

# Socialist Challenge

## Soviet bureaucrats suffer heart failure POLISH WORKERS: STAY ON GUARD

By Steve Griffiths (AUEW Convenor, Rover Solihull) in Poland.

I'VE TALKED to workers all over Poland and they all say the same thing. We have won a great victory. They will try to take it from us. But we are on guard.

The cynical way in which Gierek was dumped shouldn't fool anyone. It wasn't just Gierek that suffered a heart failure. It was the bureaucrats in Moscow, too — heart failure at the prospect of confronting the biggest upsurge of workers in Europe since May '68.

But now the workers need help. Lots of it.

Delegations should be sent by shop stewards committees to get the truth about Poland out of rank and file workers.

Stewards committees can 'twin' themselves with factory committees in Poland. Material

assistance can be sent to the organising committees for the independent unions in Gdansk.

But friends have told us that the left in Britain feels in strange company when it calls for support for the new unions.

Take no notice of these false friends of the Polish workers!

When the struggle goes on to a new and higher stage; when the rule of the bureaucrats itself is threatened; the Ronald Reagans and Frank Chapples won't be seen for dust. Neither NATO nor the Kremlin, nor the right wing Labour leaders have any interest in revolution whether East or West.

Western governments knew in advance of the invasion of Czechoslovakia but they never warned the Czech workers.

Like the Polish workers we should stay on guard. On guard for the Polish revolution!



## Thatcher arms Chile torturers

MARGARET Thatcher has never been fussy about the friends she keeps. On 16 July, Claire Wilson, a British student at the Catholic University of Santiago, met some of them. They were torturing her friend José Benado.

Six days after Clair met Pinochet's thugs, the Thatcher government restored diplomatic relations with the Chilean junta. They are presently negotiating the sale of arms and military supplies.

Cecil Parkinson from Britain's Trade Department recently led a delegation of arms manufacturers to meet the generals.

The last Labour government cut off all supplies to Chile, and withdrew all diplomatic links, when it was revealed that Sheila Cassidy, a British doctor, had been extensively tortured while under detention in 1975. Things haven't changed much.

Claire told Amnesty International what happened: 'In a basement we were told that we would be shot....Six of them were beating up José; they applied electricity all over his body; he had burns and several of his ribs were broken.'

This is the same fate that thousands of socialists and trade unionists have suffered at the hands of these thugs.

The Tory Minister with responsibility for dealings with Chile is Nicholas Ridley.

Earlier this year he tried to suggest that, perhaps Shiela Cassidy hadn't been tortured at all.

Thatcher and Ridley are unlikely to abandon their bloody friends without a fight. Trade union action is needed to enforce an arms boycott.

This isn't something new. Rolls Royce engineers and Yar-row shipbuilders on the Clyde refused to deliver military goods to Chile.

The Labour Party conference should commit the next Labour government to break all links with Chile.

Seventh anniversary of  
coup

End Repression in  
Chile

Vigil at Chilean  
Embassy  
12 Devonshire St., Lon-  
don W1

Rally in Friends House,  
Euston Road, 8pm.

Speakers from Chile  
Democratico, labour  
movement, and music  
from Pueblo

### EYEWITNESS IN POLAND

STEVE GRIFFITHS is in Poland along with RICHARD ROZANSKI, the editor of the socialist youth paper *Revolution*.

Read their eyewitness report on the latest events, starting on page 4.

Steve and Richard will be speaking at a series of public meetings on their return. Details of the first of these are on page 4.

If you want to invite them to speak on Poland, ring the IMG National Office on 01-359 8371.

Sending reporters to Poland has cost us money. We think it's been worth it. If you do too, you could help us out with a donation. Please send to Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Bridgend Pontypridd Newport Bristol Swindon Oxford Reading Southall Westminster

Port Talbot

# How we're fighting for the Right to Work

**THE Right to Work Campaign began in 1975 when unemployment reached one million under the Labour government.**

John Lindsay, the organiser of this year's march and picket of the Tory Party conference, at the beginning of October, told Socialist Challenge about the campaign.

The point about the Right to Work Campaign is to draw on the experience of the

unemployed workers' movement in the 1930s.

We recognise that the unemployed themselves have no power, but the campaign still enables those out of work to take some action on their own behalf and carry the arguments to those who still have jobs: that trade unionists must support the unemployed in the struggle for 'five days' work or five days' pay'.

**Why do you think the march**

**has gained so much support this year?**

Partly because the Right to Work Campaign is the only campaign that has taken up this issue right throughout the period of the last Labour government. Unemployment is much more serious now than it has ever been in living memory.

The Tories being in government makes people more aware of the class nature of the attack on workers' living standards and how unemployment

is used as a weapon in that attack.

**What effects do these marches have on unemployment levels? What do you intend doing after the march?**

The marches have absolutely no effect on unemployment at all. They *do* have an effect on the unemployed.

By giving them an idea that it is possible to struggle, that they haven't been completely deserted, through the reception they receive in factories along the route of the march — this shows that there are workers who are prepared to support the unemployed.

I haven't got a clue what's going to happen after the march. It will depend on the size and the militancy of the response in October.

**Why do you think the lobby on 10 October at the Tory Party conference is jointly sponsored by both the Right to Work Campaign and the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions? This hasn't happened before?**

It's not a lobby. It's a picket. We're picketing the Tories to tell them what we think of their unemployment policies.

The LCDTU recognises the threat posed by this Tory government to workers' living standards and the danger of Prior's law. They see the need for the biggest possible expression of working class opposition.

**What solutions do you think are necessary to get jobs for the two million unemployed in Britain today?**

The only way that unemployment will be fought is by workers fighting against redundancies, lay-offs and short-time working.

It's also necessary to defeat Prior's law because any attack on organised workers through the right to strike and the right to picket will make it more difficult to defend the most elementary gains of the working class since the war.

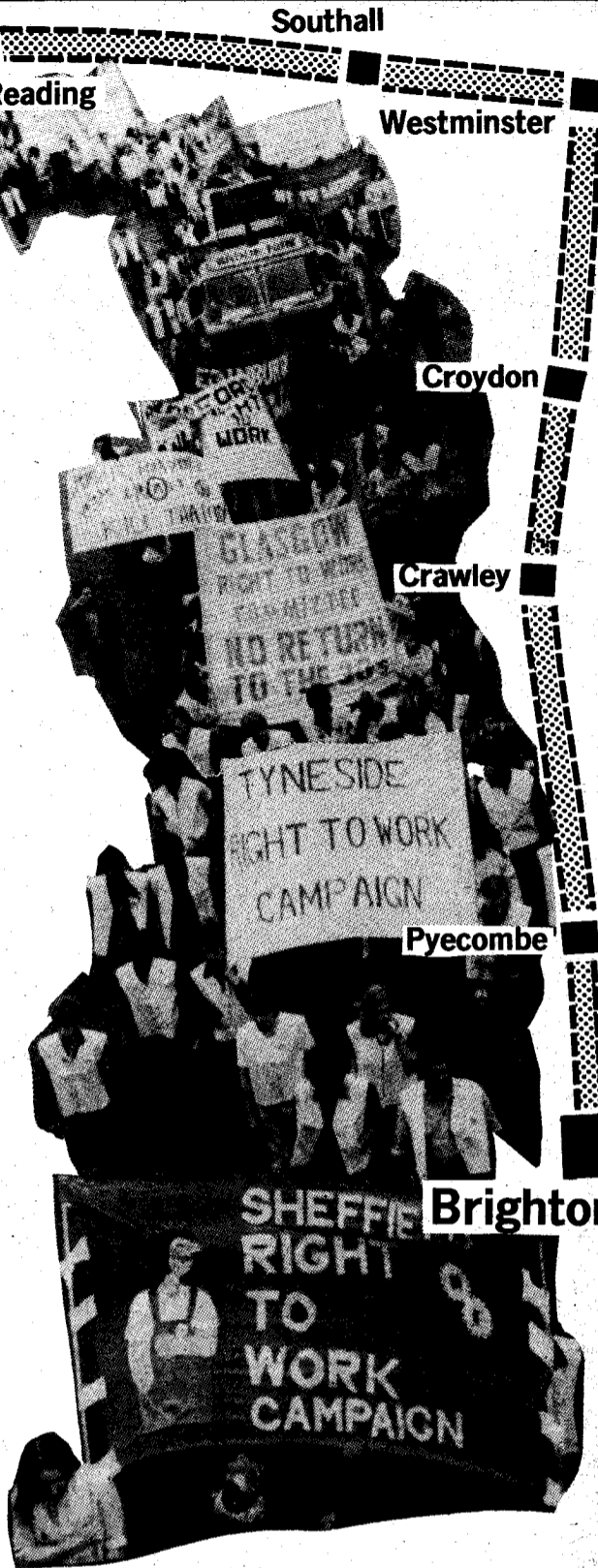
However, the problems of the two million unemployed will only be solved when the working class is capable of building a society based on human need, not private profit.

**What would you say to the criticism of the Right to Work marches as simply a one-off protest that allows the trade union and Labour leaders to avoid initiating or supporting any action inside the trade unions?**

Marches are one-off events — they're only the face of the campaign which attracts public attention. All the year round in many parts of the country work is done to involve the unemployed and to provide assistance for workers in their fight to protect jobs.

Whatever the Right to Work Campaign does can never allow the trade union and Labour leaders to avoid taking action.

