ★ The construction of a marble plaque to commemorate workers killed in the 1970 riot at the Szczecin shipyard.

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In Silesia, a region of the country where support for Gierk is judged to be particularly high, 30,000 miners have demanded recognition for independent unions and higher standards of safety in the pits.

The strikers agreed to recognise the Communist Party as 'the leading force in Poland' and 'not to question the existing system of international alliances'. But strike leader Lech Walesa urged workers not to worry about having to respect the role of the Communist Party.

'We have formed these unions ourselves,' he told the 1,000 delegates listening to the negotiations in the Lenin shipyards. 'If you are inside them, as I am, then you can be sure that we won't allow anybody else to have a leading role inside them'.

But there will be conflicts between the free trade unions and the Polish Communist Party in the future. A planned economy is only efficient when the workers themselves decide on economic priorities.

To decide these priorities, power must be taken out of the hands of the leaders of the Polish Communist Party and placed in the hands of the workers. This is the only permanent solution facing the workers of Poland today.



ABOVE: Strike leader Lech Walesa chaired around the shipyard. BELOW: Strike committee discusses the next move in the struggle.

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They listen to the loudspeakers broadcasting the discussions inside the factory. They bring money or food for the strikers, bags filled with potatoes or tomatoes. They go up to the gates which are covered with flowers and embrace each other.

Eager

The children are there too; the huge crowds stretching round this immense shipyard are all waiting for the government to meet the demands of the 300,000 strikers in the region.

Everyone is eager for information. Now and then someone throws a bunch of leaflets in the air and there is a mad rush for them. But soon everything is calm again.

In fact everybody will get a chance to read these precious leaflets as they are passed from hand to hand, crumpled and badly printed though they may be — the yard only has one printing machine whose limit is a few hundred copies.

Since Saturday (23 August) the strike committee's bulletin has come out daily. In its first issue the committee (the MKS) explains: 'We know that the government is doing everything to isolate us. It tries to cover up our strike. It wants to block solidarity. It says that we are anti-socialist elements, that our strike is political. What we want is to discuss the economic problems, to win our rights. We aren't against the regime.'

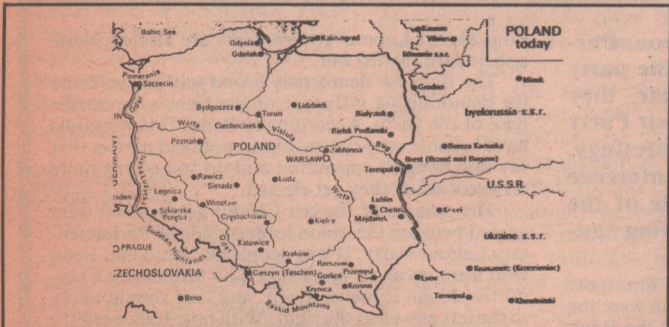
Watchful

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As one MKS delegate explained to me: 'The free trade union is for us the first demand. Then the political prisoners, and all our rights. It isn't a simple economic question.'

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IMG/Revolution Youth PUBLIC MEETING

What is happening in Poland today?

Speakers: Tessa Van Gelderen (IMG), Sonya Martyniak (Revolution Youth), and Oliver Macdonald (Editor, *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*).

Friday 5 September
7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London WC1.



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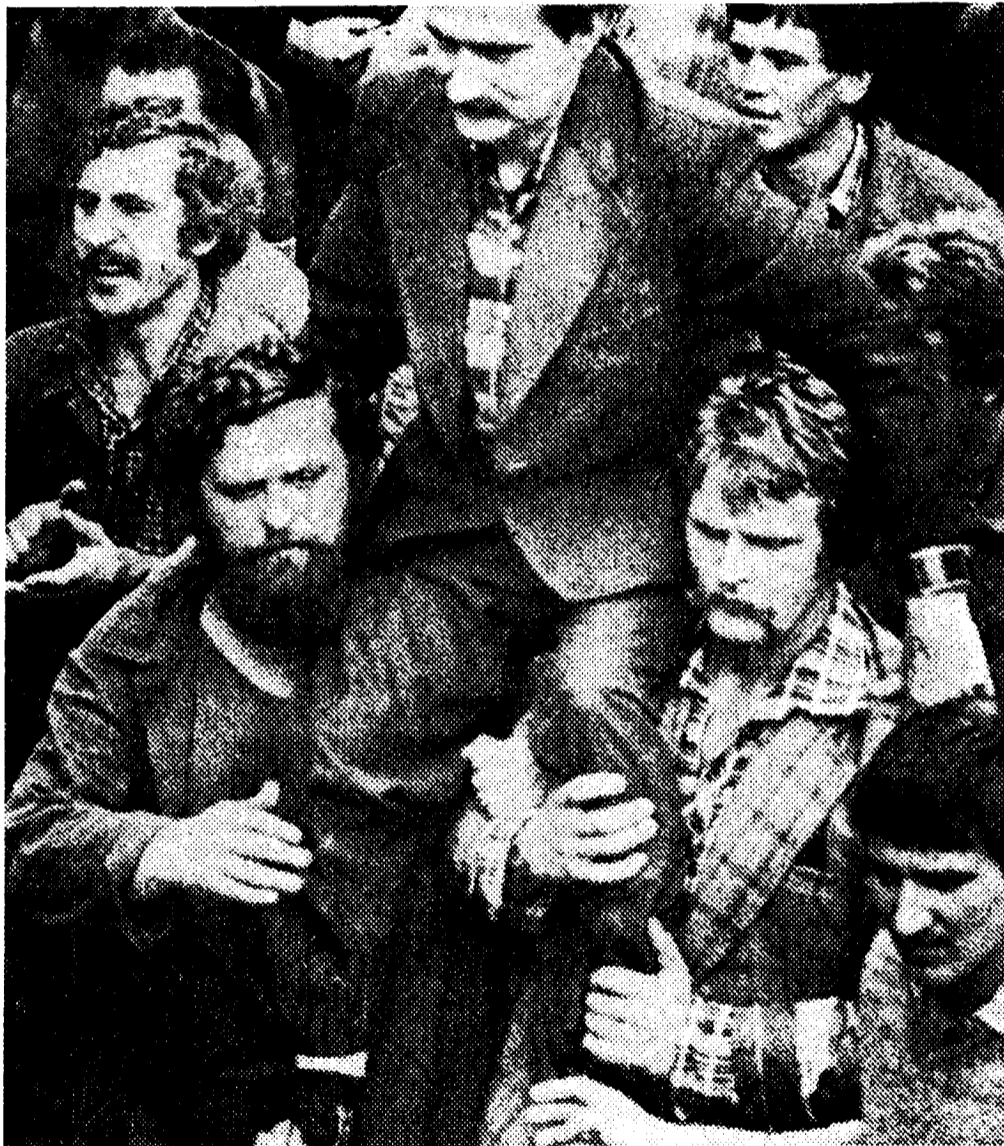
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By Brian Grogan

THE Polish crisis has thrown the Communist Party into turmoil. The *Morning Star* has primarily attacked the hypocritical new found love of the Tory press for 'independent unions' — as long as they are 2,000 miles away in Poland!

Nothing wrong with that. But the CP has used this attack to avoid giving full backing and solidarity to the striking Polish workers.

The current crisis has been couched in terms of removing blemishes from the essentially healthy body politic of Polish society.

'The answer' stated the first editorial after the occupation of the Lenin

Morning Star: silence has its own eloquence

shipyards (20 August), 'is to be found partly in the inadequacy of the democratic functioning of the trade unions on behalf of their members...and in the way the Polish government has handled its decisions on prices and food distribution. Wider questions of socialist democracy are also involved.'

What these 'wider questions of socialist democracy' are is not explained. But Mick Costello, the CP's industrial organiser, was quite adamant in a major statement published by the *Morning Star* (29 August) that the

strike movement in no way meant any 'basic weakness of the social system itself'. Rather, reform within the present regime is the only thing at issue.

The CP fails to explain why — over 10 years after Gierek came to power on a programme of reform — nothing has been done.

The issue is left vague by Costello: 'We must express our confidence in the ability of the working class, its unions, government and the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) — the Polish CP, to overcome the difficulties that have arisen in this context.'

But is there an identity of interest between the Polish working class and the present Polish regime and the PUWP?

We have had 30 years' experience of the Polish bureaucracy. In that time not only has it tried to foist an austerity policy on the backs of the working class; it has suppressed every single political right; forcibly crushed all previous independent organisation; and killed workers' leaders — all in the bureaucracy's determination to keep its massive privileges.

The state controlled

unions have been the immediate instruments in the factories for carrying out the dictates of the regime. There is no 'compromise' possible with such a force.

We don't disagree with the *Morning Star* (1 September) that, 'it is to be hoped that the agreements reached over the weekend will lay the basis for securing genuine, full scale, grass-roots participation in the making of decisions and their implementation.'

But politics is not about wishful thinking. Working class power is what it says it is — power exercised by freely elected working class

delegates in a national congress with full executive powers.

This cannot be equated with the exercise of power by the PUWP 'on behalf of the working class'.

Let the Polish Communist Party test its self-proclaimed 'leading role' in free elections of delegates from the factories and communities to a congress of the workers committees.

The fundamental dividing line in Polish society today is between those who are prepared to struggle for working class power and those who are not. The

British Communist Party's attempts to sit on the fence — demanding cosmetic changes — lead it to cover up for the Polish bureaucrats.

How else can the silence of the *Morning Star* on the arrest of the leaders of the KOR be explained? Why give such prominence to the Polish authorities' denunciation of 'anti-socialist forces' (15, 20 and 21 August)?

Silence has its own eloquence. The *Morning Star* has not seen fit to call for support for the 21 demands of the strikers or warn of the real danger of a Russian invasion. Gierek is backed by the Soviet bureaucracy. To denounce him is to denounce the Soviet leaders. This the British CP dare not do.

INSIDE THE LENIN

Continued from page 1

Everywhere we get a warm welcome. Four hundred delegates are in permanent session in a large conference hall. Everything is in place. There are no fag-ends on the floor. The water in the vases is regularly changed.

Behind the platform is a statue of Lenin, and on the table, among the flowers, is a wooden statuette — carved, no doubt, by a worker — of a worker with raised fists.

This is the democratic leadership of the strike: a congress meeting night and day. In front of each delegation is a piece of card announcing the name of their factory. There is a constant shuttle between this hall and the different factories.

Women

Ask anyone and they will tell you how each striker has a say in the movement. A young woman from a preserved food factory in Gdansk, where 90 per cent of the 750-strong workforce are women, told me:

'I've been here for six days, but our strike was really decided only yesterday. The director first proposed a meeting with the prefect, and he himself nominated three delegates without any consultation. These discussions were obviously useless.

'Then I came here, and when I went back we elected our own committee. Twelve workers, one for each department, were elected by a show of hands after a discussion. Now there are two of us here, and we report back twice a day on what has been going on. As for the director, he's vanished from the scene.'

Permit

I ask if her factory is occupied. She shows me an MKS permit: 'We are continuing to work. What we produce is of use to the strikers. We have the permission of the MKS.'

This is true of a number of concerns. The trains serving the urban concentration of Gdansk, Sopot and Gdynia run every ten minutes because they're vital. Often the engines are decorated with Polish flags as a sign of solidarity.

It was in this conference hall that deputy prime minister Jagielski arrived on the evening of Saturday 23 August. Nine days after the movement had started in the Lenin shipyard, the government finally recognised the MKS.

SHIPYARD

AN EYEWITNESS REPORT

The minister was able to see the 'anti-socialist elements' across the table and in the flesh. They were of different ages, some in overalls, tired, many of them women, and each with a cassette recorder so that their workmates would be able to hear everything that happened.

It's 8pm when Jagielski comes in. There is total silence. Slowly he walks through the hall under their watchful but happy gaze. On the platform is the entire presidium: nineteen people chosen by the MKS.

Strike leader Lech Walesa rises and shakes his hand. He suggests that they go into a small room behind the hall. Every word will be broadcast directly throughout the plant and outside. The minister agrees. The hall explodes with joy, chanting Walesa's name: 'Leszek! Leszek!'

Concrete

The negotiations begin. Jagielski has nothing concrete to say. What about the restoration of communications between Gdansk and the rest of Poland? 'You know, there has been stormy weather over Warsaw for the last few days. The installations were damaged.' There is laughter in the hall. 'Come on, the storm didn't keep up for twelve days!'

The restoration of communications is regarded by the MKS as a precondition for continuing discussions. There is no pledge from the minister, and so he leaves at midnight with nothing resolved. But no-one is



too worried. 'They'll be back, they don't have any option.' On Sunday the situation is calm. Everyone knows that the Central Committee is meeting in Warsaw.

The loudspeakers regularly broadcast the recording of last night's meeting. A simple Mass is celebrated in the morning by the bishop of Gdansk and attended by the majority of workers. They sing old hymns asking God for more freedom, greater strength.

We stroll peacefully through the shipyard. The sun has come out again after two days of rain. It is a mild evening. Here and there workers are asleep on the grass, or gathered in little discussion groups. Everyone is at ease. One senses a quiet revolution, fully confident in itself.

Then, just before 8pm, the news arrives. The radio broadcasts Gierek's speech to the Central Committee. The

change in prime minister is announced. Outside the main gate, three or four thousand people have gathered to listen. There are amused comments from time to time.

Sometimes the broadcast fades. Walesa takes the microphone: 'The equipment's gone on strike too!' There are cheers. No-one really thinks anything new has happened.

A delegate from the main naval dockyard later explains to me: 'It's like when you go fishing. You bait the hook and wait. Gierek thinks we're stupid fish, but he's wrong. We discussed his speech in my factory and everyone was of the same opinion. The speech, these changes: so much hot air! Nothing's changed.'

A worker from a fish factory comments: 'We don't know anything about the new prime minister. The important thing is what's happening here!'

Waits

Everyone waits for the government commission, convinced that they are going to win. They have lost count of the number of factories daily going on strike. On Sunday a score of new delegations swelled the central strike committee. Each is applauded. 'Soon there won't be enough room in the hall', I'm told.

Much hope is placed in solidarity from other regions of Poland. But my interpreter, a delegate from an electrical construction factory, explains:

'We don't want a general

strike; it would cost Poland too dear. In refusing to listen to us, the government is wasting \$37 billion a day. But if necessary the whole country will go on strike.'