The campaign is, at worst, a spur to force them to take more action. Take last week's debate on unemployment at the TUC



(Report)

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Monday 22 Sept: Marchers arrive in PORT TALBOT. Accommodation provided with disco in the evening.  
 Tuesday 23 Sept: March sets off. Visit to MARGUM STEELWORKS.  
 Wednesday 24 Sept: Visit to FERNDALE and MAERDY pits. Public meeting with Paul Foot (*Daily Mirror*) and local TUs.  
 Friday 26 Sept: Visit to CARDIFF docks and local industrial estates.  
 Sunday 28 Sept: Across the Severn Bridge to BRISTOL for a rally and gig in the evening.  
 Wednesday 1 Oct: March to OXFORD and then to HEADINGTON for rally and gig.  
 Friday 3 Oct: On to SLOUGH and visit to Fords Langley Plant. Another gig in the evening.  
 Saturday 4 Oct: Through SOUTHALL for welcome by other trade unionists in LONDON.  
 Wednesday 8 Oct: After a few days in capital off again and on to CRAWLEY.  
 Thursday 9 Oct: Welcome and march into BRIGHTON. Gig in the evening.  
 Friday 10 Oct: March to the TORY PARTY CONFERENCE. Fun and games all day! Transport leaving Brighton 5pm-6pm.

They spent an hour putting off the decision to do anything until next year.

At best, the campaign can help trade unionists to organise themselves for the real fight against the Tories which is so obviously necessary.

When Thatcher went to speak to the Tory Party conference in Swansea, the Right to Work Campaign called a picket and visited the miners' lodges for support.

Six lodges agreed to back the picket — the joint lodges committee, the South Wales Miners Executive, then the Wales TUC and the Welsh Labour Party. At which point 'Labour leaders' decided to organise a march in the opposite direction.

It was the joint action of the Right to Work picket and the miners which turned that Saturday morning into the largest and noisiest picket that Swansea has ever seen.

**What will the Right to Work Campaign be saying at the regional conferences being**

**called by the TUC on unemployment?**

We'll argue strongly that the unemployed should be allowed to attend. We stand for opposition to all redundancies, five days' work or five days' pay, a 35-hour week, and opposition to all cuts in public spending.

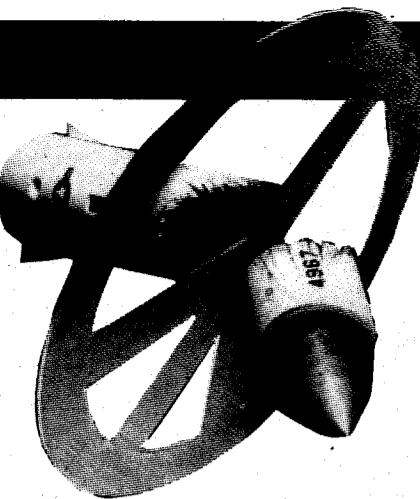
The people who organise the conference will be powerless, but people who attend could be active in building rank and file organisations to ensure that disputes will be won. When workers begin to win the little disputes they'll begin to gain the confidence to fight the bigger ones.

**And what about the conference called by the Labour Coordinating Committee for November on unemployment and defence of trade union rights. Will the Right to Work Campaign be supporting this?**

Yes. There are plenty of members of the Right to Work Campaign in the Labour Party. We'll build support for this conference as we want to encourage joint initiatives on these issues.

**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.

# Our rulers rehearse war... against us!



## WOMEN FOR PEACE

By Kay Bastin

'LET the women talk for a change,' says Doreen Henshaw, who set up the Women's Movement for Peace in Manchester with other women, housewives and workers, who were as angry as herself about the US war drive and the siting of Cruise missiles in Britain.

The response has been good, with 100 at their last rally in Manchester. The women's starting point was the US air base at Warrington. 'It's like the spot on the boil — it festers and spreads.'

The base is one of the biggest in Northern England. Personnel has doubled recently and all arms kept at the base are ready for immediate use.

The movement wrote a letter to the base informing them that a delegation of women would be coming to discuss their presence in Britain and the US war drive.

The women particularly aimed to talk to the women who work at the airbase. But the authorities at the base refused to see them.

Although they call their campaign apolitical, all the women hold strong convictions and take an active interest in international politics.

As one of the women put it: 'Why do we always applaud what the Americans do? We don't want to be under the American umbrella.'

Doreen was particularly disgusted by the US 'rescue' attempt in Iran, and all are aware of the link between capitalist recession and war.

'Look at the money behind arms in the war drive... It's our governments that are feeding us war propaganda — I fear America more than Russia.'

The Women's Movement for Peace has written to local newspaper, and it has featured in the *Yorkshire Post* and the *Observer*. People have already started to write to them from abroad.

They write to Thatcher every week and are organising a deputation to go and see her.

In a discussion on local radio, Doreen demanded that the Civil Defence plans for Manchester be made publicly known.

Council officials were forced to reveal that there are no Civil Defence plans in Manchester because of the spending cuts — except, no doubt, for the civil dignitaries who can use the secretly-built shelters under the Piccadilly gardens in the centre of town.

The campaign is supporting the 'March against Missiles' lobby of the Labour Party conference on Sunday 28 September, and is planning to speak at factories, trade union branches, women's groups and play groups to draw in other housewives and workers like themselves.

All strongly feel the need for women to organise. As Doreen says: 'I've changed — I won't be put down now. I argue.'

To contact the Women's Movement for Peace, ring 061-789 8854.

### By Steve Potter

THIS weekend thousands of British Army reservists will move to West Germany to take up battle stations alongside 90,000 other troops of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. A war with 'the enemy' is due to start on 24 September.

In the following week hundreds of secret bunkers in Britain will be staffed under military control, and in East and NE England some of their regional headquarters will be attacked by 'the enemy' and repelled by the army.

### Unrest

It's all part of one of our rulers' war games called Crusader '80, and the efforts in Britain are designed to counter the unrest which will be assumed to spring up in war-time Britain. These counter-insurgency manoeuvres, exposed in *Peace News* this month, are called Operation Square Leg.

### The big one

THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament national demonstration on Sunday 26 October has now been fixed to begin at 11am at Speakers Corner marching to a rally at 2.30pm in Trafalgar Square.

The demonstration is demanding No Trident, No Cruise Missiles, Cut Arms Spending. A national leaflet has been produced by CND. Copies from: CND, 29 Great James Street, London WC1. Tel: 01-242-0362.

Crusader '80 started on 31 August with hundreds of tanks rumbling down to Southampton. The carefully prepared public relations side of the exercise somewhat misfired with the revelation that 36 lorries carrying vital technical equipment were left on the dockside because there was no room on the ferry.

Military authorities will be

hoping that Operation Square Leg goes more smoothly — and more secretly.

Exposure of these exercises is a further blow to the myth that 'Home Defence' planning is intended to protect the civilian population. Its history reveals its true purpose.

### Scotland

MARCHERS against missiles in Scotland will be participating in their own demonstration in October. The demonstration will be held in Glasgow on Saturday 25 October.

The present system originated in 1919 when Britain was divided into 12 regions, each with a commissioner who had the powers to deal with insurrections or general strikes.

Before the Second World War the system was adapted for civil defence and to meet invasion. In the 1950s the whole structure was moved into the bunkers.

Today 23 sub-regional headquarters are controlled by non-elected chief executives from local government who are responsible to a regional junta of a police commander, military commander and another chief executive. In turn the latter would serve under a cabinet minister appointed as a regional commissioner in the

event of nuclear war.

### Greenham Common

The demonstration against the siting of 96 Cruise missiles to be stationed at Greenham Common assembles at Victoria Park Newbury at noon on Sunday 21 September.

A rally will be held overlooking the air-base and speakers will include Susannah York and Joan Lester MP.

Coaches leave from Oxford 11am from the Martyr's Memorial. From London

coaches will be leaving from Crouch End, St. Pancras, and Shepherds Bush and should be booked in advance. Tel: 01-242 0362 (days) or 01-485 4609 (eves.)

The establishment makes the reasonable assumption that this dictatorship would be challenged by a population in rebellion against the warmongers.

It is for this reason that the population of East Anglia or Tyneside may be treated to the spectacle of the army carrying out its counter-insurgency tac-

tics in defence of the bunkers.

Over the next few weeks we will hear a great deal about the manoeuvres of the Warsaw Pact countries on the borders of Poland. We will be treated to news stories showing the invincible might of the NATO forces.

But we won't hear very much about Operation Square Leg.

This is a war game against us! All the secret counter-insurgency plans aimed against the working class should be exposed as part of the campaign to deprive the NATO war lords of their doomsday weaponry.



A British tank on manoeuvres, and (top) communications room in a regional seat of government

## Benn and Wright back missiles lobby

THE message from the overwhelming majority of the 131 resolutions tabled on defence policy at the Labour Party conference is that they want:

\*An end to defence policy based on the use or threatened use of nuclear weapons.

\*A pledge to close down all nuclear bases in Britain.

Tony Benn and Bob Wright have endorsed the march and lobby against missiles called on the eve of conference. The aim of the lobbyists is a massive campaign in the labour movement against the siting of the missiles; the boycott of work sites by the trade unions; and committing the next government to cancellation of missile contracts.

A further 16 constituencies in Vauxhall in demanding a future Labour government is committed to withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

But what policy will be passed? A look at the resolutions submitted by trade unions shows a clear division.

The Association of Cinematographic, Television and Allied Technicians calls for unilateral disarmament. The Society of Graphical and Allied Trades supports the main resolution in its call for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Europe.

But the clerical union APEX and the Electricians' Union back the line of William Rodgers in describing NATO as 'an instrument of detente no less than defence', and for negotiations for multi-lateral disarmament.

### Action

The vote of other key unions will be decisive in determining whether the Labour Party emerges from the con-

ference committed to policy and action that can disarm the imperialists' aggressive campaign.

In particular, the Engineering Union will be deciding its attitude at its national committee to be held in Blackpool on the eve of the conference.

There is no doubt that John Boyd, general secretary of the union, will be pushing for the AUEW to join Frank Chapple in their defence of multi-lateralism and NATO.

### AUEW

The march against missiles on the eve of conference will be lobbying the AUEW national committee, with the support of Bob Wright, to demand that the union delegation at the conference comes out against the right-wing.

The support given by Tony Benn to the lobby will add

pressure on the union right-wingers.

The march organised by Manchester Against Missiles and North-West CND has now also gained the support of national CND and Joan Maynard MP.

### Assemble

The march assembles at 10.45 am at the War Memorial near Butlin's Hotel, rallying at 1pm at the South Pier. It will then lobby the AUEW delegation at 1.45pm at the AUEW headquarters on Station Road, Blackpool, and go on to lobby the Labour Party NEC at 2pm at the Grand Hotel.

For information on transport ring 061-236 4905 or write for publicity material to Labour Party demonstration against Missiles, 20 Greystoke Lane, Failsworth, Oldham.

### Arms Sales

IN a letter delivered to Thatcher on Monday, 10 British peace groups condemned her announcement at the Farnborough Air Show that Britain should export more arms.

They fear that this would inevitably lead to a relaxation on Britain's export controls, lax as these are.

The letter calls on the Prime Minister 'to get out of the sordid arms business' following a recent precedent set by Austria over arms to Chile.

STILL AVAILABLE: the badge that shows where you stand on Thatcher's warmongering. 20p plus 10p p&p. OR make money for your local campaign/organisation by ordering 20 or more at a bulk discount rate of 15p per badge post free.

All orders must be prepaid to Hackney Socialist Education Group, c/o PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.



# INTERNATIONAL



## Eyewitness in Poland

# A truce is called — but the struggle continues

From Steve Griffiths and Richard Rozanski in Poland

THE removal of Edward Gierk as leader of the Polish Communist Party started as a rumour on Friday night. But we knew there was something in it. Warsaw closed down at 9pm. No cinemas, cafes or restaurants stayed open. Everyone was off the streets. No-one knew what the change would mean.

On Saturday the papers weren't published as usual. Long queues built up until they finally appeared at noon. People also wanted to read about the discussions in the Sejm (parliament) on the agreement signed with the strike leadership in Gdansk.

The appointment of Stanislaw Kania to replace Gierk as first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP — the Communist Party) came as a surprise. He had little claim to being a reformer or 'liberal'.

### Force

But apparently Kania was part of a minority in the Political Bureau which opposed an attempt by Gierk to use force against the Gdansk strikers. The minority held sway over the army and police and therefore called the tune. It was not that they opposed the use of force against the working class — but that they knew that support for the strikers ran deep among the ranks.

Indeed, different groups of soldiers and sailors were among those who turned up in Gdansk bringing solidarity messages. In Gdynia the strike bulletin was distributed throughout the barracks.

This is an indication of how deep the strike has gone. *Robotnik*, the paper of the Workers' Self-Defence Committee (KOR), estimates that over a million workers have been involved in some sort of action.

What happened in Wrocław, in south-west Poland, was typical. A solidarity committee was set up. It was decided to begin strike action

on 1 September. When the settlement was announced the Wrocław solidarity committee simply became a committee for the independent trade union.

A similar committee has been set up in Mazowsze near Warsaw through the initiative of the workers at the Ursus tractor factory. A small office has been established which is a hive of activity as delegates continually arrive asking for all sorts of advice and bringing support to the independent union.

### Arrest

The latest workers to join are those from the national museum in Warsaw. But the continuing precariousness of the situation was revealed when the Secretary of this Committee was arrested shortly after giving us an interview.

However, the level of consciousness and organisation in Gdansk was something special. Each factory elected a strike committee after full discussions in mass meetings. Two members were delegated to attend the central strike committee (MKS), and every day one of them would report back to their strike committee and workshop meetings.

Things were even more democratic than in the Russian revolution, because all the negotiations were taped and played back to the workers. All the discussions were relayed by loudspeakers. We'd like to see Frank Chapple & Co. adopt such methods!

### Mobilisation

At once the 19-person presidium of the MKS, which had conducted the negotiations, was recalled. There was a full discussion, and finally it was agreed to make the compromise on the grounds that it would be through mobilisation and activity that the reality of the independent union would be imposed.

There was also a very high degree of mobilisation of the

An example of the workers'



### How Polish strike leaders see free trade unions

**BOGDAN LIS:**

'We want all the workers' rights, at all levels. We want guaranteed freedom of activity.'

**ANDRZEJ GWIAZDA (member of *Robotnik* editorial board):**

'A new trade union independent of the state and of the government, with its own newspaper is the only way to get the country out of the crisis.'

'Of course, the economic situation is very complicated. The problems exist at different levels and the workers must be listened to everywhere. Who else can say who is right if not those who work?'

'A new trade union will avoid a lot of errors.'

**FLORIAN WISNIEWSKI (electrician):**

'We make unproductive investments. We spend our money badly. The workers, all the Poles, must be able to have what is necessary.'

'Perhaps certain reforms will be difficult, but a free trade union and its control over all the economic activities of the government are the only guarantees of getting us out of this situation.'

'We want all the economic decisions to be taken calmly and conscientiously.'

**LECH WALESKA:**

'Take an example: a prefabrication plant that is producing at 50 per cent capacity. The government decided to build another one right next to it.'

'It's absurd. The plant is useless. Maybe the Central Committee doesn't know that, but we workers see it every day.'

'The free trade union means control over economic decisions at every level — local, regional and national. We need a new plan, and that's how we'll do it.'

control over events came in the discussions on the final agreement. In the morning a mass meeting agreed to a clause acknowledging the 'leading role of the PUWP'. But by the afternoon there was a revolt surrounding population. From early morning until late at night there would be 10-15,000 people gathered outside the shipyards. The MKS clearly began to take on the functions that the soviets played in Russia in 1917.

In Silesia the level of organisation was not so high. But their demands went in the same direction. A particular target were the highly-paid mine supervisors.

### Truce

It has also been reported that in Silesia the workers demanded — and won — not merely the recognition of the independent union but the liquidation of the official one. If that's true, it means that the workers have already learned lessons from Gdansk.

In Silesia the authorities acted more firmly than elsewhere. They closed down the shops, for example. But the wide-ranging impact of the struggle was shown when peasants began to bring food directly to the strikers.

Although most of the strikers have now returned to work, no-one thinks that the struggle is over. Everyone regards it as a truce. The militants see the key task as the construction of the independent union in all sectors. This is

something the students are also discussing. What they want is time.

No-one is under any illusion that the official unions are finished. And a host of practical and political questions have to be resolved. Should PUWP members be allowed to join, for instance?'

### Militants

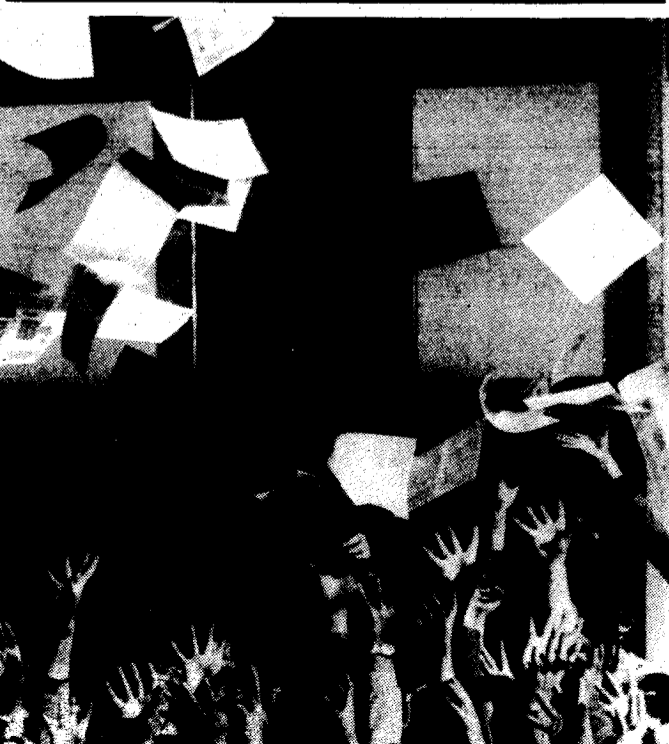
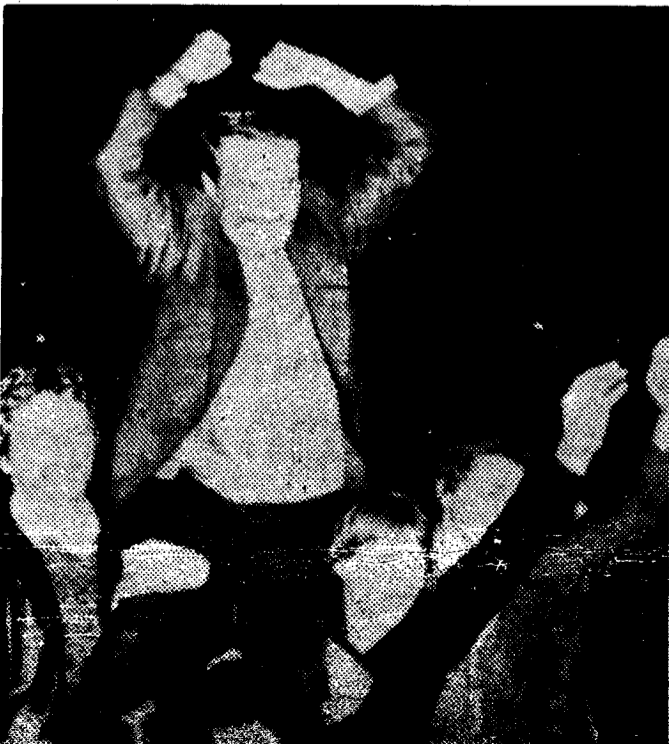
After discussion it was agreed that they could so long as they didn't hold any post in the party or state apparatus. One estimate is that 30-40 per cent of PUWP workers support the independent union.