Telephone

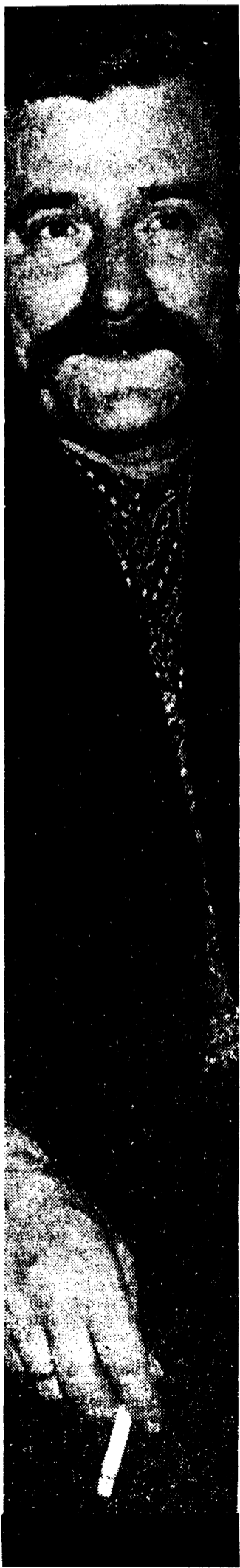
Monday evening, at 7.30pm, the government proposes an immediate meeting. Lech Walesa demands the restoration of telephone links with the rest of Poland, and when there is no response the general assembly agrees unanimously that there will be no negotiations.

At 9pm the government is back on the line: 'Communications have been restored. Can we have a meeting?' The MKS sets a new precondition: there must be an announcement that the talks will be broadcast on the radio. There must also be 20 minutes on national radio and an hour on television.

The new prime minister accepts everything, so discussions will open in the morning. The debates will be broadcast throughout the region. Late that night an old worker says to me:

'I am very proud of the Polish workers, and I know them all here. They have been waiting 35 years for this. I certainly wouldn't like to be in the shoes of the new prime minister, because we're going to win.'

At 1am there is still a huge crowd gathered round the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. But not a cop is to be seen on the streets.



Lech Walesa — unemployed electrician whose found a new job.



POLAND: WORKERS' POWER CAN SOLVE THE CRISIS

FOR the fourth time in 25 years, the industrial workers of Poland have thrown back the Stalinist regime's destructive attack on the rights of the Polish masses.

The bureaucratic regime has plunged the Polish economy into a catastrophic crisis. The source of its inability to manage the economic and social life of the country is the subordination of every other issue to the preservation of the bureaucracy's exclusive grip on political power.

When Gierek came to power he solemnly promised an uninterrupted rise in living standards and stable prices. But running up huge foreign debts, failing to supply consumer markets, it had to make up for its incompetence through massive price subsidies taking up 40 per cent of the total budget.

Since 1976 it has been trying to make the working masses of Poland pay by using every trick and manoeuvre to raise prices, thus breaking the pledge on living standards through which Gierek gained the workers' acceptance in 1971.

Meanwhile, the industrial system is in chaos. The credits from Western capitalist banks have in many cases been squandered on useless projects.

In the last few years, the regime has tried to shift the burden of paying for the crisis onto the poorest and weakest sections of Polish society while at the same time allowing a new class of speculators and racketeers, often linked to the bureaucracy itself, to flourish.

The poorest peasants have been hit by the new pension laws, essential medicines have run out, the living standards of a big section of the less well-paid workers have declined, the miners in Silesia have been forced to put their lives at risk in the cause of getting the state out of debt, the population's housing needs have been ignored, social services have been eroded.

The Polish working class is quite able to take upon itself responsibility for clearing up the crisis that the Stalinist regime has created, but only on one condition: **the working class must gain political power. No working class responsibility for solving the crisis without working class political power.** This is the decisive issue behind the present crisis.

From this defensive struggle, on the basis of defending their economic rights, the Polish workers will grow in strength, confidence and self-organisation and can open the road to a positive, lasting, overall solution to the crisis. They can turn the 'Polish People's Republic' into a state in which the working people will really exercise political power and determine their own fate.

A national congress of work-place and neighbourhood delegates should draw up a new economic plan and supervise its implementation

In June 1976 the Party centre asked the *voivode* party organisations what the reaction would be to their planned price increases: every single *voivode* party organisation except one — 48 out of 49 — said the increases would be accepted! That is a measure of how closely the so-called Polish United Workers' Party represents the real views of the Polish workers.

So all talk of the party being the forum for discussion and decision on a plan to beat the crisis is another way

THE following declaration was written by exiled Polish revolutionary Marxists in July, before the latest strike wave got off the ground.

It argues that the bureaucracy is incapable of solving the economic and political crisis, and that the struggle in Poland poses the question of political power.



Polish workers; they must be given the power to fight the crisis.

of saying that an anti-working class policy will continue.

The real, living working people of Poland must be given the right to debate and decide the measures needed to overcome the crisis. There should be a **national congress of the elected delegates of work-places and neighbourhoods throughout the cities and villages of Poland to decide on a new economic plan and to supervise its implementation.**

Unmuzzle the press, open the books of the ministries, free discussion of alternative programmes

Any publication which can demonstrate a minimum of support — say 5,000 readers — should be officially supplied with paper and printing facilities. Repression of the unofficial press like *Nowa* publishing house and the KOR's information bulletin *Robotnik* should be ended. Otherwise all talk of 'national discussion' is a cynical sham. Workers in the big factories can demand the right to start their own independent workers'

papers.

All programmes and policies from all sections of society must be fully aired in public so that the workers can decide amongst them. Those who want the workers to suffer unemployment and who want to abandon any national system of planned development should come out openly with their programme. Those who want to give the workers power over the plan, who want to defend the right to work and to a living wage, must be able to put forward and argue for their policies.

A policy which puts the interests of working people first!

As socialists we call for a radical re-organisation of society so that social, economic and political life is managed by the people themselves, free from bureaucratic dictates. A programme to solve the crisis must therefore be worked out in accordance with the needs of working people.

Such a programme must include breaking the power of the party and state bureaucracy over the lives of working people, and the fight for a

new political order of working class democracy.

In the fight for these objectives we put forward the following action programme:—

1. No cuts in living standards! Raise wages in line with inflation!

The government has for four years reneged on its pledges to keep down prices. Bit by bit, it has surreptitiously increased prices all along the line. This is why the workers of Ursus have demanded a sliding scale of wages, to keep wages in line with price rises.

Just as the workers have chosen their delegates in factory after factory to lead the fight against price increases, so they should choose delegates to cost of living committees to monitor price rises.

2. No victimisations! Defend the right to strike!

The workers who have defended their class interests in the present wave of strikes have faced the threat of vicious state violence and reprisals. After 1971 and 1976, the workers

leading the struggle were victimised; the bureaucracy ruined the lives of the strike organisers and leaders by sackings, demotions, persecution, expulsion from the party, etc.

This must not be allowed again. Victory will only be secured when the right to strike is guaranteed, when laws penalising workers for 'harming national production' are scrapped.

The right to strike means the right to picket and the right to hold street demonstrations. The police and the security organs must be banned from intervening in industrial disputes.

3. Full access to the media!

The workers must have the right to tell the truth about what is going on. Open the pages of the press to the workers committees.

4. For free and democratic trade unions!

The workers must have the right to create their own independent trade union organisations, to build up their own funds, and to elect their own representatives. Management personnel should be excluded from such bodies.

5. Demobilise the army of place-hunters and supervisors! For workers' self-management!

Polish industry is stuffed full of supervisory personnel and of posts and perks for those prepared to do the bidding of their superiors. The well heeled director, party factory committee secretary, full-time trade union official and their cronies have their hands on handsome perks and privileges — leaving aside all the fiddles and shady deals that are open to them.

Control over the management of the enterprise and plant must be put back in the hands of the mass of workers — the only people with no interest in such corrupt, nepotistic cliques. Social and welfare services should be entirely separated from management activity and put in the hands of independent, elected committees.

Overall control of the enterprise should be in the hands of elected committees of shop-floor and white collar employees who should take all the key decisions about the running of the plant and enterprise.

No Stalinist intervention in Polish affairs

The regime brandishes the threat of Soviet invasion to intimidate the working class. This threat cannot be ignored: it must be faced openly and challenged. Where does the Polish government stand on the question of Poland's right to self-determination?

The workers must demand of the government that it openly state its opposition to any Soviet interference. It should demand action to demonstrate the Soviet government's good faith: it should demand the removal of Soviet troops from Poland.

It should seek a united front of Communist and Socialist parties and the governments of workers states such as Romania, Yugoslavia and others in defence of Poland's right to national self-determination.

If the Polish workers reach out for support from the working people of Eastern Europe and throughout the world, they will create the best conditions for resisting any Soviet attempt to suppress their just struggle.



The Polish Church and.... CARDINALS AND BUREAUCRATS

THE Catholic Church in Poland stands four square behind the Gierk regime in its attempts to force Polish workers to return to work. This was the message contained in Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski's sermon broadcast on Polish television last week.

'If Wyszynski can't get them to return to

THROUGHOUT the 19th century, the German Reich and the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires partitioned Poland into three parts. The Poles were sandwiched between Russian Orthodoxy and German Lutherism. As in Ireland, the church became linked to the idea of national identity, and this identification was reinforced in this century by the division of the country in 1939 as a result of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and by the heavy losses it suffered in the Stalinist purges.

At the end of the Second World War the church hierarchy was more cautious in its approach to the collectivisation of the land than its Hungarian counterparts. It wanted to maintain its political influence over the masses and its leader, Cardinal Wyszynski, was clever enough to realise that he could not oppose this popular measure.

Although the Polish church

pays lip service to supporting opposition movements in Poland today, a look at its post-war history shows how limited that support has been.

After initially opposing the Communist government's social legislation on abortion, divorce, and civil marriage, a deal was struck between church and state in April 1950. As a result the Polish bishops called on the Polish people to 'respect the laws and institutions of the state'.

The church would

'condemn and punish those clergy who are guilty of any underground or anti-state activity'. In return the government allowed religious education in the schools, and the only Catholic university in a Communist country, Lublin University, was set up.

Throughout the early '50s East European leaders mounted a wave of repression as part of a campaign against Tito, the leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party who had dared to break with Stalin.

In Hungary Lazlo Rajk was executed as an 'agent of Tito'; sham trials, torture, and imprisonment took place in every country in Eastern Europe until Stalin's death in 1953. Yet no protest was heard from the leaders of the Polish church.

In 1956 the close relationship between church and state was further consolidated. In the face of the upsurge inside the working class, Gomulka, the head of the Polish Communist Party, decided to make alliances with non-revolutionary forces. The only way for the regime to defeat the militant base of the working class movement was to make a deal with the peasantry and the church.

Land was de-collectivised so that only 10 per cent remained in the hands of the state. The church was allowed full religious practice, representation in parliament, and the right to publish its own newspapers.

Wyszynski loyally urged all

work, then there's certainly no politician who can,' commented a Polish journalist, pointing at one and the same time to the dilemma of Poland's leaders and the strong hold of religion in Poland. Socialist Challenge talked to Oliver MacDonald and Jo Singleton about the role of the Roman Catholic church in Polish society.



Poles to vote for Gomulka in the elections that year and continued to back the regime throughout the 1960s. The church itself flourished in this period.

By the end of the '60s there were three times as many nuns and twice as many monks in Poland as there had been in the '30s. Bishops were paid higher salaries than central committee members of the Communist Party.

Another test for the Polish church came in 1968. A big anti-semitic campaign was launched against intellectuals and dissidents who were critical of the regime. The church hierarchy, who in the inter-war years had backed the semi-fascist National Democracy Party and had a strong tradition of anti-semitism, raised not a word of protest against these purges.

Power

Adam Michnik, a left wing Christian writing in *The Church, the Left and Dialogue*, admits that the church's behaviour at this time was worrying: 'An unequivocal pronouncement by the bishops about anti-semitism was badly needed'.

Gierk, coming to power in 1970 after another upsurge by Poland's militant working class movement, went straight to Wyszynski for help. The Cardinal urged the workers to pray for 'peace and calm' and to put an end to their strike.

Gierk was obviously grateful to Wyszynski. When

the latter reached retirement age, the Communist leader sent a personal letter to the Vatican requesting that he should stay on as Cardinal.

In dissident intellectual circles in Poland the church undoubtedly has a strong influence. The workers also clearly look to the church as a source of support in their conflict with the government.

But the Polish bishops' new found support for opposition movements is very conditional. They want to know whether the movement will increase their power and privileges in Polish society.

Skills

The church wants access to the media, full legal recognition and even more churches built in return for 'services rendered to the regime in ending social tension'.

As the Human Institute of Conflict Studies has pointed out: 'It says much for Cardinal Wyszynski's political skills that he understood that the crisis in Poland could be transformed into a lever for strengthening the position of the church. This explains the backing that it passively gave to the opposition movement.'

But the church, like the regime, fears nothing more than the mass movement of the striking Polish workers. As the workers' combativity increases their trust in the church grows less and less. Even the 'clever' Cardinal Wyszynski is finding the going tough in Poland today.

The Polish Church: key facts

There are 78 bishops in Poland, two cardinals, and two archbishops. There are 9,856 churches and 19,683 priests.

Between 1945 and 1970, 352 new churches were built. 871 old churches were restored.

Between 1971 and 1978 permits were issued for 186 new churches to be built.

There are 42 monastic orders, over 7,000 monks, 100 women's religious orders and 25,765 nuns.

LEON TROTSKY, leader of the Russian Revolution and later founder of the Fourth International, was murdered forty years ago by an agent of Stalin.

It is from Trotsky's fight against the bureaucratisation of the Soviet workers' state, for the maintenance of a policy of revolutionary internationalism based on the independent struggle of the working class, that the International Marxist Group draws its inspiration today.

When Trotsky and his small band of supporters around the world fought to create a new Fourth International in the face of the betrayals of the Comintern (whose policies had let Hitler into power in Germany), their struggle was very much against the stream. It was above all a declaration of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class in the future.

Today that confidence has been totally vindicated — not merely by the general rise in world revolution, but above all by the events in Poland. As Trotsky predicted, the working class is in revolt against the bureaucracy — not for the restoration of capitalism, but for genuine socialist democracy.

The Polish workers' strikes are dramatic confirmation of the relevance of Trotsky's analyses — and of his struggle for a new world party which would fight to mobilise the working class internationally against the imperialists and Stalinists.

Below we print a recollection by veteran revolutionary Harry Wicks of Trotsky's famous speech in Copenhagen in 1932, extracts from Trotsky's writings on the tasks of the political revolution, and a couple of pages from the newly published *Trotsky for Beginners* by Tariq Ali and Phil Evans.

Memories of Trotsky's last public meeting

ON THE fifteenth anniversary of the October revolution the Social Democratic students of Copenhagen invited Trotsky to speak. He readily accepted the invitation: here was an opportunity to escape, even for a brief period, from Turkey, his home since Stalin had forcibly deported him there three years before.

From the first moment of his exile Trotsky had stubbornly sought the right of political asylum in Western Europe. The Labour government of MacDonald, together with the French radical and German social democratic governments succeeded in barring Trotsky's entry into Western Europe.

This opportunity to lecture in Copenhagen made it possible for him not only to meet his co-thinkers but, more importantly, to get closer to the battle lines that were unfolding in both Germany and Spain.

Where better to press home his warning to the German working class on the menacing growth of Hitler's fascism than from the very frontier of the Weimar Republic?

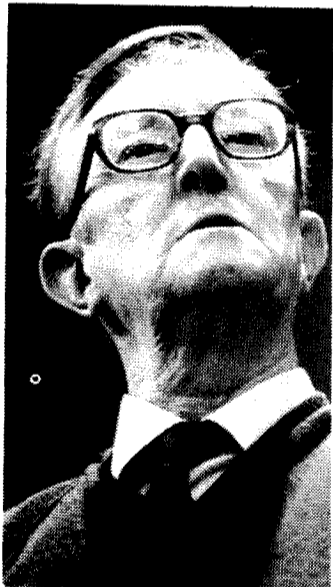
To the fury of the Stalinist parties Trotsky's journey across Europe made the headlines of the world's press.

Frenzy

Hardened party functionaries circulated the story that Trotsky was travelling to Denmark to denounce the Russian revolution. The nearer he got to Copenhagen the more strident his opponents became.

Monarchists denounced him as the arch Bolshevik who had been responsible for the fall of the Czar. Stalinists were whipped to a frenzy as the truth of his critique of the Soviet and Communist International leaderships became more apparent.

In such a political climate the responsibility of assuring Trotsky's safety rested with the inter-



HARRY WICKS national left opposition.

On arrival at Esbjerg, Trotsky proceeded to a small house on Dalgas Boulevard in the suburbs of Copenhagen. For eight days that house became LT's workshop.

In a box room at the top of the stairs all interviews were held and the final preparations for his lecture and trans-Atlantic radio talk were made. Day and night our small group of Left Oppositionists maintained security.

From the moment of Trotsky's arrival the Communist Party conducted a vociferous agitation.

Capitalising on the widespread interest, they organised a series of anti-Trotsky meetings. To those Stalinist meetings we went. Severely hampered by the language barrier and the absence of any sympathetic Danish group, we published a tiny leaflet and endeavoured to counter their lying campaign.

It became clear that the CP-stimulated hostility was fouling up the political scene and that there was a danger that the meeting would be disrupted. In the circumstances it was decided to bring from Hamburg a group of sympathisers, ex-Red Front fighters, to provide a protective

Forty years after the assassination THE MAN WHO THEY COULDN'T



TROTSKY speaking in Copenhagen

screen in front of the platform and supplement our meagre defence force.

On the night of the meeting a

vast crowd had assembled in front of the main entrance. We discreetly approached the building from the rear. It ap-

peared to me that it was some sort of field that we crossed.

Trotsky strode out with firm steps, Natalia hurried to keep pace, one felt tense. Friendly students led us to a small ante room at the rear of the platform, and for a few moments it was possible to unwind.

Trotsky autographed copies of his recently published *History* for a number of officials. The time arrived to step up to the platform. As Trotsky approached the podium and faced that large audience, the loudspeakers played the opening bars of 'The Internationale'.

It seemed that all the accumulated tensions of the last few days disappeared. What remained was an attentive audience — not a critical voice was raised, hardly a cough — an audience

entranced by the speaker they were listening to and by the great theme: the defence of the October revolution.

It was five years since Trotsky had addressed a live audience. Then it was at the grave of his friend Adolf Joffe. But his opening declaration: 'I stand under the same banner as I did when I participated in the events of the revolution' not only nailed the lie of the Stalinist slander campaign, but also showed that he had lost none of his verve as a speaker.

The lecture was a magnificent defence of the Russian revolution as a stage in the historical rise of humanity.

That evening, in little over an hour, the audience heard a remarkable precis of his three-volume study of the Russian

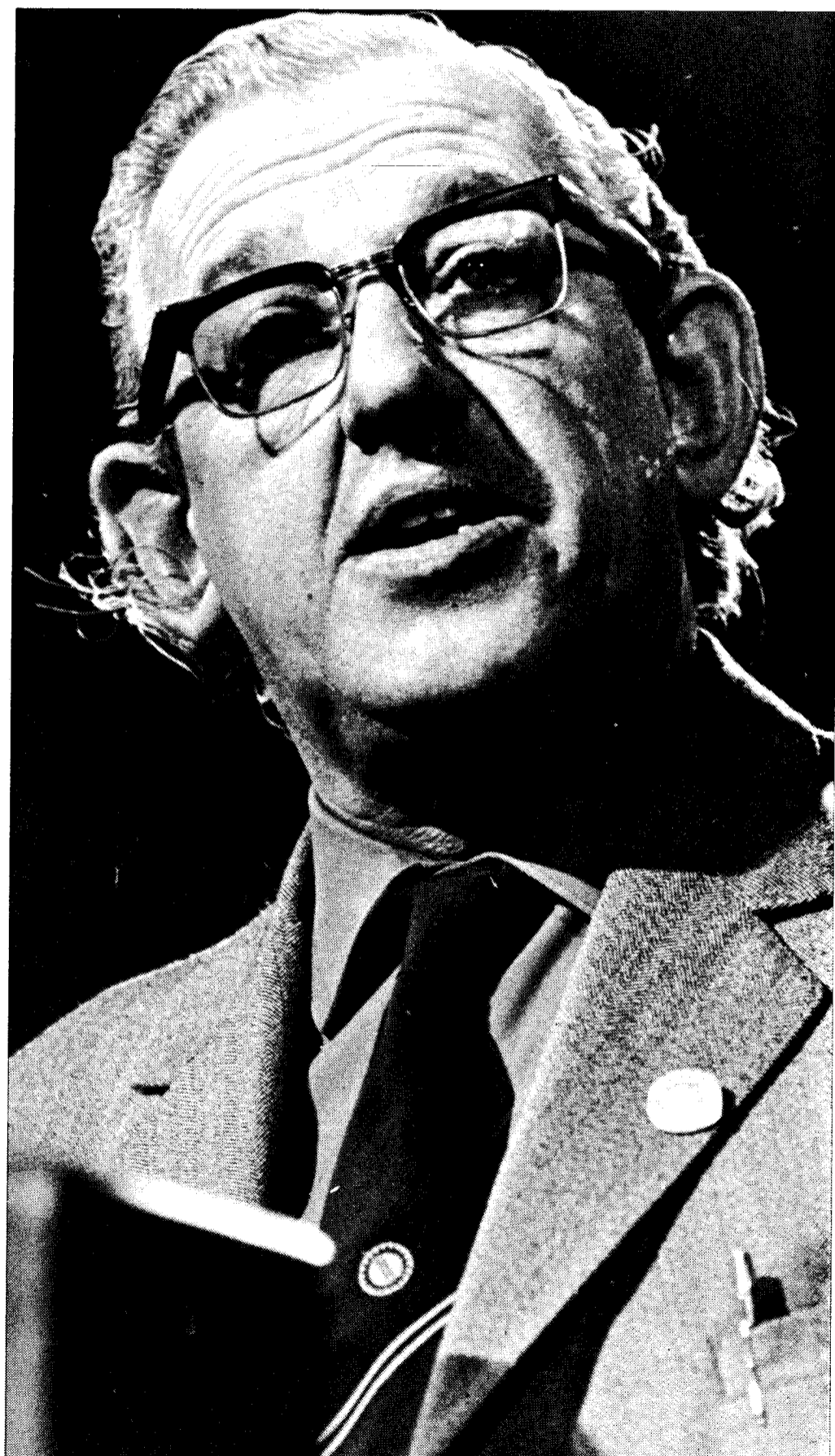


LEON and Natalia Trotsky returning from Denmark

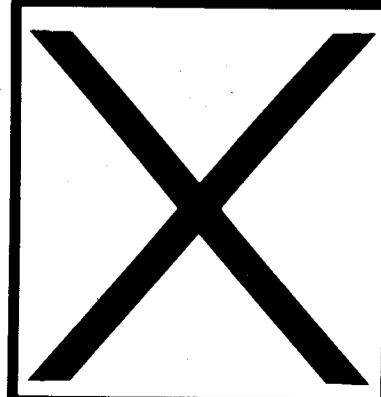
A NEW SPECIAL

Socialist Challenge

KICK OUT THE RIGHT



VOTE WRIGHT



STOP THE ROT



Mass meetings to fight Tory press

ONE interested group of people can be sure to stick their noses into the presidential campaign — the press and TV. They'll be going all out for Duffy, just like they did last time round. As Bob Wright put it when speaking to engineers in Manchester: 'As soon as balloting starts on 9 September, we can expect the attacks to come.'

They'll be trying to take advantage of the postal ballot, seeking to talk to the membership when they're isolated in the privacy of their own home. As Bob Wright said: 'In the last election 220 column inches were given to the Duffy campaign. This time we can expect it to start on Sunday 14 September when Woodrow Wyatt puts pen to

paper.

'To counter this we need a vigorous campaign in the factories. We need an election campaign run amongst the 1,200,000 members of our union.' And that means a concerted campaign of propaganda and, above all, of mass meetings.

Duffy has shown that he'd prefer to keep engineering workers in the dark about the issues involved. He's turned down the challenge of debating Bob Wright on TV. So it's now up to the stewards to make sure that debate takes place by organising mass meetings in every factory and inviting speakers from each camp to explain their case.

It will be by using the methods of workers' democracy — just like we've been seeing in Poland — that we can best deal with the Tory press and the mafia at Peckham Road.

THE outcome of the forthcoming AUEW elections is vital not just for engineering workers but for the whole labour movement. If Duffy defeats Bob Wright and is re-elected president, the rot will continue — wages declining, hundreds of thousands of jobs lost and shop floor organisation weakened.

Alongside Sir John Boyd, CBE, Terry Duffy has joined the right-wing bloc inside the TUC with Chapple, Jackson and co. In the Labour Party Duffy is part of the 'moderate' right-wing opposition to democracy and accountability. Duffy is an obstacle to any fight against the employers and the Tories' attack on the working class.

The most recent example of his 'leadership' has been his attitude to the Tory anti-union laws. Duffy has rushed to accept state financing for postal ballots. He has no plans to lead the union against Heath's infamous Industrial Relations Act in 1972.

Duffy must go

It is clear that Duffy's policies are hampering the defence of engineers' living standards. In his election address he hardly attempts to hide his opposition to any form of struggle against the Tories and the employers: 'I believe that we must have co-operation, not conflict'.

Duffy's 'co-operation' has already meant the sack for thousands of workers at British Leyland as Michael Edwardes' redundancy plans proceed without an ounce of opposition from the leadership of the AUEW.

'With the alternative being the closure of British Leyland, some seemingly unpalatable decisions were necessary, but the result has been success in regaining a period of peace at BL'. This is not Edwardes or some right-wing member of the Tory cabinet speaking — it is the president of the AUEW!

Robinson

Duffy's determination to assist the employers in breaking the strength of shop-floor organisation and imposing 'peace' in industry was most clearly revealed at BL when Edwardes victimised Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson.

Far from giving support to the spontaneous reaction of the members to support Robinson, Duffy sabotaged the struggle by refusing to call strike action and allowed the management and the press to conduct a vicious campaign against Robinson — while the AUEW held an 'enquiry'. Edwardes may have given the kick in the teeth, but Duffy's was the stab in the back.

The national settlement

Duffy appeals for votes on the basis of the gains made from the national engineering dispute last year:

'Our success was hailed by unions at home and abroad as a victory and a breakthrough, for with the extra week's

I used to be an
... until I did



THE EFFECT
IS SHATTERED

holiday the working year will be reduced by nearly 5 per cent for about 2 million engineering workers. This is no mean achievement!'

The truth is that if Duffy had had his way, two million engineering workers would have been sold down the river before the struggle started. The recommendation of the executive council was to accept the employers' miserable offer of a small increase in the minimum time rates with virtually no concessions on holidays and hours.

It was the national committee which rejected this recommendation and forced Duffy into the fight which he had tried so hard to avoid.

Bob Wright

Bob Wright, the main left-wing candidate in opposition to Duffy, has declared his support for the decisions of this year's special Labour Party conference in May. He has declared his opposition to wage restraint and called for the extension of the nationalisation of major industries such as North Sea Oil.

He has also supported the moves by Tony Benn and Eric Heffer to make the Labour Party more democratic. Particularly welcome is his opposition to American bases in Britain and his call for Britain's withdrawal from NATO — a crucial question for all working people at a time of growing war cries from the United States.

Bob Wright's position on such questions clearly shows him in opposition to the attempts of the right wing within the labour movement to prevent a fight against the Tories.

If Wright wins the presidency of the AUEW it will be a bitter blow not only to Duffy but to all those within the trade

VOTE WRIGHT

AUEW steward covered Duffy

unions and the Labour Party who stand in the way of working class struggle. It will strengthen the hand of the militants in the task of organising that struggle. This is the importance of voting for Bob Wright as president.

Fight for socialist policies

It would be foolish to think that simply electing Bob Wright as President would solve the problem of the leadership of the AUEW. The truth is that even if he had a majority on the executive council his policies are not sufficient to present 'the challenge of a



AUEW General secretary JOHN BOYD (above), he and Duffy helped get BL convenor DEREK ROBINSON (right) the sack.



'Fight like Poles'

ENGINEERS in Bury have called on the TUC to organise a general strike against the Tories. The AUEW District Committee passed the resolution aimed 'if necessary at bringing down the Government'.

A Bury district official said the strike call was inspired by the strikes in Poland. Ken Brett, the present Assistant General Secretary of the AUEW, standing for re-election, took up the same theme when he spoke in Manchester's Houldsworth Hall. 'The Polish workers have shown what power we've got if we're prepared to use it,' he declared.

And Bob Wright himself was clear as to the aim of such action. 'We've got to generate a movement capable of defeating this government before its term of office ends. But instead of doing this', Wright went on, 'the TUC have offered to talk to the Tories. They shouldn't be talking to the Tories, they should be rallying the rank and file.'

socialist alternative to capitalism' which he calls for in his election address.

He deplores unemployment. Yet he says nothing in his election address about the fact that last year's settlement tied the hands of the union for four years on the question of the shorter working week.

Neither should it be forgotten that Duffy is not the first president of the AUEW who has tried to ditch the demand for a shorter working week. Hugh Scanlon did it successfully for over ten years.

So a 'left' leadership of the Scanlon/Wright variety is no guarantee that there will be a genuine struggle to defend the interests of the working class.

The election of Bob Wright as President of the AUEW will hopefully open up an opportunity for the left in the union to debate the policies needed to fight the Tory government. It will create the best conditions for starting the fight for an AUEW which fights for its members.

Engineers against the missiles

THE fight is on over which way the AUEW's votes will be cast at the Labour Party conference on the issue of Cruise missiles.

Thanks to the line up on the standing orders committee at the AEU's policy-making national committee this year, the matter was not discussed — despite the fact that 11 of the union's 26 divisions had submitted a total of 16 motions on the subject!

USDAW, SOGAT, FTAT, UCATT, TASS, ASTMS and the Agricultural Workers have adopted clear anti-missiles positions, but Duffy and Co preferred the national committee to have no policy so that they can do what they want when it comes to Labour Party conference itself.

Sir John Boyd, CBE, the utterly unbeloved general secretary, has already started preparing. In the July issue of the *Journal*, Boyd included an article called 'Ten Points on Defence and Disarmament' by none other than the Rt Hon William Rodgers MP, opposition spokesperson on defence.

This article is a full-blooded defence of Britain's NATO commitments including both the last Labour government's increase in defence expenditure and the NATO decision to site Cruise missiles in Britain.