Militants see the independent union as an instrument for taking up all economic questions. They think it should intervene at all levels of economic decision-making by the government. But the far-reaching implications in a society where every economic question is immediately political are perhaps not fully grasped as yet.

### Democratic

The intention is to call a conference of the independent union in one month's time to elect a leadership. The feeling is to continue the methods of democratic control begun in the strikes — of mandating and automatic recall — so as to prevent the development of a bureaucracy.

Many workers are of course Catholic. Mass was celebrated every day in the shipyards, and



## 'ROUND ONE TO THE WORKERS'

Eyewitness reports from Poland

Thursday 18 September, SWINDON  
Phone Chris on 46498 for details.

Friday 19 September, Hackney  
With Richard Rozanski. 7.30  
Dalston Library, Dalston Lane, E8.

Wednesday 24 September, MANCHESTER  
With Steve Griffiths and Oliver MacDonald  
7.30pm, Star and Garter, Fairfield St,  
Piccadilly.

Thursday 25 September, LIVERPOOL  
Phone Mark on 728 9982 for details.

Sunday 28 September, HOUNSLOW  
With Oliver MacDonald. Phone 570 4700  
for details.

# INTERNATIONAL

## We're happy, very happy...

SHE is small, about fifty, soft-spoken. Anna Walentynowicz has always worked in the Lenin shipyard. She was a welder for 17 years, and is now a crane-driver.

Last year she was sacked on a trifling pretext. But her standing was high with the workers; she had already played an important role in the 1970 strike. Her re-integration, along with that of Lech Walesa, was one of the strikers' first demands.

In fact, they re-integrated her themselves on 14 August, and immediately elected her to the strike committee (MKS). Then she became a member of its presidium.

Just minutes after the announcement of the agreement, it was difficult to get to talk to her. She was completely surrounded, signing strike posters as souvenirs.

### Demands

With victory achieved, it was a time for trophies. Throughout the factory there was a rush to get leaflets, posters, and pictures signed by Walesa and other members of the MKS, by foreign journalists, and by workmates.

After several attempts I managed to ask Anna Walentynowicz a few questions. What does she think of the agreement?

'We're happy, very happy. We've obtained a great deal, all our demands have been substantially met.'



Around us about thirty strikers are gathered, listening. It starts to rain, and someone brings out an umbrella to shelter us.

'Tomorrow', explains Anna Walentynowicz, 'we are going to found the new trade union. Above the provisional headquarters we're going to put up a big sign: "Free and self-managed trade union".'

### Essential

'We will even have a telephone. The only thing which isn't clear yet is the printing arrangements for our paper.'

It will be essential for the

new union to have its own organ:

'Our work depends on it. It will give information, open its columns to discussion, provide a means of convincing people. Until now we've only had *Robotnik Wyrzeze* (Coastal Worker) which was semi-legal, often confiscated, and produced on a shoestring.'

*Robotnik* will carry on, she says, but the union paper is

much more ambitious:

'We want a daily, on sale in the kiosks. We'll keep the name of our strike bulletin: *Solidarnosc* (Solidarity). It should be printed officially, with the costs paid out of union dues. And if they won't print it for us, we'll buy our own machines.'



religious symbols were carried by some of the strikers. But most people are scandalised at any suggestion that the church should play a directly political role.

### Appeal

Lech Walesa, the most prominent strike leader, explained that although he was a Catholic, religion was one thing and the affairs of the union another. That is why Cardinal Wyszynski's television appeal for a return to work had so little impact.

Discussions we've had about this have also brought up the question of the framework in which the strikers see their struggle.

Obviously the criminal antics of the Stalinist bureaucracy have given communism a bad name. But virtually no-one questions the social ownership of the means of production or the idea of a planned economy.

The workers see their struggle as one for a democratic socialism. The Prague Spring is the model in people's minds.

### Press

We have heard that the independent union has put out a call for support from unions in the West to help fund a printing press. We hope everyone in Britain is preparing to respond.

The Gdansk Soviet was on a dress rehearsal. Much bigger things are to come. The functioning of the independent union will be a big factor in reaching the final outcome.

Poland today is the best environment for socialism that we have.

Steve Griffiths, AUEW member at Rover Solihull, Richard Rozanski, editor of the socialist youth paper *Revolution*, are in Poland to help for Socialist Challenge *Revolution*. They join an international team of reporters for the Fourth International.

# The bureaucracy's other allies

By Tom Marlowe

THE NEWS item was tucked away in an inside page in the *International Herald Tribune* of 26 August:

'In an unusual step, Poland's ambassador to Washington, Mr Romuald Spasowski, thanked the American administration for its statements and said they were helpful in dealing with the crisis.'

Just how the US had been 'helpful' was explained in the preceding paragraph: 'The US government has refrained from giving any encouragement to the Polish strikers since their action began earlier this month.'

### Silence

At first sight the attitude of the US government to the Polish events seems curious — a curiousness which extends to all the major Western governments.

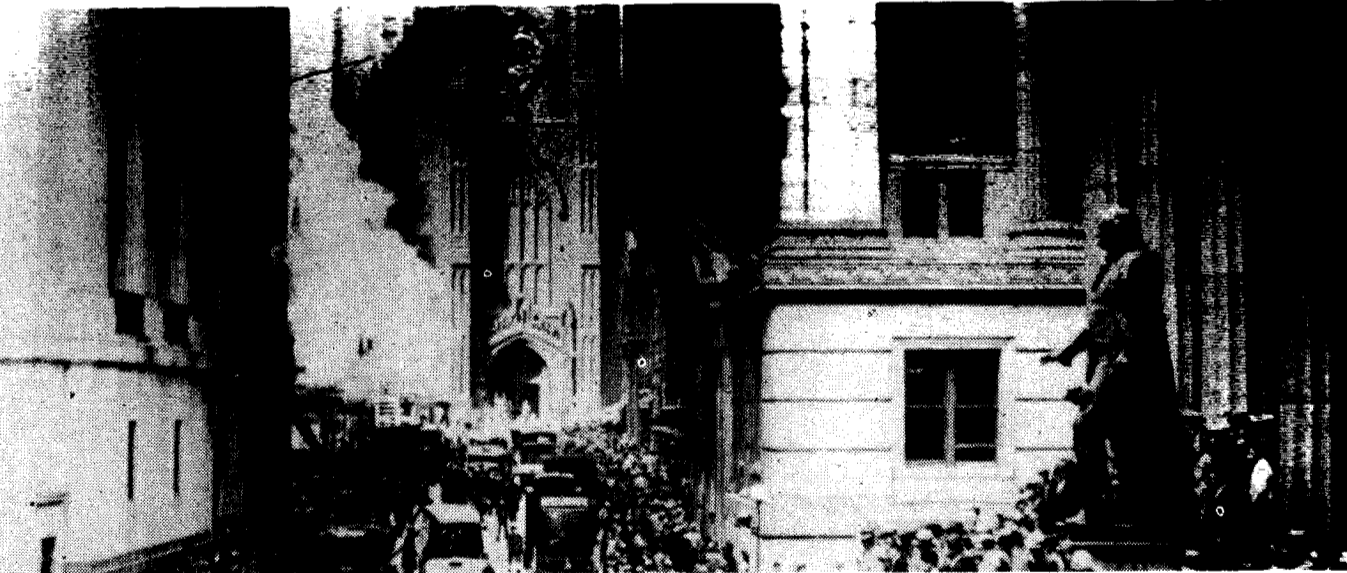
From the headquarters of NATO in Brussels, to the Thatcher government here, to the West German Chancellor Schmidt, the same stance was adopted: No comment.

A US State Department statement on 19 August summed it up with the insistence that 'the strikes are a domestic matter and therefore none of our concern'.

Certainly the popular, right-wing press in Britain rushed to defend the Polish strikers. But the more thoughtful and serious establishment papers repeated the caution shown by their governments.

Even the fanatically anti-communist *Daily Telegraph* advised on 30 August: 'Polish workers would be wise to go for some industrial concordat rather than cry for the moon.'