'The question of Cruise missiles and their deployment in Britain is not a minor matter,' Rogers concludes. 'It is at the heart of whether Britain remains committed to NATO and to a proper defence.'

We must fulfil our NATO obligations, says Rodgers,

because Labour is the government of peace and NATO is the alliance which makes peace possible against the aggressive Soviet Union.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The history of the last 30 years proves exactly the reverse, from the Korean War in 1950 when the Attlee government gave £4,600 m (think of what that would be at today's prices) to the US war effort, to the Vietnam War when the Wilson administration backed the Pentagon all the way down the line. Where were the aggressive Soviets then?

This doesn't bother Rodgers. After all, 'for 30 years Europe has lived in peace', he proclaims. Tell that to the people of Ireland, Mr. Rodgers. And what about the wars organised by European powers elsewhere in the world: Korea, Malaya, Aden, Algeria, Angola, and the Sahara amongst others.

Engineering workers have nothing in common with the thoughts of this particular member of the Gang of Three, nor for that matter with leaders of the AUEW who get them to write in our journal.

The fight is on against their war mongering. In particular we must ensure the biggest possible turnout of engineers on the anti-missile demonstration on 28 September in Blackpool on the eve of the Labour Party conference.

Already North Manchester and Accrington District Committees have given their backing. Engineers are planning to go from the demonstration to lobby their delegation which is meeting that morning.

'Break the law to defeat the Tory Act'

JOHN SMILIE, convenor of Snow's in Sheffield, who is standing for the National Organiser's position in the current elections, characterised the present leadership as 'supine and spineless'. He denounced Duffy's offer of conciliation with the Tories and their anti-union legislation.

'Duffy has said he is against people breaking the law. He has shown that he is ignorant of class history. He wouldn't be where he is if workers hadn't broken the law. The trade unions were born out of struggle and illegality', Smilie reminded his members.

Tribute

He paid tribute to those who had been imprisoned and exiled for fighting for the very right that the Tories were now attacking — the right to picket.

And he recalled the role that the AUEW had played in fighting Heath's attempts to shackle the unions. 'The Godfather' Boyd and Duffy his stooge have made me embarrassed to be a member of this union', he said. 'We've got to restore our fighting traditions.'

ENGINEERS MUST FIGHT EMPLOYMENT ACT

ON THE first day of the TUC at Brighton, some right-wing delegates of the AUEW distinguished themselves by providing virtually the only abstentions on the motion opposing the Employment Act.

Together with EETPU leader Frank Chapple, the Duffy-Boyd leadership of the AUEW argue that the Act should not be entirely opposed, because it holds out the promise of state money to run secret ballots for union positions.

Things have gone a long way since the AUEW was among the forces leading the fight against the Tories' previous legislative attempt to discipline unions and run their affairs — the Industrial Relations Act.

Strikes

A series of one-day strikes in 1972 stopped the whole of the engineering industry and forced the Tories to back down bit by bit on their judicial attempts to shackle the unions.

The new Employment Act is every bit as pernicious and anti-union as Heath's Industrial Relations Act. It has a whole series of measures which aim to make life easier for employers and more difficult for unions and workers.

It will, for example, become much easier for employers to justify sackings at industrial tribunals. It will be open to many businesses to refuse to re-employ women who take maternity leave.

Implications

But the crucial measures of the Act are those limiting workers' rights during industrial disputes, and restricting the closed shop. Many types of sympathetic and 'secondary' action will become illegal. The implications of the notorious limitation of pickets to six have become all too obvious during the dispute at Brixton dole office.

For all these reasons it is imperative that the trade union and labour movement carry through a policy of complete non-cooperation with the Act.

But why is AUEW acceptance of Tory money for ballots so pernicious? Isn't this a very minor aspect of the Act? The first answer to this concerns the whole move away from branch voting towards postal ballots, which occurred in the AUEW while Hugh

Scanlon was president. The advantage of voting in branches is that it is a system of collective democracy. Those voting can hear the debates and discuss out the different points of view held by union members before voting.

Propaganda

The postal ballot system stacks the cards for the right. In any important election the individual union member who votes from home and doesn't attend her or his branch meeting will be bombarded with a barrage of press propaganda for the right and against the left.

With the forthcoming election for president of the union, we shall certainly see the media machine swing into action again in support of Duffy and with scare stories about Wright. It's precisely this cosy relationship between the Tory press and the right wing of the union leaderships which the postal ballot reinforces.

Precedent

But leaving that argument aside, the use of state funds for any union activities creates a very dangerous precedent. Step by step it erodes the independence of the unions, which is so vital if they are to defend their members' interests against both the employers and the government.

It speaks volumes about the present leadership of the AUEW that, together with only Frank Chapple and a handful of others, it is prepared to have dealings with the Tories' Employment Act.

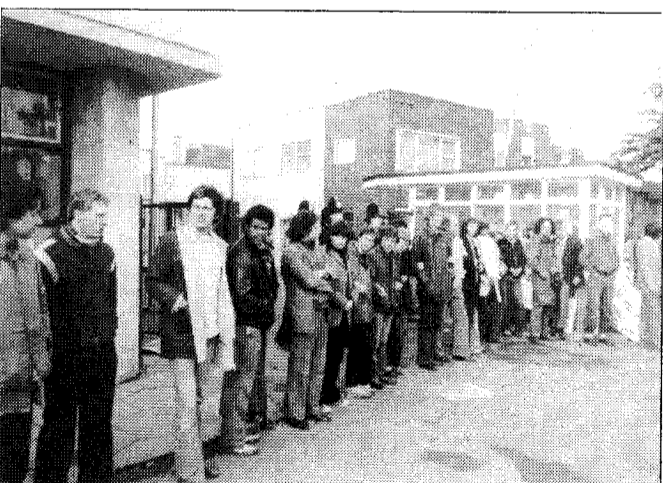
We can't rest until this rotten leadership is removed. Voting for Bob Wright is the first step along this road.



CON-MECH: one episode in the AUEW's struggle against the Industrial Relations Act under the Heath government



KING HENRY'S Meat Products factory in Manchester, where eleven workers were arrested after police attacked pickets last Friday.



ADWEST in Reading, where police have repeatedly clashed with pickets over the last few weeks.

Recession hits truck industry

WITH the onset of the recession the heavy/medium truck market has started to collapse, with a 25 per cent drop in sales in the UK in the last month alone.

This is a reflection of the sharply declining volume of goods being transported, hauliers who are no longer expanding their fleets, and thus hanging on to older trucks which they would normally replace with the latest models.

All the UK truck manufacturers — ERF in Sandbach, Seddon (International Harvester) and LVL in South Ribble and Scotland — have sizeable redundancies in the pipeline.

Fodens have already called in a receiver.

Redundancies

In the Ribble area neither the war industries — British Aerospace (Tornadoes), British Nuclear Fuels Limited (Uranium for warheads) and the Royal Ordnance Factory (shells) — or the locomotive plant at GEC could absorb the thousands of engineers, fitters, typists and technicians who will be thrown onto the unemployment heap if the redundancies go through.

Moreover there exists in many people a profound moral reluctance to work in the industries of death. Unlike the defunct textiles industry, however, the LVL and Seddon's membership are not demoralized and seem willing to fight back.

The main obstacle to the fightback is (as usual) the local reformist Communist Party/Labour leadership around Len Brindle and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (Preston Branching) who are determined to lead the membership down the

cul-de-sac of import controls to the brick wall of the Alternative Economic Strategy.

A more inappropriate course of action could not be imagined, for the industry is highly import/export dependent.

Moreover it is well known that 'Third World' and newly industrialised countries would be unable to afford the models that LVL build especially for this market.

Hysteria

The announcement that Hino trucks are to be imported via a final assembly plant in Warrington has been greeted by shrill cries of anti-Japanese hysteria from both management and union leadership.

In response the Communist Party have drafted an emergency resolution which calls for the blacking of all Hino trucks and the lobbying of the TUC conference for import controls.

To this end the Confederation has organised a mini-conference originally intended as a debate on how to save the industry but already being billed as a Jap-bashing session by the local press.

Strategy

The role of the local Labour MP Stan Thorne will be that of gently guiding the struggle along the reformist path to defeat, secure in the knowledge that he has only two years left before retirement.

Despite the dominance of the CP left in the debate many people are suspicious of their arguments concerning import controls and are preparing for a fightback. But they are constrained by a lack of a coherent strategy.

If the revolutionary left was able to overcome the sectarianism and weakness in numbers which bedevils it then a savage blow could well be struck against the Thatcher government here.

March Against Missiles

Eve of Labour Party conference
Sunday 28 September

Blackpool

Assemble: 10.45am War Memorial, Nr Butlins Hotel. March to Rally 1.30pm South Pier.

Sponsors Include: Manchester Against Missiles, Bob Wright AUEW Assistant Gen. Secretary, Ken Slater AUEW District Sec. Accrington, Manchester North AUEW District C'ttee, Colin Barnett NWTUC Sec., Frank Allaun MP, Labour Action for Peace, Bob Walker NW CND Sec., EP Thompson.

Lobby the AUEW delegation to call for a vote against the missiles

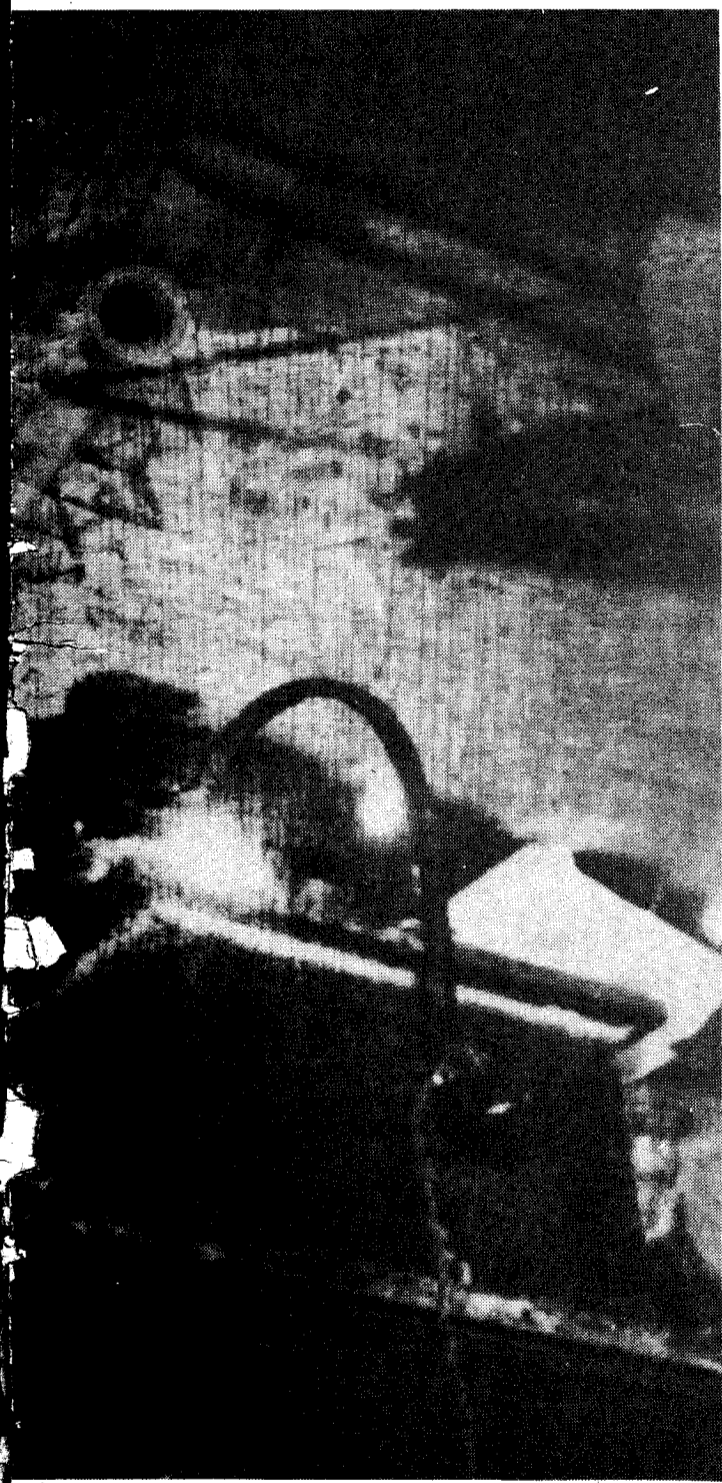
2.00pm AUEW offices, Station Road, Blackpool.

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...nation of Leon Trotsky ...OSE IDEAS ...T CRUSH



was anxious for us to concentrate our thoughts and work on the priorities. He was deeply concerned with the critical situation that faced our movement in both Germany and Spain.

Only months separated Hitler from power, yet it was clear that what we fought for, the united front of the German working class, was being blocked by the leaderships of the Communist Party and Comintern. The small circulations of our press and pamphlets were in themselves an alarming indicator.

Leadership

To consolidate our weak but growing forces, to mobilise all our efforts and members for a concerted drive to aid our German section was Trotsky's repeated advice. One of his major concerns in those evening meetings was to find a way to strengthen our International leadership.

Soon after the lecture the Stauning government made it clear that they were in no mood to allow Trotsky to prolong his stay in Denmark, not even for a week. With Natalia, his life companion, they commenced the long journey back to Prinkipo, their place of exile.

But the movement was infinitely richer for that journey. The voice and message of Trotsky reached tens of thousands.

I have been privileged in my life to hear many revolutionary orators: CLR James, Arthur MacManus, Bukharin, Togliatti, Saklatvala, and Felix Cohn, the old Polish communist, to name a few. But, allowing for my political partiality, Trotsky's Copenhagen speech was the most impressive.

Classic

It represented not only a defence of the October revolution but a classical exposition of the role of revolution in class society. It is worthy of a prominent place on any worker's bookshelf.

Trotsky's Copenhagen speech is printed in the pamphlet In Defence of the October Revolution (New Park), price 15p from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ. Add 15p for p&p if ordering by post.

The Other Bookshop Books on Trotsky

Trotsky for Beginners — Tariq Ali and Phil Evans
Writers and Readers £1.95

Trotsky — A Study in the Dynamic of His Thought —
Ernest Mandel
New Left Books £2.95

Available from 328 Upper Street, Islington, London N.1.
(Tel 01 226 0571) POST FREE

From *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1936

'The present regime in the Soviet Union provokes protest at every step, a protest the more burning in that it is repressed. The bureaucracy is not only a machine of compulsion but also a constant source of provocation. The very existence of a greedy, lying and cynical caste of rulers inevitably creates a hidden indignation...

'Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union. The vast majority of the Soviet workers are even now hostile to the bureaucracy. The peasant masses hate them with their healthy plebeian hatred.

'If in contrast to the peasants the workers have almost never come out on the road of open struggle, thus condemning the protesting villages to confusion and impotence, this is not only because of the repression. The workers fear lest, in throwing out the bureaucracy, they will open the way for a capitalist restoration.... Without a planned economy the Soviet Union would be thrown back for decades...

'The workers are realists. Without deceiving themselves with regard to the ruling caste — at least with regard to its lower tiers which stand near to them — they see in it the watchman for the time being of a certain part of their own conquests. They will inevitably drive out the dishonest, impudent and unreliable watchman as soon as they see another possibility. For this it is necessary that in the West or the East another revolutionary dawn arise...

'There is no peaceful outcome for this crisis. No devil ever yet voluntarily cut off his own claws. The Soviet bureaucracy will not give up its positions without a fight. The development leads obviously to the road of revolution.

'With energetic pressure from the popular mass, and the disintegration inevitable in such circumstances of the government apparatus, the resistance of those in power may prove much weaker than now appears. But as to this only hypotheses are possible. In any case, the bureaucracy can be removed only by a revolutionary force. And, as always, there will be fewer

victims the more bold and decisive is the attack...

'The revolution which the bureaucracy is preparing against itself will not be social, like the October revolution of 1917. It is not a question this time of changing the economic foundations of society, of replacing certain forms of property with other forms. History has known elsewhere not only social revolutions which substituted the bourgeois for the feudal regime, but also political revolutions which, without destroying the economic foundations of society, swept out an old ruling upper crust (1830 and 1848 in France, February 1917 in Russia, etc.)...

'This is the first time in history that a state resulting from a workers' revolution has existed. The stages through which it must go are nowhere written down.... The proletariat of a backward country was fated to accomplish the first socialist revolution. For this historic privilege, it must, according to all evidences, pay with a second supplementary revolution — against bureaucratic absolutism...

'It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy may give place to soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of soviet parties, beginning with the party of Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions.

'The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of the toilers. Free discussion of economic problems will decrease the overhead expense of bureaucratic mistakes and zigzags. Expensive playthings — palaces of the Soviets, new theatres, show-off subways — will be crowded out in favour of workers' dwellings. "Bourgeois norms of distribution" will be confined within the limits of strict necessity, and, in step with the growth of social wealth, will give way to socialist equality.

'Ranks will be immediately abolished. The tinsel of decorations will go into the melting pot. The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticise, make mistakes, and grow up. Science and art will be freed of their chains.

'And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism.'

From the *Transitional Programme*, 1938

'...the chief strength of the bureaucracy lies not in itself but in the disillusionment of the masses, in their lack of a new perspective...

'A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against social inequality and political oppression. Down with the privileges of the bureaucracy!... Down with the Soviet aristocracy and its ranks and orders! Greater equality of wages for all forms of labour!

'The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly, and for freedom of the press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of soviet democracy...

'Democratisation of the soviets is impossible without the legalisation of soviet parties. The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties they recognise as soviet parties.

'A revision of planned economy from top to bottom in the interests of producers and consumers! Factory committees should be returned the right to control production. A democratically organised consumers' cooperative should control the quality and

price of products.

'Reorganisation of the collective farms in accordance with the will and in the interests of those who work there!

'The reactionary international policy of the bureaucracy should be replaced by the policy of proletarian internationalism. The complete diplomatic correspondence of the Kremlin should be published. Down with secret diplomacy!

'All political trials...should be reviewed in the light of complete publicity and controversial openness and integrity. Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development towards socialism.'

The first appearance of democratic power in modern Russian history! There was real democracy, with the voters' right to recall their deputies at any moment.



Pages from the new *Trotsky for Beginners* by Tariq Ali and Phil Evans: left, on the rise of the

WHAT'S GOING ON?

Trotsky, like other clear-headed Bolsheviks, understood that a real decline in class-consciousness had taken place. Revolution was defeated in Europe. In Russia, it degenerated. A new social layer arose and strengthened its grip on society as a whole. Who are they?



soviets; right, on the rise of the bureaucracy.

Bath Fights Back

By Mike Polley, Secretary, Bath Campaign Against the Cuts

TORY-dominated Bath was faced with a mass protest of several hundred people last Saturday organised by the city's campaign against the cuts. A rally in the abbey courtyard protested against local and national cuts, unemployment, and attacks on trade union rights.

Speakers included representatives of the Trades Council, the Campaign Against the Cuts, the Right to Work marchers, and Bath Anti-nuclear Group. Two Labour councillors also spoke.

A thousand leaflets were distributed explaining that, 'we don't think that millions of useful workers should be thrown on the scrapheap of unemployment just to protect company profits and dividends ... today's protest is part of the fightback'.

The message from the speakers was equally clear: build the campaign against government policies as part of a campaign to kick out the Tories.

For further details of Bath Campaign Against the Cuts phone Bath 4298.

BOLTON REJECTS MISSILES

MORE than 70 people packed out a small hall in Bolton last week to discuss organising local activities against the Cruise and Trident missiles.

The meeting was addressed by a speaker from Manchester Against the Missiles and Chris Horrie, the editor of *CND's* paper *Sanity*.

The threat that these missiles represent to ordinary people, the impossibility of civil defence against the nuclear holocaust, and the fantastic waste of resources and money by the Tory government were spelt out.

A provisional steering committee of ten was elected by the meeting to plan future activities such as a local public meeting, coaches to the anti-missile lobby of the Labour Party conference, and mobilisation for *CND's* national demonstration on 26 October.

Anyone interested in local activities should ring Pete on Bolton 391408.

March against the missiles

THE CAMPAIGN for Nuclear Disarmament has added its name to the list of labour movement organisations backing the march to the Labour Party conference on 28 September in Blackpool to call for a mass campaign against the siting of Cruise Missiles in this country.

Many Labour Party branches throughout the country—131 in all—have expressed their outrage at the recent announcement by the Defence Secretary, Francis Pym, that 160 Cruise missiles will be sited in Britain by 1982. Yet William Rogers, the Shadow Defence Secretary, still continues to speak out in favour of this decision.

The labour movement is beginning to realise that only a massive campaign of protest is going to stop the Tory warmongers.

Sponsorships so far include: Manchester Against Missiles, Manchester Women's Movement for

Beyond the Fragments in conference... A RETREAT FROM POLITICS?

By Will Reese

THE long-awaited 'Beyond the Fragments' conference last Saturday was attended by 1,400 people. Coming from a myriad of local activities, they hoped to develop national links between the 'fragments' without a formalised programme or a strong national structure.

However, the fragmentation also proved to be a fragmentation of experience. The conference was strikingly unable to overcome this. At its best the discussions in the workshops were amiable and bland. But being unable to find the minimum basis on which links become possible—common demands, common initiatives, and national co-ordination—the conference too often reverted to an easier theme: slugging off the revolutionary left.

Many of these criticisms of the revolutionary left—its lack of roots in the organised working class, its turnover of membership, its inconsistent attitude to the women's movement, its indifference towards certain types of community-based struggles—have a certain amount of truth.

But it is just silly to say that these

weaknesses are primarily due to methods of organisation, structures and hierarchies.

A more serious diagnosis might be that there are political reasons why the left has proved unable to project revolutionary politics into all spheres of society in a popular and concrete fashion. On this level, of how to develop a socialist programme, Beyond the Fragments has some pertinent points to make.

For example, there is the tendency of far left organisations to concentrate on short-term issues—the immediate response to redundancies in a factory—rather than the longer-term work on a theoretical and grass roots level, which is necessary to develop an adequate response to unemployment and a clear view of what socialism could provide.

Also, it is true to say that a national organisation can, because of its nationally determined priorities, cut across the tactics and priorities which local members may have developed from a closer involvement in their own town.

Of course, the opposite is also true. The national initiatives of a revolutionary organisation are often the indispensable precondition for local campaigns—how could the Anti Nazi League have developed 'locally'?

Sadly these positive aspects of the original ideas in Beyond the Fragments did not surface at the conference. Two general trends were visible and both were expressed through the most common phrase of the day—'the need to develop our vision of socialism'.

Does this mean concentrating on looking at structures and hierarchies with a retreat into smaller and smaller groups and more localised activity as the only way to really 'live that vision of socialism'? In other words, is BTF a staging post for those who are leaving or who have left political activity aimed at mass social change?

Or does it mean something else? Perhaps the 'vision of socialism' means discussing and developing a detailed manifesto for the struggle for socialism in Britain rather than the stereotyped and predictable ragbag of demands that is often dignified by the name of a programme?

Only with that agreement about political principles can there be openness about political tactics. The women's movement started from a certain agreement around demands, goals and common action. Without political agreement and unity in action, tactical flexibility can only become a recipe for greater fragmentation.

'If your phone doesn't click it's probably tapped'

By Kevin Simms, Secretary, NW London branch POEU

OVER the years members of left-wing organisations have given their many and varied reasons for knowing that their phone was being tapped: strange noises, clicks, voices, use of engineers' test numbers, even the voices of the listeners have been heard.

Tapping the Telephone, a pamphlet from the research department of the Post Office Engineering Union, should clear away these myths once and for all. It should always be remembered that the authorities have the latest technology available to them.

Of most interest to Socialist Challenge readers is the tapping of labour movement militants. For the security agencies to tap all the thousands of political and union activists would be a daunting if not impossible task.

There are however some individuals and organisations that are permanently tapped and, depending on political and industrial events, others are tapped for various periods.

This pamphlet gives many examples (some proven, some alleged) ranging from Tory MPs to trade union activists. A revealing example was from the steel strike. A strike committee gave phony information over the phone about a picket and then watched the local police act on it.

The important lesson for activists to observe is not to use the phone (or the mail)

for relaying information that they do not want the security agencies to know about.

The pamphlet shows that even the present official 'safeguards' are not being observed. The officially sanctioned taps are quite clearly the tip of the iceberg. There are many ways that the authorities can get round the regulations.

The use of bugging devices in the customer's premises and the Printer Meter Check (an engineering device for checking the accuracy of a meter) are just two ways. The latter is not used to listen to conversations but lists the numbers of all calls made and their duration. It is allegedly used extensively in the North of Ireland.

With present technology a tap has to be physically placed either in the customer's premises or in the exchange, but with the new computer-controlled exchanges (System X) it will be possible to write a programme so that the authorities can sit in their offices in Chelsea or wherever and listen to any line in Britain.

This is one of the great dangers that all trade unionists should be aware of and it is of the greatest importance that this facility is not available in the new systems.

The weak part of the pamphlet is the way it poses the call for an enquiry. It takes the traditional liberal attitude of balancing 'security' against 'democratic values'. The type of enquiry it calls for is one consisting of Privy Councillors with 'as much as possible of

the hearings in public'.

In a capitalist society the main security task that capitalism faces is controlling the organised working class movement. An enquiry where one section of the ruling class investigates the activities of another is unlikely to result in the curtailment of surveillance of militants or even expose the extent of that surveillance.

Socialists and trade unionists should call for a labour movement enquiry where Post Office and other workers could expose the extent of surveillance, of which many of them have quite detailed knowledge.

Post Office workers, like all government employees, are covered by the Official Secrets Act so that the trade union movement would have to fully defend against victimisation any worker giving evidence to this enquiry.

It would expose quite clearly the real role of the state. It would show that far from being a neutral body representing all classes in society, it works very clearly in the interests of big business and against the interests of the working class.

It would also expose the role of successive Labour governments who have used the security forces against the labour movement as much as any Tory government.

Tapping The Telephone is available from POEU, Greystoke House, 150 Brunswick Rd, London W5. Price £1.

Peace, Frank Allaun MP, Colin Barnett (North West TUC), Paul Salvesson, Secretary of Greater Manchester Communist Party, John Parkinson, Secretary of Preston Trades Council, Labour Action for Peace, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, E P Thompson (END), Bob Wright, AUEW Assistant General Secretary, Walt Greendale, TGWU National Executive member, TUC General Council member, Accrington AUEW District Committee, Manchester North AUEW District Committee, East Salford Divisional Labour Party, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

KING HENRY'S PICKETS

By Pete Clifford

ELEVEN pickets were arrested outside King Henry's Meat Products factory in Levenshulme, Manchester, on Friday. Chief cop Anderton's police decided to go further than the Tories' 'six on a picket' line—they went out to stop any one of the 150 trade unionists there from effectively picketing.

Among those arrested were four young women members of the Bakers Union. They, and 22 others, had walked out of King Henry's on 7 July after 17 of them had been given one week's notice.

This was the final straw. They had been putting up with Victorian conditions, unsafe machines and virtually no rights for years.

Friday's action by the police has only strengthened



the determination of the strikers. They are not only picketing every day but have enlisted the support of the North-west region of the TUC for a boycott of King Henry's products throughout the area. Liverpool dockers are already backing that up with action.

Local Bakers Union secretary Bill Harrison says that their next mass picket on 19 September must be a massive show of strength against this anti-union management.

Trade unionists throughout the area should make a date with King

Henry's for the day. Daily picketing from 6.30 am at King Henry's Products, Ravenoak Ave, Levenshulme.

Donations, support etc. to BS&AWU, Room 4, George House, 30 Dudley Rd, Manchester 16.

WHAT'S LEFT

ACCOMMODATION available. Room in shared house, £17.50 per week. London N16. Phone 01-249-0857

CONGRATULATIONS, Viv, on the birth of your son, Lambeth IMG.

RATES for ads to appear in *What's Left*: 5p per word or £4 per col. incl. Deadline: noon Sat. prior to publication. Payment in advance.

NATIONAL Abortion Campaign. Fund raising benefit with 'Contradictions' and Silly Bitches Disco. Sat 6 Sept at Women's Arts Alliance, 10 Cambridge Mews NW10.

NOTTINGHAM Troops Out Movement picket of Gartree Prison in support of Republican prisoners, for political status. Sun 14 Sept 1.30pm. Transport leaves Victoria Clock Tower Nottingham 12 noon.

MANCHESTER Accommodation wanted for four socialists moving from London. Need not be all in the same house. Telephone 061-236-4905.

'BRING ANWAR'S Children Home' assembl 12 noon, Mere St Rochdale. Sat 6 Sept for demo called by Anwar Ditta Defence Committee.

FIGHT POLICE ATTACKS! Public Meeting on Mon 8 Sept in the Brixton Centre, St Matthews Rd, Brixton (opposite St Matthews Church) at 7.30pm. Speaker from *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* Admission 25p.

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Tendency International Conference on Imperialism 5/6/7 Sept. Venue: University of London Union, Malet St, London WC1. Fri 5 Sept (at ULU). Registration: 9.30-10.00am.

Workshops: Ireland, EEC and Immigration, Imperialism in Africa and Middle East. Evening Plenary 19.30: How do the imperialist powers line up? (Frank Richards) Sat 6 Sept (at ULU): Hillel Ticktin: The capitalist crisis and the USSR. André Gunder Frank: Imperialism today (to be confirmed). Tony Allen: Finance capital. Workshops: Iran, Turkey, Zimbabwe and Ireland.

Evening Social with Sledgehammer, Hi-Fi disco, Sun 7 Sept (at Colombo Street Sports Centre, Colombo Street, SE1) Sessions on Multinationals, theory of imperialism and the anti-imperialist struggle. Conference fee £5.00 prepaid, £6.50 door, £2.50 for day tickets. For tickets and information write to Helen Swift, BM RCT, London WC1V 6XX or phone 274-3951.