All this at a time of NATO



Wall Street

re-arming, the still fresh memory of the Olympic boycott, and an anti-communist ideological offensive the like of which has not been seen since the US war on the Vietnamese people began to flounder. So why the strange silence on Poland?

### Debts

First, there is money involved. As the Polish strikes were spreading, a consortium of international banks signed a deal which gave the Polish government £137m worth of credit.

A similar deal worth £280m, with West German banks doing the lending, will be signed shortly.

This money will be used to pay off interest payments on debts to Western banks already accumulated by the Polish government. This year Poland has to pay off a staggering £3bn worth of such charges.

The *Financial Times* has explained that if the new loans

were refused 'Poland might have defaulted on existing borrowings which would have meant considerable losses for a number of major international banks'.

The Western banks consider it good business to increase their borrowing to Poland for a number of reasons.

First, Poland has a good record in paying off debts on time. Second, Poland is expected to have a trade surplus this year which would facilitate repayment. Third, if all else fails the Western bankers expect that the Soviet Union would bail out Poland's debt.

### Yalta

Finally, part of the new loan has been guaranteed by the West German government.

From its own economic point of view, therefore, Western capitalism has, at least in the short-term, no economic interest in seeing a damaging,

prolonged strike wave in Poland. As one West German banker was quoted as saying: 'We just hope everyone will be reasonable.'

After the economics come the politics. The Polish regime has played a useful role in East/West relations, as indicated by the fact that it is the one East European country Carter has ever visited.

Most recently, the Gierk leadership offered Poland as a venue for a meeting between French president Giscard d'Estaing and Soviet president Leonid Brezhnev.

This buffer role — firmly inside the Soviet camp, but more amicable to the West than others — has made Gierk valuable to the West.

There also remains the East/West agreement first hatched at Yalta after the Second World War, which includes Poland in the sphere of influence in return for Soviet non-interference where the West's immediate interests are

concerned.

With the developing situation in Central America — the revolution in Nicaragua, the frantic attempt of imperialism to stop the same thing happening in El Salvador — US imperialism has every wish to see that agreement maintained.

### Destiny

The *Financial Times* concluded on 19 August that 'both the West and East have a vested interest in the survival of the Polish leadership'. The *International Herald Tribune* warned the Polish workers on 27 August, 'they should not overplay their hands'.

Such mouthpieces of the more sophisticated sections of the imperialist camp know there is little political or economic profit in the idea of working people controlling their own destiny — in Poland or anywhere else.

Edward Gierk was a...  
let...

## Trades Union Congress

# No return to the Social Contract

By Pat Kane

JIM CALLAGHAN was one of the main speakers at this year's TUC. Despite the obvious lessons of the last election, his politics haven't changed much.

For the Labour Party's right wing this year's TUC was a moderate success. They came to the Congress to soften up the unions. Thatcher was attacked repeatedly, but behind the anti-Tory rhetoric they plan to return to the same policies that led to the downfall of the last Labour government.

### Evident

This was evident from 'A Policy for Expansion', a major policy statement produced by the TUC-Labour Party Liaison Committee. Callaghan could not have been clearer about its implications. He explained that there were three preconditions to ensure the success of the next Labour government.

First, there must be complete understanding between the unions and the party before the election.

Second, this agreement must recognise the need for planned and orderly change.

Third, it must define the relations between the unions and the state 'once and for all'.

Callaghan went on to say that 'all governments, whether they avow it or not, have an incomes policy'.

### Tried before

The main problem for Labour's right wing is that these policies have been tried before. Callaghan defended the social contract at the TUC, and argued that this time an agreement on wages 'would not be entered into as a result of a crisis, or to pull the Labour government out of a hole'.

Planning for the future is the aim of both the TUC and parliamentary leaders. Organising now to defend working class living standards doesn't enter into their calculations.

Callaghan's message was reflected in the resolutions on pay policy passed by the con-

### CUT HOURS, NOT JOBS

WITH over two million unemployed, the TUC adopted the demand for the implementation of a 35-hour week without loss of pay. Although it was part of a longer resolution which includes the demand for import controls, the campaign for a shorter working week now will be assisted by this decision.

The other positive decision was to oppose the Tory Employment Act. Callaghan committed the next Labour government to repeal the Act.

But the shop floor will not be waiting that long. Already the Brixton CPSA strike has shown that the law can be defeated. As the Tories drive home their attacks, resistance will spread.

The union leaders are being cautious, not knowing just how far they can go along Callaghan's road. Any resistance to the Tories can and will shatter the best laid plans of the Labour leaders.

ference. One supported incomes policy, another reaffirmed the commitment to free collective bargaining. Both sides of the General Council

claimed a victory!

Not everyone at the TUC welcomed Callaghan's speech. When he was given his usual standing ovation, some



delegates stayed in their seats.

Arthur Scargill of the National Union of Mineworkers, Alan Fisher of the National Union of Public Employees, and leading members of the Communist Party were not pleased with the insistence on the return to the old policies. But they've got their own problems to deal with.

The left-wing leaders have nothing to put forward in opposition to Callaghan. Their alternative economic strategy shares the same basic framework as the right wing: making the system work more efficiently. All through the Congress they managed to find a compromise to smooth over any minor differences that they do have.

lack of funds in the nationalised sector, Basnett claimed that 'it is the flood of imports which threatens to engulf our basic industries'.

The motion was moved by Communist Ken Gill from the technicians' section of the Engineering Union. Unity was ensured once more.

### Reforms

But the schemes of Callaghan and Basnett are still far from secured. The rank and file of the Labour Party are insisting on democratic reforms that will severely limit the room for manoeuvre of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The General Council and the TUC may be drifting to the right, but the opposite is the case in the rank and file of the Labour Party. The coming party conference will be another hurdle to cross for the right wing.

Unless the Labour lefts, including their trade union supporters like Scargill and Fisher, present a clear alternative to Callaghan, they will end up isolated once again.

The alternative is already present in some of the motions passed by conference (see box). The left leaders have to actively organise for their implementation, not sit passively while the right wing organises.

### Imports

The main demand from the Communist Party was for import controls. But even here they were unable to distance themselves from the right wing.

David Basnett, leader of the General & Municipal Workers Union, made the main report. In line with Callaghan, he said that he wants 'neither free trade nor protectionism, but managed trade'.

Completely disregarding the present economic actions of the multinationals, the huge profits of the bankers, and the crippling interest payments and



## What is a Planned Economy?

By Brian Grogan

THE TUC now favours agreement on an incomes policy with the next Labour government. It argues that the next government has to implement a 'planned economy'.

Tom Jackson, the right-wing leader of the Union of Communications Workers, told delegates: 'What Congress cannot have is a planned economy with incomes unplanned. It is a pipe-dream to believe that anywhere in the world there is a society that plans for the future, and makes no plans for incomes.' But planning is not possible under capitalism.

Every system has to have some mechanism for deciding how to allocate society's resources. Under capitalism this mechanism is profit rates. Those sectors with a high rate of profit attract investment, the rest are starved.

In such a set-up there is no possibility of planning the relationship between production and people's needs. It is only after investment is made that the capitalists know whether they can sell what is produced.

Periodically, the rush of investment into particular sectors leads to a situation of

overproduction of the sort we have today — where goods cannot be sold at a price capable of giving the expected return on investment. Investment therefore dries up. Economic activity declines, factories close, millions are thrown out of work or put on short-time.

This is an inevitable consequence of deciding the allocation of society's resources according to what makes a profit. The only 'planning' individual firms can do or want to do is that which maximises profit. The question of whether or not this will coincide with people's needs is left to a pious hope.

But as the last 130 years of capitalism have shown, the systematic creation of shortages amidst plenty is an inevitable and periodic feature of capitalism. Governments which administer capitalism can only alleviate the effects of crisis. They cannot force investment.

All they can do is to create the most favourable conditions for making profits. In this sense, incomes policy can be nothing more than wage restraint.

Today a planned economy is not only within our grasp, it is vital to overcome the twin scourges of mass unemployment and



inflation. Workers have a whole host of unmet needs. We need more houses, schools, hospitals — let alone the good things of life.

But the crisis means that massive unemployment goes hand-in-hand with a cut-back in the construction of hospitals and houses and the production of the commodities we need. But remember, it was the last Labour government, with its social contrick of wage restraint, which made all these things of the '30s respectable again.

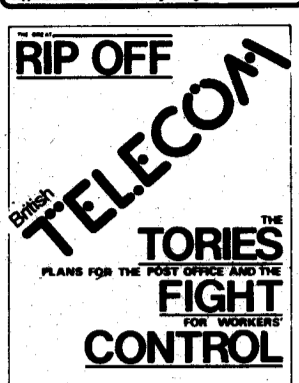
In order to have a rational overall plan which fits production to people's needs, a system based on the profit motive has to be smashed. Only when all the major industries are taken out of private hands, only when the banks are nationalised, could real planning begin.

That would need a government dedicated to taking on and defeating the power of the bosses. In that system wages could be planned to rise systematically in line with the cost of living and the developing wealth of society. This is what the Polish workers demanded.



THE main leaders of the left in the trade unions (clockwise from bottom): Arthur Scargill of the NUM; Ken Gill of AUEW-TASS; Alan Fisher of NUPE. Because they don't challenge the system, they have no clear alternative to Callaghan.

## Socialist Challenge



A new pamphlet has been produced by Socialist Challenge supporters employed in Post Office Communications. Articles deal with Tory plans for the telecommunications industry; the role of nationalised industries and the case for workers control. Copies are available from Socialist Challenge (POEU Pamphlet), at 10p. Discount rates on request.

## Dutch women fight abortion bill

Dutch women are fighting attempts to restrict their abortion rights. A bill going through the Dutch parliament aims to make abortion a

criminal offence; place restrictive time limits; limit the powers of doctors; and introduce a complicated licensing system for pro-abortion clinics.

During the Campaign against the Corrie anti-abortion Bill in Britain, Dutch women held a picket of the British Embassy, a demonstration in support of the National Abortion Campaign, and sent letters and petitions to

the Tories. Now they need our support to win their fight.

NAC will be holding a picket of the Netherlands Embassy, Hyde Park Gate, London SW7 on Friday 26 September from 12-2pm. Letters of protest should be sent to: - The Minister of Health, Department Volksgezondheit, Postbus 439, 2260 AK Leidschendam, The Netherlands.

## Bring Anwar's children home

By Paul Terry

CONTINGENTS from Leicester, Liverpool, and a double-decker busload of people from Manchester helped swell a 200-strong demonstration in Rochdale on Saturday in support of Anwar Ditta's fight against the immigration laws.

The Home Office has denied her three children the right to come to Britain from Pakistan. The officials claim that Anwar and her husband are not their real parents.

This is despite a considerable amount of documentary evidence, offers of blood tests and money to pay an investigator to go to Pakistan, and Anwar's volunteering to go to jail for 20 years if her claim were false!

No one who has

heard Anwar speak can doubt here determination to bring her children here and to resist Home Office rulings that have twisted even the existing racist immigration laws. These laws hit directly at all black people in this country.

## Indian

The message of the demonstration was to stand up and fight, to keep fighting, and for black unity against racism. Speakers from both the Indian Workers Association and the West Indian Standing Conference were at the rally.

A further call from the rally was for support from the whole working class movement to jetison the immigration laws and all they stand for.

For Anwar Ditta to speak at your meeting, contact: Anwar Ditta Defence Committee, 127 Crawford St, Rochdale, Lancs.

Anwar

## Patients seized from hospital occupation

SIX elderly patients were snatched from St Benedict's hospital in South London by Health administrators on Tuesday morning before pickets arrived to padlock and surround the hospital gates.

St Benedict's, which has 91 remaining patients, has been occupied since the beginning of the year, when the Merton Sutton and Wandsworth Area Health Authority announced its decision to close the hospital.

With no similar facilities for elderly patients in the area, the occupation has been backed by the health unions and the Royal College of Nursing.

Staff were notified that management intended to remove patients for good at 2pm on Tuesday

— but the lift by lift by private ambulance began at 10.30.

Over a hundred pickets were rapidly mobilised by the occupation committee, and the entrance to the hospital blocked. Police said they would only allow two pickets on the gate, but couldn't shift the crowd who surrounded it.

The staff agreed to open the gates in the afternoon when management obtained a court injunction. The Area Health Authority said that no further patients would be removed before Thursday 11 September so that the unions could discuss with ambulance staff.

'Our hope' says Arthur Hautot, secretary of the occupation committee, 'is that the ambulance workers will refuse to remove any patients from hospitals in the area unless St Benedict's future is secured'.

For further details ring Arthur Hautot on (01) 762 2231

## Licence to live

By Derek Freeman

CORONATION housing co-op in Lambeth, South London, is fighting for its life. Next Monday Lambeth council's housing committee will decide whether to grant a two-year licence on a block of 50 flats in South Lambeth Road.

These have been occupied for three months by local homeless people, who have replaced basic amenities which had been damaged by council gutting squads. The squatters want to be able to secure homes for single people for two years.

Although the council plans to redevelop the site, the earliest date is 1982.

By Patrick Sikorski

THE leaders of the hospital workers' unions symbolically walked out of the TUC last week. The protest was against the Engineering Managers' Association which was arguing in favour of increased private practice in health care.

Earlier in the week NUPE general secretary Alan Fisher, who led the walk out, had an opportunity to turn his protest into national action when he attended the fringe meeting called by Lambeth Labour Party Group.

Over 40 delegates heard Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth council, outline why they should support a conference to plan strike action against further Tory cuts.

The Lambeth Labour Group, in conjunction with the trades council and town hall unions, have called the 1 November conference, as Ted Knight said: 'To decide to use whatever resources are at the disposal of the labour movement in order to halt this government in its tracks.'

He went on to say that it was no use any longer thinking one could reason with Thatcher and Heseltine in order to change their policies.

Then in a thinly disguised attack on the TUC General Council's decision to deal with 2m unemployment by visiting 10 Downing St, Knight continued: 'The only way you will stop their attacks on working class living standards is to call a halt, and that means posing the question of how we use the strength of the labour movement to do precisely that.'

The only other option, he said, was to sit down and work out how many people we are going to put on the dole.

Referring to the letter he had received from Labour Party General Secretary Ron Hayward asking why Lambeth felt it necessary to hold a conference and weren't the Labour Party doing enough already, Knight replied with a categorical No.

He rejected the 'wait to the next election' approach of the parliamentary leadership.

Alan Fisher pledged NUPE's full and unstinting support for the conference.

## Oxygen workers reject redundancy plan

UNION delegates representing the British Oxygen company's national workforce have rejected management's latest redundancy proposals.

The 'slimline' proposals were opposed by three out of four regions at

a meeting last week between management and the union representatives. The fourth region accepted the plan, but decided to go along with the majority decision.

## Scheme

BOC's management was replying to demands for an early retirement scheme; opposition to systematic overtime; and the call for immediate introduction of a shorter working week.

The bosses' offer on retirement involved job loss, and this was once

again rejected although it involved offers of lump-sum payments in some cases of over £10,000.

## Briefed

The rejection was won with little help from the Transport Union's national officer for the chemical industry. While management had already been briefed, the joint management/union character of the regional meetings meant that the union delegates did not have the opportunity to meet beforehand.

After the meeting the

delegates cabled the TGWU headquarters, notifying their decision and demanding that the national officer convene a national shop stewards conference within the next week. If this doesn't happen the stewards intend to convene their own meeting.

Micky Boulter, TGWU Secretary at Hackney BOC, said after the negotiations it was essential to use the proposed meeting to re-establish a national combine committee and a newspaper in order to co-ordinate the anti-redundancy struggle.



## Engineering workers' job cuts

by Pete Clifford

A MASS meeting at Gardner's engineering works in Manchester voted last week to fight the company's plans for 700 redundancies. The meeting decided to take industrial action if necessary to secure the jobs.

Of the 2,400 Engineering Union members present at the meeting only

four voted against.

Gardner's is the second largest factory in the Manchester area. Over the past year, 13,000 jobs have been lost in the local engineering industry.

When union leaders addressed the mass meeting they were greeted with shouts of 'We've got to fight'.

Gardner's is already on

short-time. It was when the unions put the demand for a wage rise that management replied with the redundancy announcement.

The workers responded with an immediate stoppage. They have been in the lead in winning support for Bob Wright, the left-wing candidate in the AUEW presidential elections.

## Into battle on rates and cuts

Vanessa Wiseman, chairperson of Lambeth Trades Council, welcomed this support but added: 'From the conference we are not just asking trades unionists to take action against Heseltine's Bill, but asking to see Ted Knight and Labour councillors throughout the country not just calling on the trade unions to take that action but committing themselves to also be on the line with those trade unionists; to commit themselves at this stage to not make more cuts: not to wait and see how November's conference goes but to undertake not to make any further cuts; not to sell any council houses and not to make any further rates increases.'

The conference is to be held at Camden Town Hall on 1 November. Further information and an application for credentials, from: Local Government in Crisis, National Labour and Trade Union Conference Organising Committee, Room 103, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton Hill, London SW2. Tel: 01-274-7722 ext 2066

## 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 Allau MP, Labour Action for Peace, Bob Walder NW CND Sec., EP Thompson.

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

2.00pm AUEW offices, Station Road, Blackpool.

## Kilburn Times strike over job loss

JOURNALISTS on the Kilburn Times in NW London are in their third week of strike action against redundancies.

Five journalists, including three NUJ members, were handed their cards in mid-August.

The redundancies would have meant that only low-paid 'juniors' were left on the newspaper, and that a majority of the remaining editorial staff would have been non-union.

The NUJ has given official backing to the strike, and there has been good support from Brent Trades Council and local unions. But print union solidarity has yet to materialise, and scab issues of the weekly paper are being produced.

To put a stop to this, join the picket on Wednesday evenings from 5pm onwards, at 313 Kilburn Lane, London W9. (Queens Park tube). Donations c/o John Clerkin, 26 Dickenson Rd, London N8.

Journalists on local papers across the metropolis have voted to take all-out strike action over a claim for London weighting, but the NUJ leadership has delayed action while talks drag on.

## Courts hammer Adwest pickets

POLICE action against the pickets at Adwest in Reading, where workers are on strike against victimisation and sackings, is now being matched by massive fines.

Trials have been going on over the past month, and are expected to go on for another month. On Friday two pickets were given huge fines following their arrests at the 14 July mass picket.

Danny Makanju has to pay over £300 in fines and costs after being convicted of throwing flour at the police. NGA print union official David Geary has to pay £100 after being found guilty of obstructing the police on the flimsiest evidence, which even the police said was unsure.