MANCHESTER Book sale.

Progress bookshop announce their Grand Sale, starting Sat 30 August for a week. Come to 28, Hathersage Rd, Longsight (Bus 94/5/6 to Lancaster Pub) and get yourself some new and second hand books. The sale opens at 1.30pm. Send s.a.c. for our lists including old Marxism Today's and Labour Monthly.

SOUTH LONDON CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIST LAWS. Public Meeting, Wed 10 Sept, 7.30pm. Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton Hill. Speakers include John Tiley MP.

WIRRAL TRADES COUNCIL, Birkenhead, are holding a half-day conference on Ireland, 20 Sept, 2pm-6pm. Labour Club, Cleveland St, Birkenhead. All labour movement sections and organisations invited. Credentials from J Harland, 1 Airlie Close, Noctorum, Birkenhead.

No Arms for Chile

Vigil at Chilean Embassy Thursday 11 September: Seventh anniversary of brutal coup.

At 12 Devonshire St, London W1. Rally at Friends House, Euston Rd at 8pm. Speakers from British and Chilean Labour Movements, also Domitila of the Bolivian Mines. Music by Pueblo.

End Repression in Chile. Organised by Chile Solidarity Campaign. Tel: 01-272-4298

EVENTS

CARDINAL: From issue 162 on Weds 3 Sept Socialist Challenge will be published by Cardinal Enterprises Ltd. In a number of recent issues it has been erroneously stated that Cardinal Enterprises was the publisher in fact, Relgocrest Ltd has published every issue of Socialist Challenge up to the end August 1980.

SC supporter in London needs accommodation, preferably near London Bridge area. Phone Mahry 01-248-5710 (after 5pm).

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE BENEFIT: Saturday 27 Sept at the Metropolitan pub, Farringdon Road (corner of Clerkenwell Road), London EC1. Bands, disco, bar extension to midnight. Nearest tube: Farringdon. SPONSORED DRY OUT: John May has completed his dry out managing to last for 6 weeks. He'd like to hear from all those who sponsored him including the following Jean, Davy, Martin, Kate, Duncan, Jos, Sara, Helen, Terry, John S, Laura, Dodie, Sonia, Hilary, Redmond, Tom, Andy, Mike. Send your depts to him via PO Box, London N1.

TESSIDE SC supporters meeting Thurs 4 September, 7.30pm: 'What is happening in Ireland?' At Borough Hotel, Corporation Rd, Middlesbrough.

'WAR GAME'—the anti-nuclear war film the BBC banned. Showing: Stockpot, Technical College, Ruel Harrison Bldg, Wellington Rd South, 15 Sept. 7.30pm; Manchester, West Indian Centre, Carmoor Rd, Rusholme, 18 Sept. 7.30pm; Oldham, St Andrews Hall, Winterbottom St, 16 Sept. 7.30pm; and Bury United Reform Church Hall, Blackford Bridge, Manchester Rd, 20 Sept. 7.30pm; Preston Poly Students Union, 19 Sept 7.30 pm.

WOLVERHAMPTON SC supporters meeting Monday 8 Sept: 'The Crisis in the Middle East', speaker Pia Feig.

THE deadline for short news articles for this page is 10.30am Monday. Articles up to 200 words can be rung through on Sundays on 01-359 8189.

IRELAND

By Geoff Bell

RODNEY Patrick McCormick died in the Northern Irish town of Larne on Monday of last week. He was shot ten times in the back and the head — the latest victim of a renewed assassination campaign by Loyalists.

McCormick was a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. So was Miriam Daly, another Loyalist victim killed in June.

Miriam was a prominent campaigner on behalf of the H Block prisoners; as was John Turnly, who was murdered a fortnight before Miriam. At least nine Catholics or Republicans have fallen victim to the assassins this year.

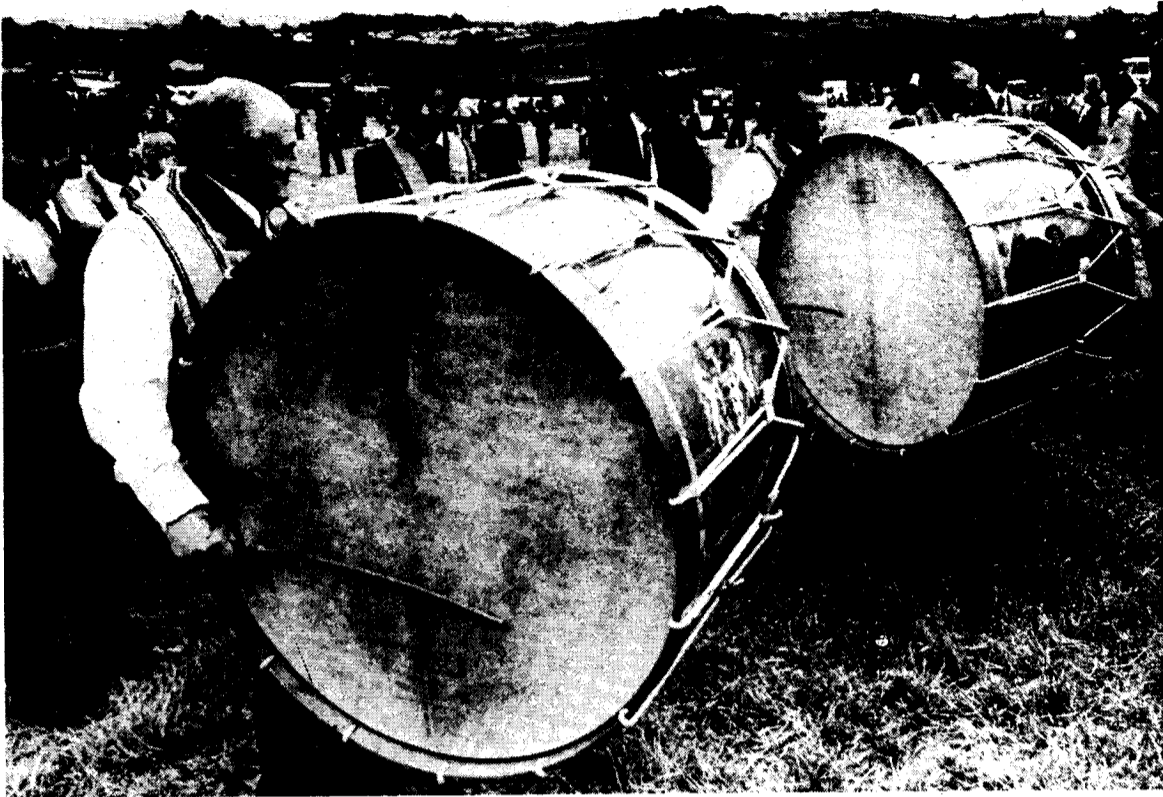
There is little doubt who is pulling the trigger. The Ulster Defence Association, led by ex-shop steward Andy Tyrrie, is letting it be known that it is responsible.

Activists

The renewed assassination campaign follows the pattern of previous Loyalist-inspired murders. These reached their peak in 1972 and 1975 when 125 and 150 people died respectively.

Over two-thirds of these victims were Catholics, and the deaths took place when British governments were discussing or launching new political initiatives. The

Orange death squads surface again



ORANGE demonstration (left) — the respectable face of the assassination squad which murdered McCormick (above)

aim of the terror campaigns was to warn the British not to dream up any solution which attacked the privileges of the Loyalists.

It is no coincidence that the latest bout of assassinations coincides with a renewed attempt by the Tories to negotiate a political solution. The only new aspect is the emphasis on political activists

as targets.

To be successful, such assassinations need help from a number of quarters. First a degree of assistance is required from the security forces.

There is evidence of this in the present campaign. For example, it is unlikely that the killers of Miriam Daly could have slipped in and out of the staunch Republican area

in which she lived without being spotted by the British Army, who maintain a constant surveillance of such districts.

Furthermore, a British Army officer was quoted in the *Guardian* earlier this year as saying that he favoured a policy of 'selective assassination'.

The second factor which sustains the Loyalist

assassins is encouragement from bourgeois politicians. Although Loyalist leader Ian Paisley has condemned the killing of McCormick, saying that the murderers, 'will one day

answer to the inescapable tribunal of Almighty God', he and Unionist Party leader James Molyneux were whistling a different tune in June.

ty, the Rev Williams Beattie, showed what measures he thought were 'necessary' at the start of August. He presented a banner to the Apprentice Boys of Derry — an all-Protestant secret society — in honour of William McCaughey, a Loyalist convicted of the murder of a Catholic shopkeeper and the kidnapping of a Catholic priest.

McCaughey's eventual arrest has persuaded a growing number of Loyalists that there are safer ways of pursuing their sectarian activities. Figures released last week show that recruitment to the 'security forces' in the North of Ireland is on the increase.

Recruits

The part-time Ulster Defence Regiment — controlled in theory by the British Army — is now receiving nearly 1,000 applications a month, while the Royal Ulster Constabulary is attracting even more potential recruits.

No figures were given on the percentage of applications from the Loyalist community. But if past trends are anything to go by, only five per cent of these recruits are likely to be Catholics.

At a time when unemployment in the North of Ireland is over 15 per cent, it seems that the reaction of many Loyalist workers is to play a more active role in the repression of their Catholic counterparts.

INTERNATIONAL

Bolivia: the exercise in discipline

By Tom Marlowe

SIX WEEKS ago few people outside the South American country of Bolivia had ever heard of General Luis Garcia Meza.

Today Meza is one of the most tyrannical dictators in the world. He heads a ruthless military government, one of whose main backers said recently: 'We must have repression until we have complete control of the situation. We must create discipline. There is no alternative.'

An example of such 'discipline' was reported last week by Amnesty International. Amnesty described how the Max Toledo regiment of the Bolivian Army entered the mining district of Caracoles on 4 August, 18 days after the military coup.

Beheaded

First they used artillery, planes and tanks to bombard the area. Miners resisted with stones. People who tried to flee were then pursued and killed by soldiers.

Corpses were beheaded and

dumped into army trucks. One miner had gunpowder rammed into his mouth by soldiers and was then blown up in the town centre. Women were raped.

Amnesty has the names of eight men who are definitely known to have been killed, 18 others who are missing, and others who have been arrested.

Rich

The prisoners seized in Caracoles are among the estimated 2,000 jailed since Meza came to power. The dead in Caracoles are among the 3,500 who, according to opposition sources, have been killed in the same period.

The Meza coup is the 189th in Bolivia since it was granted formal independence 155 years ago; it is almost a caricature of the music hall joke about South American 'banana republics' in which presidents are changed every other day.

The reason why Bolivia is susceptible to coups can be stated quite simply: it is a potentially rich country, but its people are among the poorest in the world. The majority of the people resent this, so they tend to vote for political parties or join trade unions which promise to even up the balance of Bolivian wealth.

But those who own and profit from those riches reject such ex-



pressions of popular will — by torture, murder and coups. And that was what happened, again, in Bolivia on 17 July.

Meza's coup came two weeks after Hernan Siles Zuazo had topped the polls in the election. Zuazo has been described by the *Financial Times* as 'a left-wing moderate', but even Zuazo's politics were too extreme for the officers who staged the coup.

The interests they represented became apparent when Meza banned all trade unions, declared his intention to 'eliminate...all traces of Marxist cancer' and warned that 'all those who sabotage the national economy will be proclaimed as traitors to the fatherland and receive drastic penalties'.

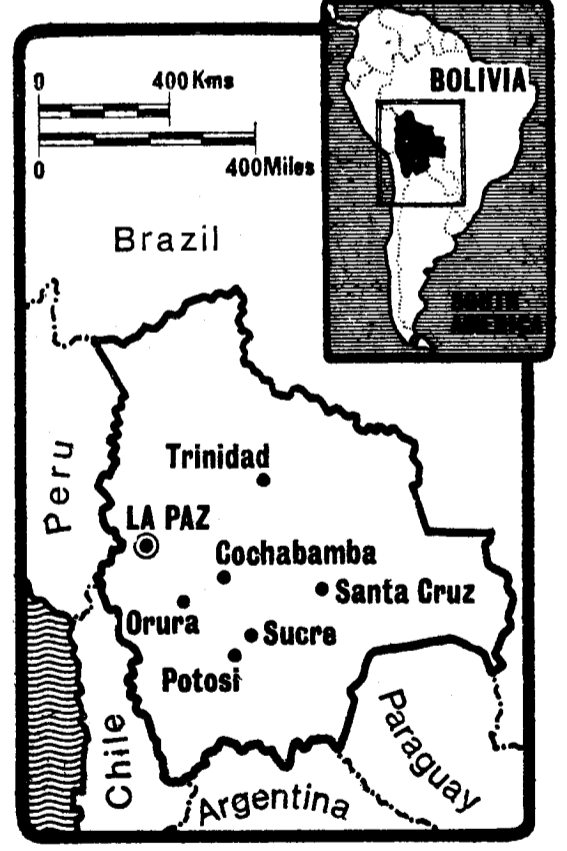
This last statement was aimed particularly at the mineworkers

who responded to the coup with strike action. Harsh repression followed, but information which has leaked out despite the drastic censorship suggests that strikes are continuing in mining areas.

Such resistance is likely to grow. The Meza clique has little support either inside the country or internationally. Even the United States has suspended foreign aid to Bolivia, after publicity about the new government's links with drug racketeers.

There are also reports that there have been widespread desertions from the army since Meza came to power.

All of which suggests that although Meza has boasted he will be in power for 20 years, his coup could be as short lived as most of the 189 that have gone before it.

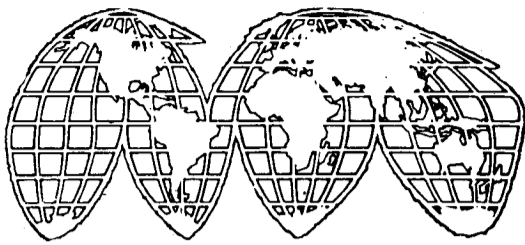


Organising Popular resistance

THE Partido Obrero Revolucionario — Combate (Revolutionary Workers Party — Struggle), the Bolivian section of the Fourth International, has called for a 'united front of the left and workers organisations' against the new regime. The objects of such a united front, say the POR, should be:

'To reconquer democratic rights of the people; the economic defence of working people; to organise popular resistance; a political-military offensive against the fascist dictatorship; to overthrow the dictatorship; to impose respect for the popular will as expressed in the elections of 29 June; to confront the manoeuvres of imperialism and its agents; to open the revolutionary socialist road to the struggles of our people.'

AROUND THE WORLD



South Korea

A FURTHER exercise in democracy — Western style — is now underway in South Korea. This involves the military trial of Kim Dae Jung, a former presidential candidate and the best known liberal opponent to military rule in South Korea.

Kim Dae Jung has been charged with 'sedition', 'conspiracy', and 'leading a country-wide simultaneous popular uprising' by the right-wing regime headed by president Chon Soo Hwa.