The next mass picket is outside the Adwest plant on Monday 22 September. On the following Wednesday Danny Broderick, the plant convenor, will be up for trial. A picket will take place outside Reading magistrates court.

# CHILE — How the re

ON THE morning of 11 September 1973, almost exactly three years after the Popular Unity (UP) coalition had come to power, the Moneda palace in Santiago, the residence of social democratic president Salvador Allende, came under attack from tanks and aircraft. The left's nightmare — a military coup — was coming true.

Allende and his bodyguard came out of the palace with machine guns, scanning the sky for the attacking planes. Within hours Allende was dead. The 'peaceful road' to socialism in Chile had come to an end.

On the seventh anniversary of the coup, PHIL HEARSE looks at the reasons for the failure of Chilean reformism and its lessons for us.

IN THE days that followed the coup, the right wing and the army took revenge against the left. In three days 30,000 socialists, communists and trade unionists were killed by the military forces. Thousands of workers who had been told by the Communist and Socialist parties to assemble in their factories were cut down unarmed when the army attacked.

A reign of terror followed which has not been ended to this day. The shadow of the torturer hung over Chile as the experiment with a 'peaceful road to socialism' was dismantled. To understand why, we have to look at what the Popular Unity coalition was trying to do, and how it went wrong.

In September 1970, Popular Unity's candidate, Allende, won the presidential elections. The right wing made the mistake of standing two candidates; Allende received the highest number of votes (36 per cent) but not an overall majority.

Right from the start Allende tried to make concessions to the right wing; his cabinet contained as many members of the declining and right-wing Radical Party as of the much bigger Communist Party. The strategy of the Popular Unity government was gradually to carry out reforms in the interests of the working class, but not to go too quickly, for fear of alienating the middle class.

Instead of the nationalisation of all the basic means of production only partial nationalisation took place. Instead of mass workers' mobilisations, during the first year of Allende's rule the hundreds of local Popular Unity committees which had been set up during the election campaign were disbanded.

Nonetheless the Popular Unity government did take many steps in the interests of the working class. The number of nationalisations was much greater than the top 25 companies envisaged for Britain by Tony Benn. Wages and salaries were substantially increased.

Free milk was distributed to the poor, and money for public housing was greatly

'Well, we Chileans had a preview in the attempted coup that much of what we did was nowhere, that we were part of the wasted jumble.... The peaceful... Where did it lead us?'

increased. Unemployment fell as the economy grew. Popular support for the government also grew — in the 1971 local elections Popular Unity got a clear majority of the votes.

But the successes of Popular Unity were purchased at a high price. Because the big financial institutions and banks were not taken over, the government had to borrow huge amounts; Inflation began to increase alarmingly.

Ironically, the whole strategy of Popular Unity was to go slowly in order to win over the middle class. But because the gradual approach allowed economic chaos to develop, the middle class went over to the right-wing parties.

## Bankruptcy

The destabilisation of the government by the right wing took many forms. Economically, there was an investment strike by the Chilean bosses. Wealthy farmers took their cattle over the Andes into Argentina, rather than sell them in Chile. The press carried out a slander campaign against the government and the left.

As the economy got in worse trouble, foreign companies refused to invest in Chile. The United States organised an international campaign against Chile — all credit to Chile was ended. The US stepped up its contacts with the Chilean military forces.

In 1972 the political strategy of Popular Unity went into bankruptcy. The determination of imperialism and local reaction to wreck the economy made it impossible to win over the middle class.

The whole process of destabilisation reached a head in the autumn of 1972 when a bosses' strike was organised. Factories closed down; the middle class truck owners went on strike, leaving transport paralysed. The country ground to a halt.

Popular Unity was itself divided. The right wing, led by Allende and the Communist Party, advocated a continued 'go slow' policy — what they called 'consolidation'.

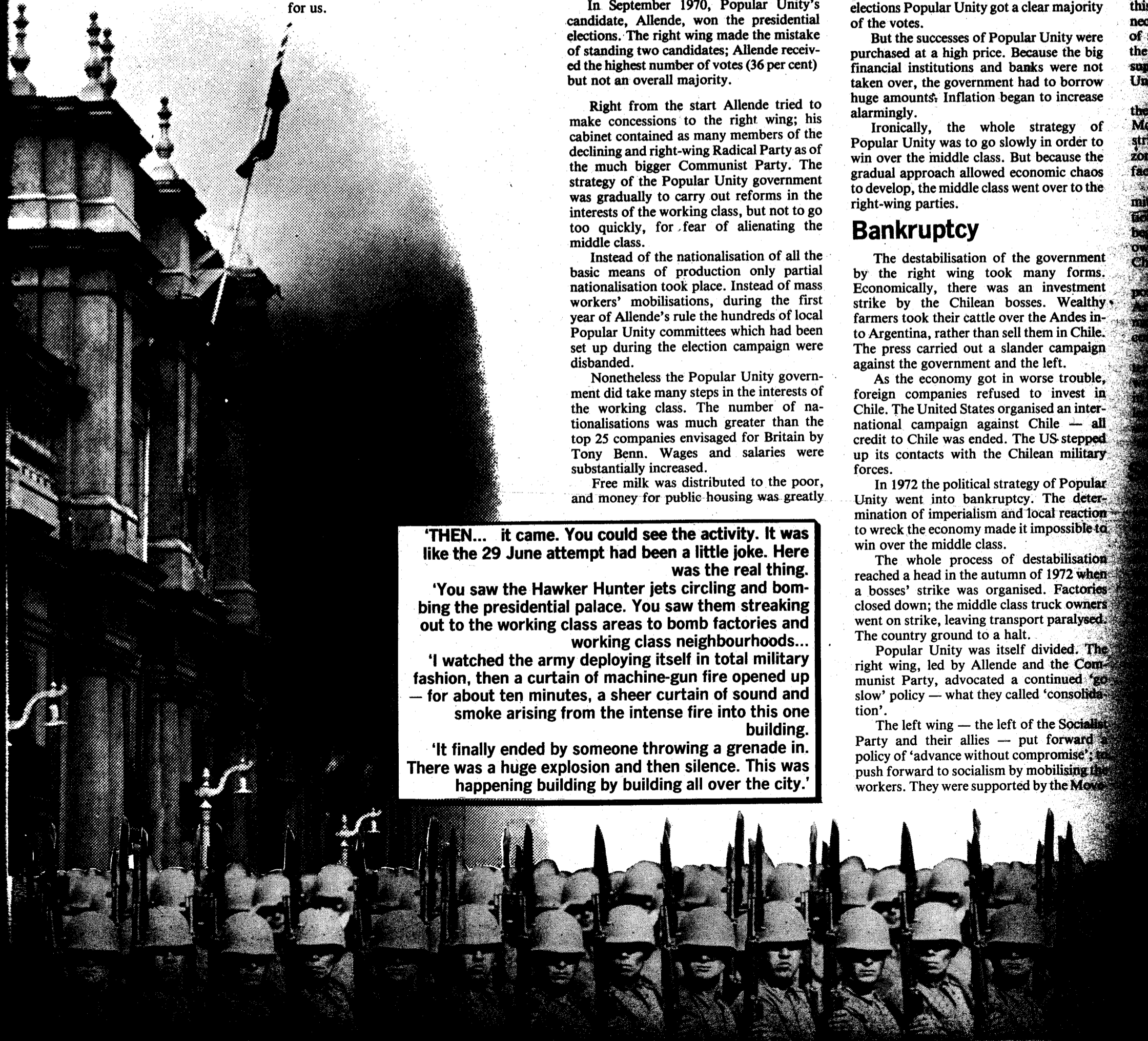
The left wing — the left of the Socialist Party and their allies — put forward a policy of 'advance without compromise'; to push forward to socialism by mobilising the workers. They were supported by the Move

'THEN... it came. You could see the activity. It was like the 29 June attempt had been a little joke. Here was the real thing.

'You saw the Hawker Hunter jets circling and bombing the presidential palace. You saw them streaking out to the working class areas to bomb factories and working class neighbourhoods...

'I watched the army deploying itself in total military fashion, then a curtain of machine-gun fire opened up — for about ten minutes, a sheer curtain of sound and smoke arising from the intense fire into this one building.

'It finally ended by someone throwing a grenade in. There was a huge explosion and then silence. This was happening building by building all over the city.'





# Revolution was lost

...to get a sort of  
29 June.... We knew  
vain, that it took us  
pattern of this horrible  
ed, our famous road.

...the Revolutionary Left (MIR) out-  
government.

...workers had something to say about  
tion. Against the hoarding of vital  
...they organised local committees  
and distribution to try to break  
hold of the black market. The  
committees organised by Popular  
...were revitalised.

...ers started to fight for control of  
through a series of land seizures.  
...important of all, when the bosses'  
...urged, workers in the industrial  
...the *cordones industriales* — set up  
...area committees.

...actory and neighbourhood com-  
...stituted embryonic organisa-  
...workers' power; the workers were  
...to take their affairs into their  
...Popular power was emerging in

...Popular Unity government op-  
...self-organisation of the masses.  
...strike developed, the govern-  
...anced the *cordones industriales*  
...as illegal.