Chon came to power in May after the South Korean state was shaken by a series of mass revolts. He has ruled by martial law ever since. The trial of Kim Dae Jung is particularly significant because, more than any other bourgeois politician, he is associated with the fight for democratic rights in South Korea.

Chon has told reporters that the trial will be 'fair and open', but when it began on 17 August Kim told a different story. He described how he had been 'kept incommunicado' by the government, and had 'suffered mental torment beyond description during lengthy prison questioning by the military authorities'. Kim was questioned from 9am to midnight for 60 days. He was only allowed access to a lawyer three days before the trial opened.

The Chon regime has been backed by both the Japanese and US governments.

USA

QUOTE of the week comes from Lillian Carter, mother of the most famous brothers since Frank and Jesse James. Lillian was asked where Billy — he's the one who isn't president — had got to. She replied: 'Wherever there's trouble — that's where Billy is. Sometimes when I look at all my children I say to myself, "Lillian, you should have stayed a virgin".'

Chile

A MASSIVE anti-government demonstration filled the streets of Santiago last Thursday — the first major protest since President Pinochet seized power seven years ago.

The demonstration came after a huge crowd, said to number 'tens of thousands' by the International Herald Tribune, was stopped by riot police from entering a political rally given by former Chilean President Eduardo Frei. The rally had been called to denounce Pinochet's proposed new constitution, which would keep him in power until at least 1989.

After being refused admission the crowd took to the streets, chanting slogans against Pinochet, singing and waving burning paper. Police attacked sections of the march, and according to some reports a number of bricks were hurled at the police.

Italy

PROFESSOR Aldo Semerari occupies the Chair of Criminal Anthropology at Rome University. He has given psychiatric evidence in virtually every important criminal case in Rome in the last few years. Now it seems that Semerari is not one to live by theory alone. Last week he was arrested and accused of being the mastermind behind the Bologna railway station massacre.

Semerari recently declared his intention to sue for defamation a left-wing Italian magazine which accused him of being the brains behind fascist terrorism in Italy. Perhaps Semerari objected to the description 'brains'?

Spain

WITH the Catholic church receiving such good publicity in the West because of the events in Poland, and with the Pope himself due to visit Britain, it is instructive to glance at how the Catholic Church has fared in Spain since one of its staunchest allies, General Franco, departed to the great dictatorship in the sky.

The verdict is that it isn't doing too well. A sign of the Church's problems is that it is now being forced to advertise for nuns. The Order of St Jerome recently placed the following announcement in the press:

'We seek young girls with a religious vocation, healthy in body and mind, who would be welcomed without dowry into the Hieronymite Sisters' Convent. Communal life is a happy one in a recently built convent. Write to the Mother Superior.'

The number of nuns in Spain has fallen by nearly 20,000 since Franco died, which suggests that religious enthusiasm wanes along with authoritarianism in politics. That is one explanation of why the Polish Catholic Church proved so friendly to Gierk during his recent troubles.



Pakistani Workers' Association formed

By A Kahn and A Shah

On Sunday 24 August a modest, but crucial first step was taken towards organising Pakistani workers in Britain.

A founding meeting of Pakistani engineering and transport workers from a number of cities met in the morning to approve the draft constitution and aims of the Pakistani Workers' Association (PWA).

A five-person organising committee was elected to prepare the founding conference of the PWA for the winter of this year.

The committee consists of Abid Shah (Convenor) T&GWU, Mohd Rafiq (AUEW), Ahad Aziz Mian, Raja Iqbal (G&MWU) and Tariq Ali.

On Sunday afternoon a public meeting in Digbeth Hall was attended by over a hundred Pakistani workers. The speakers included Karamat Ali, a trade-union militant from Pakistan, Shahid Nadeem from the Committee for a Democratic and Non-Aligned Pakistan, Raja Iqbal, G&MWU Convenor at BICC, East London, Sibghat Kadri, president of the Standing Committee of Pakistani Organisations and Tariq Ali, from the PWA.

'I won't pay my fare to a black'

A PWA supporter, who works as a ticket-collector at New Street Station, Birmingham, recounted the following incident to a Socialist Challenge reporter:

'A white man had travelled from London to Birmingham without a ticket. When I asked him to pay he said: "I refuse to pay my fare to a black." So I said that in that case I had no option but to call a policeman and he could pay the fare in the police station.

'He still refused so I called a policeman. After confirming the story the cop suggested to me that I let him pay the fare to a white ticket collector. I refused and finally the cop took him aside, collected the money and handed it to me. I then let the racist go through the barrier. But that's the problem. Racists get a lot of encouragement from the police.'

Sibghat Kadri welcomed the formation of the PWA and hoped that 'it would create a genuine and popular grassroots organisation of Pakistani workers in this country.'

Kadri stated that such an organisation was badly needed

پاکستان ورکرز ایسوسی ایشن کا مجوزہ منشور و دستور

برطانوی صنعت کے مختلف شعبوں میں لاکھوں پاکستانی مزدور محنت و دھقت میں مصروف ہیں۔ ہم لندن اور مڈلینڈ کی انڈسٹریل انڈسٹری سے لے کر ٹیکسٹائل انڈسٹری، ریلوے، انجینئرنگ جیسی اہم صنعتوں اور پبلک ٹرانسپورٹ (ریس اور انڈرگراؤنڈ) نیز سروس انڈسٹری میں رجسٹرڈ بڑی مثال پیشرو ایئر پورٹ سے) اہم خدمات انجام دے رہے ہیں۔ ہمیں بے شمار مشکلات کا سامنا کرنا پڑتا ہے۔ سفید قوم مزدوروں کی طرح ہم بھی سرمایہ دارانہ نظام کے روزمرہ استحصال کا شکار ہیں۔ لیکن ہمارا سیاہ فام ہونا ہمارے لئے بے پناہ انسانی مشکلات کا باعث بنتا ہے۔ بیشتر فیکٹریوں میں ماحول اور انتظامیہ ہماری حق تلفی کرنے میں کامیاب رہتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ نسلی تعصب کی بنا پر یونینیں ہماری بھرپور امداد کرنے سے گریز کرتی ہیں۔

سرمایہ دار مزدوروں کو رنگ و نسل کی بنیاد پر بانٹنے میں کامیاب ہوتے ہیں اور ہماری طاقت کو کمزوری میں تبدیل کرنے کی صلاحیت حاصل کر لیتے ہیں۔

ہمارے بھارتی مزدور بھائی انڈین ورکرز ایسوسی ایشن میں منظم ہیں۔ لیکن پاکستانی مزدوروں کی ایسی کوئی تنظیم موجود نہیں جو ہمیں درپیش روزمرہ کے مسائل کا سامنا کرنے میں ہماری مدد اور رہنمائی کر سکے اور ہر سطح پر استحصال کا مقابلہ کرنے کے لئے ہماری قوت کو یونینوں کے اندر منظم کر سکے۔

اس لئے اپنی تنظیم - پاکستان ورکرز ایسوسی ایشن - کا قیام اشد ضروری ہے۔

and if organised on a non-sectarian basis could receive widespread support. He pledged that as a lawyer he would urge Asian lawyers to aid those workers who needed legal aid.

Tariq Ali explained the aims of the organisation. 'I hope', he stated, 'that this will be an organisation which will struggle for the solidarity of all black workers. We look forward to the day that all black workers can be organised in one organisation and the PWA will fight for such a unity.'

He explained that self-organisation was one important way of combatting racism inside the working class.

'It is when white workers begin to see that black workers are not only capable of self-organisation, but can in many factories lead struggles for trade-union rights and against redundancies that we can dent the widespread racism which exists and which will grow with the economic crisis.'

At the conclusion of the meeting, resolutions opposing the immigration laws and expressing solidarity with political prisoners in Pakistan were unanimously carried.

Workers from different factories pledged to build the PWA and took membership cards to recruit more supporters in their factories.

The formation of the PWA is a small first step. It will be attacked by many including General Zia's embassy, priests in their pay, and the reactionary Urdu press.

But it will be a step that many black workers will welcome — giving Pakistani workers in Britain their own organisation.

Further information can be obtained from Abid Shah, Convenor, PWA, c/o ALKAYHAM Cafe, Stratford Road, Birmingham.

CONSTITUTION AND STATEMENT OF AIMS OF THE PAKISTANI WORKERS' ASSOCIATION

TENS of thousands of Pakistani workers toil in the different sections of British industry. We work in the car factories in the Midlands and in London; the textile industry; on the buses and in the underground; in engineering and on the railways and in numerous service industries (such as Heathrow Airport).

We face countless problems. Together with white workers we are subjected to the everyday exploitation of a capitalist system in crisis. But the fact that we are black makes life even more of a grind. The bosses deny us our rights in many factories and get away with it because of shopfloor racism and because the unions refuse to act on our behalf. The failure of the unions to wage a fight against racism within their own ranks aids the bosses because they can divide the workers on the basis of colour.

Many of our fellow Asian workers are organised in Indian Workers' Associations (IWAs). We have no organisation which can help us combat the problems we confront in everyday life. We have no one who can help us to organise our strength in the unions in order to fight exploitation on every level. That is why we need our own organisation — the Pakistani Workers' Association.

The aims (slightly abbreviated):

1. The PWA is open to all Pakistani workers regardless of caste, creed, or colour.
2. The PWA will support all those in Pakistan who are fighting to free themselves from the chains of capitalism and the fetters of Landlordism.
3. The PWA will fight against any harassment inflicted on our community regardless of the form it takes.
4. The PWA will fight for the right of our children to learn their own languages in schools.
5. The PWA will fight within the community for equal rights for women. It will make a special effort to recruit women trades unionists to the PWA.

A full copy of the constitution and statement of aims can be obtained from Abid Shah at the address given above.

UNDER REVIEW

Skip Laszlo talks to drummer MAX ROACH

THE first black drummers to arrive in the Americas did so without their instruments. The white slave traders saw the drum as a rebellious link with Africa.

But the heirs of those slaves have been hitting and tapping out the censored sounds ever since. The distinguished career of jazz drummer Max Roach spans five decades and yet the musical establishment has ensured his obscurity outside jazz circles. A musical radical, he is also politically outspoken.

'We have oppression of black people, you in Britain have Ireland, it's the same thing — imperialism. Most people believe the '60s was an isolated period, but it wasn't. The USA will always produce Malcolm X's, WEB Du Bois, Marcus Garveys and Martin Luther Kings. Just as American society is very stubborn about preserving oppression, resistance keeps being generated.'

In the middle of his set at the recent Bracknell jazz festival Roach appeared on stage with only two drum sticks and a high-hat (foot-cymbal). His solo on the instrument, which itself brought rapturous applause, was preceded by a lesson in politics and music history.

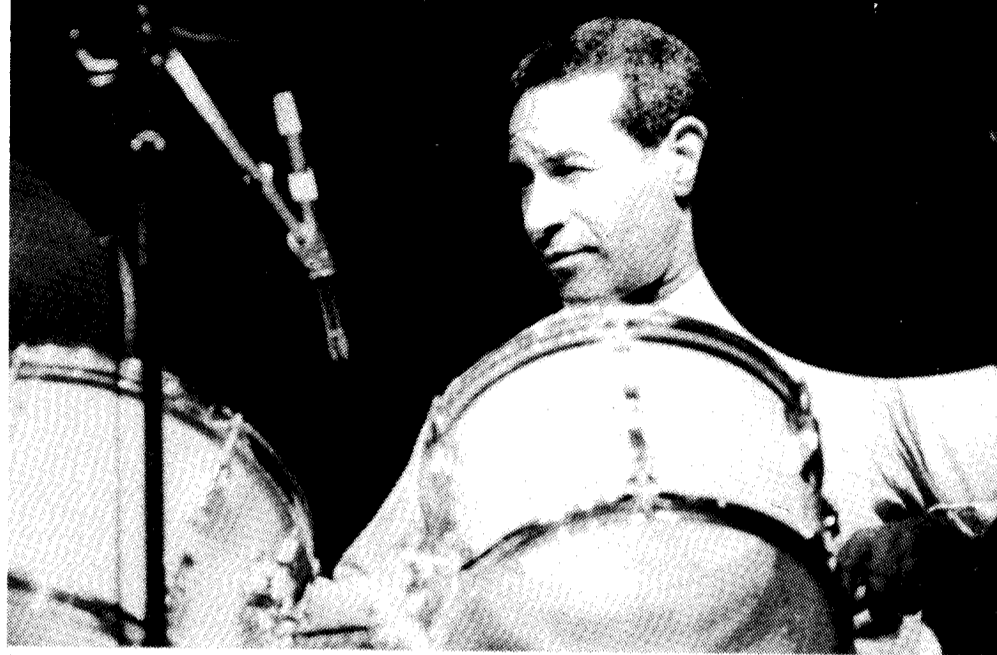
Slavery

'This instrument was added to the traditional drum kit by Jonathan David Samuel Jones — and if you figure how an Afro-American got a name like that you can begin to understand what slavery is all about.'

'He was part of the legendary Count Basie band that took New York by storm all those years ago with a music called 'swing' — whatever that is. Revolutionary music that's what.'

Earlier, before his set, we had been talking about the role of jazz, how each innovation of style was attacked only to be accepted years later — often after the leading innovators were

THE DIFFERENT DRUMMER



dead.

'Jazz has always been under attack, from the days of Buddy Bolding, before Kid Ory, right up to today. Bolding was criticised because he improvised. In the '20s they had 'race' records and decent people weren't supposed to listen because the music came from

Black people who weren't 'civilised'.

'It was an outlet to protest at the indignities faced by black people. Now it frees people all over the world.'

'Politically I see jazz as the natural music of democracy. European classical music is the music of imperialism — a conductor and a

composer rule the rest of the musicians like slaves. In jazz an idea is presented to be discussed and debated like in a meeting.

'This music lets each generation speak', Roach continued, listing a succession of tenor saxophone players. 'A Coleman Hawkins (the first great saxophonist) doesn't mean you can't have a Lester Young and he doesn't prevent a John Coltrane. You got Louis Armstrong but you can have no "Bach is God".'

Telling the truth

'Leonard Feather (guru of the white critics) attacked Billie Holiday's last album "Lady in Satin" (1958) because he said she didn't sound like she did when she was 21 and playing with the Count Basie Band in the '30s. But I love that album, it tells about her life, her loves, her emotional ups and downs, her feelings. Jazz allows you to sound 50 when you're 50. When you are 19 you should sound 19. Jazz allows you to tell the truth — be who you are.'

By most standards Roach should be rich and famous today. Along with Parker, Dizzie Gillespie and others whom non-jazz fame has eluded, Roach innovated 'Be-Bop'. White imitators of the style can be found regularly on Parkinson and other late night TV shows. But Roach not only kept innovating but he also made the link with Africa and his stand for civil rights too obvious to be ignored by the musical establishment.

Down Beat magazine praised the music of his 1950s album *Garvey's Ghost* as being 'heroic and grandiose,' but insisted this was 'oddy at variance with what is known of Garvey.'

His remarkable album, made with singer Abbey Lincoln, *We Insist, The Freedom Now Suite*, recorded in 1961, contrasted American slavery with the emerging independent nations of Africa. The black civil rights party, The Freedom Now Party, is said to have been named after that piece. *'This music that always challenges the music, challenges society.'*

LETTERS

Front's West Brom fiasco

THE attempts of the National Front to use the mass unemployment of the Midlands to spread their racist poison with their 'British jobs for British workers' march ended in fiasco on 17 August.

After blanket bans had been imposed on five towns, Martin Webster announced that he and two young NFers would march through to the unemployment office in West Bromwich.

When he arrived in a red cortina he was surrounded by waiting anti-fascists chanting 'No nazis in West Brom'. He was told by the chief constable of Birmingham that he would be arrested if he marched and had to leave to the cheers of the anti-fascists.

Anti-racists then broke the blanket ban and marched up the high street to the unemployment office. One arrest was made.

The main NF march, numbering no more than 350, took place through Nuneaton under heavy police escort. It was constantly harried by 150 ANL members who had managed to get through the police road blocks.

Arrests were made after the Front were stoned and after a man produced a shotgun outside a pub and threatened the nazis. ANL secretary Paul Holborrow was among those arrested.

PM GRANT, London

SC -- about time for a change?

THE statement in Socialist Challenge (10 July) about the relaunching of a new-style SC was enthusiastically received by IMG members, supporters and occasional readers of the paper in our area. This was especially so after the last few issues — the most popular comment was 'about time too'.

We welcome the initiative of the editorial board, and would like to put forward some of our

own proposals which we feel would greatly improve the paper.

On language and communication we would like to see a more sensible balance between very technical sounding and high scoring 'scrabble' words and ordinary spoken English.

This point may sound trivial or full of working class snobbery to some comrades but we believe it to be a fundamental error of SC. What's the use of spoiling some excellent articles by making them unintelligible to the readers?

If we can't communicate with our readers through our paper we might as well sell the *Beano* translated into double Dutch.

In general we feel that for the paper to be used effectively as a fighting socialist paper to win trade union militants and others to revolutionary politics it has to break with the theoretical journal image.

We find that not all our considered errors can be attributed to the editorial board. Many SC supporters — ourselves included — are equally guilty of not sending reports, articles, and so on.

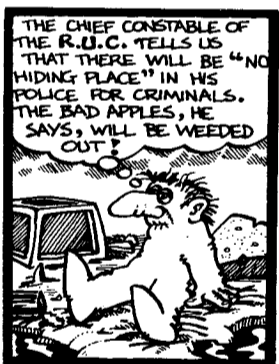
Being a relatively new branch of comrades with very little previous experience we perhaps tend to exaggerate SC's deficiencies. But we would certainly like to hear from other branches or individuals on what they feel about our paper.

BOLSOVER IMG

Historical misrepresentation

IN HIS article 'US Workers Need a Labour Party' (14 Aug), John Ball makes several errors when he describes the historical development of the labour movement in this country.

Just a look at the line-up of forces at the 1900 Memorial Hall conference in London which saw the creation of the Labour Representation Committee (the forerunner of the Labour Party) shows clearly that they were anything but the forces necessary 'to build an independent class party — a party of labour'. The platform comprised



Liberal MPs and their supporters in the TUC leadership, the Fabian Society, the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation (which pulled out of the LRC the following year), plus the trade union leaders of the new unions.

John would also have us believe that 'the leaders of the Trade Union Congress waited until the last minute to form a political party'. This would possibly fit in with his anachronistic view of labour movement history, but bears little correspondence to what took place at the turn of the century.

Sections of the TUC leadership fought tooth and nail against the foundations of a 'political party' with prophecies more in keeping with the Old Testament than the trade unions.

But this view was defeated not only at the TUC conference, the year before the Memorial Hall meeting, but at the meeting itself.

The main supporters of the move to found the Labour Representation Committee (which became the Labour Party in 1906) were the new unions (Match-makers, Shop Workers, Transport Workers, Dockers, and Gas Workers), not the conspirators waiting for a last minute deal from Downing Street.

I certainly think it is valid and essential for us to generalise, to draw upon the wealth of experiences of different working class movements internationally. But I would urge John Ball and others who contribute to Socialist Challenge to be more correct in their historical representation.

TERRY HAIG, Bristol

Tories Hit Pensioners

A FEW weeks ago, *Socialist Challenge* drew attention to the Tory government's attack on children and young people. But Thatcher and her crew do not discriminate on grounds of age when it comes to attacking the working class. Old age pensioners are going to be hard hit as a direct result of deliberate government financial policy — quite apart from sharing in the hardships caused by cuts in welfare and social services, hospitals, etc.

In his last budget, the Tory Chancellor announced that pensions would be increased by 16.5 per cent in November — an increase of £3.85 for a single person and £6.15 for a couple. Inflation is currently running at 21 per cent.

What does this actually mean? Reg Prentice gave the answer in reply to a question from Ernie Ross MP: 'On the basis of movements in the retail price index from Dec '79 to June '80, the value of the pension has fallen by 11 per cent from £23.30 to £20.99 for a single person, and from £37.30 to £33.61 for a married couple.' (*Hansard*, 29 July)

But this is not all. This year pensioners will receive their annual increase two weeks later than usual. The delay will save the government £65m, but it will mean each pensioner being £7.40 worse off. In other words, pensioners will be contributing that amount toward their Christmas

'bonus' of £10. Even Scrooge relented during the festive season!

Last year, when pension increases were linked to either prices or wages (whichever was the greater), the Treasury underestimated the annual increase in earnings. When the government realised this, despite a moral obligation to make good the shortfall of 50p a week to couples and 35p a week to single persons, they cold-bloodedly decided not to do so.

Government policy to break the link with earnings and to relate pensions only to prices will result in an ever-increasing gap between pensioners and wage earners.

Supplementary pensions will drop to the basic pension rate. Single pensioners will lose 40p per week and couples 50p. Lump sum payments and laundry additions are to be reduced and it will be more difficult to claim them. The value of the weekly Invalidity Pension will be reduced and now the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act, which provides for help to the disabled, is under threat.

Local authorities are now permitted to charge pensioners on supplementary benefits for home helps. Several Tory councils (e.g. Barnet and Redbridge) are already imposing these charges, which constitute a brutal attack on the elderly poor.

Tory immigration laws make it harder for elderly dependents to join their families in Britain, while the Social Security Act makes it an offence for an elderly dependent to claim the non-contributory benefits. The result

is poverty and starvation and is another example of the racism which is implicit in Tory philosophy.

Charlie Van Gelderen, London NW11

Words fail me

As Valerie Coultas knows perfectly well, I did NOT say in *Beyond the Fragments* that I was opposed to the National Abortion Campaign being a national organisation (see *Socialist Challenge* 27 Aug). I never have been.

In giving an *historical* account of the debates which occurred in Essex Road Women's Centre in 1975 I wrote that many women were suspicious of national structures, such as NAC. I said this was a problem for us:

'Feminists often felt that any national campaigning structure gave women in left groups an advantage over them, in terms of determining policy, as they were more experienced in that form of centrally organised politics.'

I did not say what my own position was. The debate I described was clearly around problems of working in national structures, not about the importance or otherwise of building them.

I am genuinely shocked and disgusted by Valerie's distortion and misquotation. Not only was this a personal attack, it was also an attempt to discredit the whole 'Fragments' event by a journalistic manoeuvre reminiscent of the columns of Woodrow Wyatt. Words fail me.

Lynne Segal, London

Socialist Challenge

FOUR HUNDRED people lobbied the TUC Congress as it opened, demanding action in the fight to save jobs. The lobby attracted delegates from South Wales, London, Scotland and Birmingham. Shipbuilders, steelworkers, public sector workers and unemployed youth were a reminder to delegates that passing resolutions is not enough.

The TUC campaign for social and economic advance is now one year old. In that time unemployment has risen to 2 million. The aim of the campaign is to force the government to change course and to implement alternative policies.

With unemployment soaring, radical policies are needed to save jobs. Unfortunately, all that the TUC has done is to re-affirm its existing strategy of putting pressure on the government.

Despite the massive increase in unemployment, the size and strength of the TUC continues to grow. This year a record 12 million workers are affiliated. The fight to save jobs starts in the factories where the unions are strongest.

That's why the lobby was so important. Angry steelworkers from Llanwern challenged delegates from the steel unions who had recently negotiated the loss of their jobs. Victimised civil servant Phil Cordell brought a large contingent from the Brixton dole office — recent scene of mass picketing.

Organise

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party mobilised their supporters, and the Right to Work Campaign lobbied support for its march to the Tory Party conference on 10 October. The lobby had a united aim — that the TUC must organise and lead the fight to save jobs.

At a packed meeting, Stuart MacLennan, a conference delegate from the civil servants' CPSA, spoke of how the Tories are trying to use unemployment to break the whole organised working class. Ray Davis, a steelworker from Llanwern, asked why the TUC had not supported the Welsh TUC's attempts to organise strike action in defence of steel and mining jobs. Michael Boulter, convenor of Hackney BOC, called for maximum unity of those opposing unemployment.

Unemployment is the major issue facing the unions. The trade union leadership want to wait for the next Labour government to solve unemployment. By then hundreds of thousands more will have lost their jobs.

The fight must start now. The enemy is the Tories — and when they come to Brighton they'll have a warm reception from the mass lobby on unemployment.

**"FIGHT FOR JOBS"
DEMANDS TUC LOBBY**

NO TALKS WITH THE TORIES

AS THIS week's TUC has unfolded it has become obvious that Len Murray and the union tops are absolutely devoid of ideas about how to fight the Tories.

Faced with the most vicious anti-working class government since the war, with unemployment in real terms at more than 2½ million, Len Murray increasingly resembles a frightened rabbit hypnotised by the Tory cobra.

In response to the employment figures and the Employment Act, Murray demands... a meeting with Thatcher! Even that is likely to be denied him.

Over a year ago the TUC launched its campaign for 'economic and social advance' under the slogan of 'the government must change course'. The policy of pressuring the Tories has got the TUC precisely nowhere in that time.

Even the *Daily Mirror*, perennial friend of the labour bureaucrats, was moved last week to comment on what a pathetic and inept leadership the TUC currently has.

That an alternative exists, that of mass action and mass mobilisation of the TUC

membership, never occurs to a man like Murray, who got his job through decades of working in a back room at Congress House.

BUT THAT ALTERNATIVE DOES EXIST. It was spelled out last week by two Labour MPs.

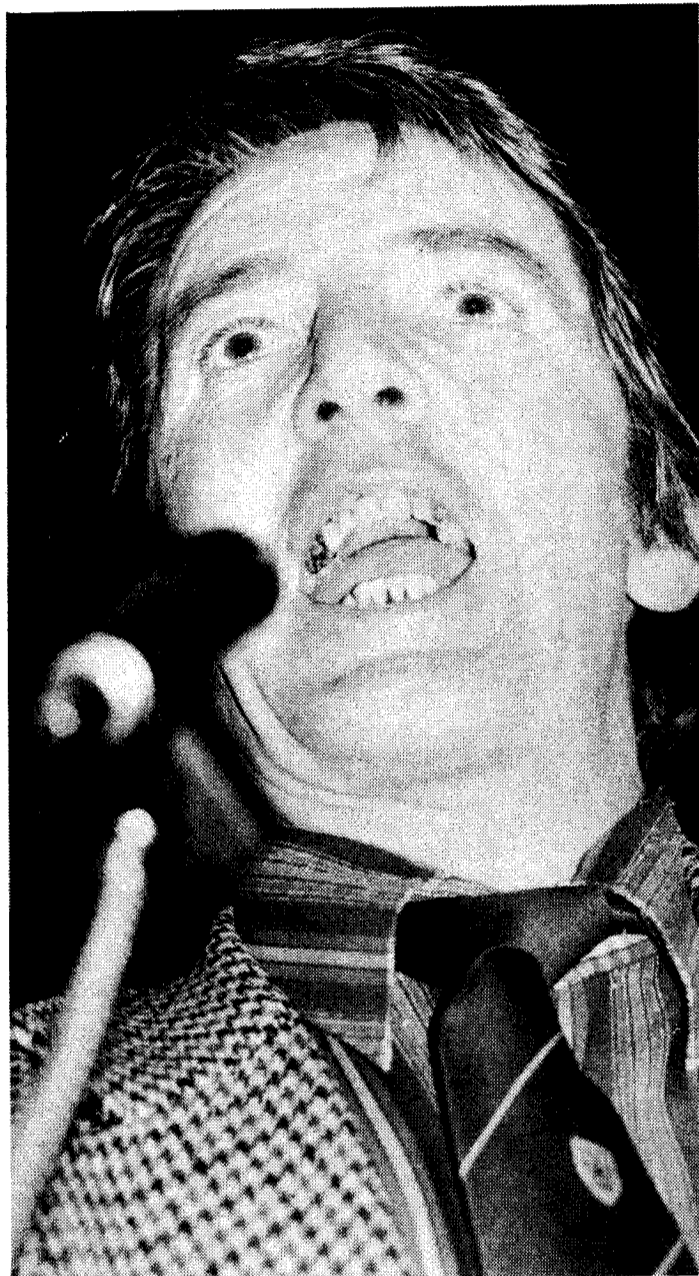
Ray Powell, MP for the Welsh constituency of Ogmere, pointed out that with a huge Tory majority in parliament it needed industrial action to bring down the Tories. He called on the TUC to call a general strike against Tory policies.

Dennis Skinner argued that the 'wonderful example' of the Polish workers pointed the way to fighting the Tories in this country. Powell and

Skinner are infinitely more realistic than Murray.

There is nothing to talk to the Tories about. They are determined to pursue their anti-working class policies. They must be fought with mass industrial action and brought down.

To fight for that means fighting against the timid and pathetic misleaders of the TUC.



ABOVE Dennis Skinner MP, who pointed to the 'wonderful example' of the Polish workers to the craven approach of the TUC to the Tories. BELOW: The lobby which greeted TUC delegates urging a fightback against the Tory attacks



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Cheques, POs and Money Orders should be made payable to 'Socialist Challenge'.
Complete and return to: Socialist Challenge, 328 Upper Street, London N1

Invest now for the future

ONE person who has spent their last few months usefully is John May from Swindon. While others took their summer break he was organising a sponsored 'dry out' of himself to raise money for Socialist Challenge.

Saving money on booze and raising it for a worthy cause is something more of our readers should consider! Going without the inessential now might prevent us all from having to go without what is essential in the future — our weekly Socialist Challenge.

Our thanks to our regular

contributors who helped us out this week, but we need a lot more support over the next month if we are to meet our fund target of £2,500.

Thanks this week to:
W Hoff

Anon	20.00
J May	10.00
(Dry-out)	
MB	5.00
C Van Gelderen	20.00
Total	66.95
Cumulative Total	322.76

Socialist Challenge social & second-hand books/records sale

SATURDAY 20 SEPTEMBER

CAXTON HOUSE, St John's Way, Archway, London N19
From 5pm till late.

Socialist Challenge is still collecting books and records for the second-hand sale. If you can donate anything or help in any way, please contact Yvonne on 359-8180.