...of mobilising the masses, in-  
...support the actions of the  
...selves, Popular Unity called  
...to break the strike. Trade union  
...ed the factories telling the  
...ly on 'legality'; to leave it to  
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...the period of Popular  
...ent the armed forces of the  
...ained intact. Allende con-  
...his faith in the 'constitu-  
...of the army. No attempt  
...undermine the armed forces;  
...made to win rank-and-file  
...side of the government.  
...military retained their links  
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...lar Unity. In the name of  
...ss they had captured the  
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...ate, and its apparatus of  
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...ained the final guarantor  
...of the right wing and the  
...y tolerated the Allende  
...while; but when it looked

as if the working class was getting out of control, they moved in for the kill.

At the beginning of 1973 pressure from the right wing built up. Middle class students from the Catholic University demonstrated against the government.

The whole of the bourgeoisie clamoured for the army to intervene and overthrow the 'Marxist' government. The military carried out hundreds of raids against left-wing strongholds — factories, shanty towns where the poor and unemployed lived, left-wing political offices. The whole situation was one of crisis.

On 29 June 1973 a section of the army led by Colonel Roberto Souper attempted a coup. Tanks from the Second Armoured Regiment attacked the presidential palace and the Ministry of Defence. But only a small part of the armed forces joined the coup — it was easily put down by forces who remained 'loyal' to Allende. It seemed that Souper had jumped the gun.

The reaction of the workers to the attempted coup was speedy. During the day, as the fighting went on in Santiago's streets, the parties of Popular Unity met and decided to distribute arms to the workers. On the evening of 29 June more than a million workers demonstrated in the streets of Santiago against the reactionaries.

When Allende addressed them they demanded that he 'hit the reactionaries hard' and execute the plotters. The left demanded that the decision to distribute guns to the workers that had been taken earlier should be carried out.

## Repression

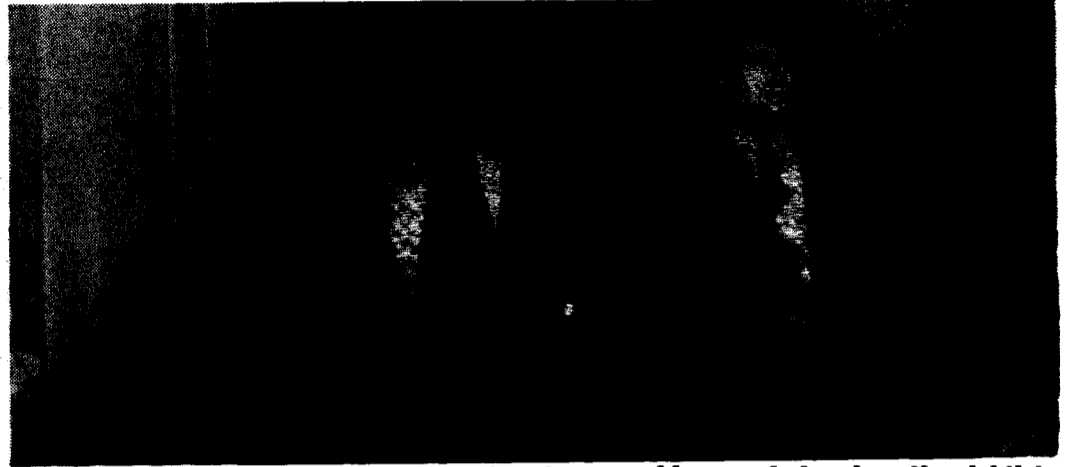
For Allende and his government this was the last chance. The defeated coup put the right wing on the spot. The workers were infuriated. They wanted guns. During the day many workers had occupied their factories and they wanted to keep them. It was the decisive moment.

But Allende and Popular Unity acted in precisely the opposite way. Instead of taking the opportunity to strike hard at the right wing, the government decided that the only way out was to make further concessions.

Allende invited a wide range of right-wing figures to join his cabinet, in particular the Christian Democrats. When they demanded that the military also be brought in, Allende agreed on 10 August.

By these hasty and desperate concessions, Allende only signalled his weakness to the right. The military became convinced that they could overthrow him without too much of a struggle. On 11 September the blow was struck. Chile went into the darkness of military dictatorship and repression.

While there are many lessons for British socialists in the Chile experience, it would



ALLENDE (left) emerges from the Moneda palace, machine gun in hand, as the rightist attack begins

be foolish to pretend that we are likely to face exactly the same position if a left-wing government is elected. For one thing the policies associated with Tony Benn and the mainstream of the so-called 'Alternative economic strategy' are a good deal less radical than those pursued by Allende. But we can draw out certain lessons.

The initial steps of Popular Unity — the reflation of the economy and the increase in wages and living conditions, the nationalisation of some large firms, including the American-owned copper companies — were all in the interests of the working class.

But because of the limitations on the economic power of the government — above all the fact that they didn't completely take over all the major firms and the financial institutions — it was possible for the bosses and the middle class to begin to sabotage the economy.

With much more extensive nationalisations it would have been possible, with a state monopoly of foreign trade, to guard the economy against the sabotage of imperialism.

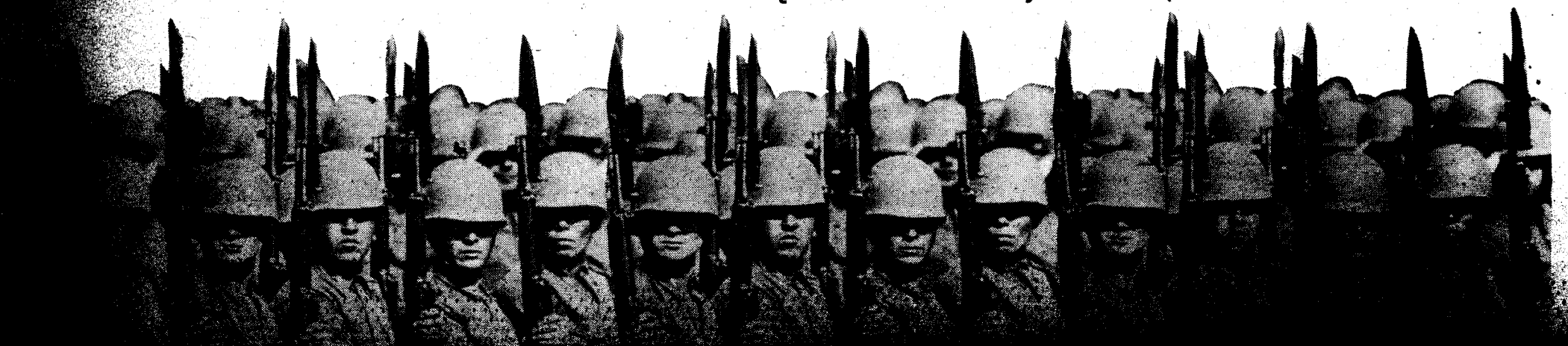
But these economic policies were just part of the much more fundamental problem of Allende and Popular Unity. At each decisive turn, they put their faith not in mass mobilisation and the self-organisation of the working class, but in constitutionalism.

'I remember going on the 4 September march, celebrating the third anniversary of Allende's election. There were more than one million people in the streets of Santiago. A very moving sight.

'I brought my little son with me because I knew in a sense that it was going to be the last march, that something was soon going to happen. We were marching down the street, talking to the people on the march — the workers, and so on. I realised that they also felt the way I did.

'They also knew this was one of the last times that they would be allowed to go on the street. They were conscious of what was coming and they were prepared to defend the government. There was no mincing words; they were expecting a fascist-type situation to develop and they were going to fight it.'

Quotes from 'Chile's Days of Terror' (Pathfinder Press)



# Cardiff

By Ros Oliver, Derek Parks and Stephen Bell

THE International Marxist Group's Cardiff branch recently approached the local radio station, Cardiff Broadcasting (CBC), about the possibility of doing a broadcast.

CBC has a distinct community bias, and after discussion with one of the producers, a schedule of five daily programmes was organised.

In branch discussion we went over the problems of the broadcast. Which political issues should be emphasised? We agreed on one major topic for each broadcast.

Then there was the problem of briefing Steve Bell, an IMG postal worker who was giving the broadcasts. We delegated comrades to prepare factual briefings on each topic. In addition, we consulted the very useful book *Using the Media by Denis MacShane (Pluto)*.

## Convey

We had much discussion about how to present our politics to a wide audience — CBC has an audience of up to 300,000. We knew that the language of the broadcast had to be direct and accessible, yet this did not get over the problem of conveying the difficult ideas we would be presenting.

In the end we felt that we would have to learn as we went along. So we organised meetings after every broadcast to discuss the day's broadcast and

prepare the next one.

On Monday 4 August the first programme went on to the air. This was about our opposition to the Olympic boycott. Our position on the boycott and its connection with the Carter/Thatcher war drive came over well, but we found ourselves too much on the defensive.

## Army

Tuesday's broadcast on Afghanistan was better. Our support for the PDPA government and the Soviet army against the rightist guerrillas came over well, as did the fact that we would stand with the workers and peasants against the Russians when the 'coincidence' of interests broke down.

What didn't come out so clearly was why the Soviet Union's interests temporarily coincided with those of the Afghan masses. But we learnt how to break the interviewer's line of questioning, so our own views would dominate the broadcast. We held on to this all week.

## Topic

Because we had raised Ireland on the first two days, the schedule was changed so that Ireland would be the topic for Wednesday. Here we were most effective at dealing with sectarianism; the extent of British repression and Irish opposition to it came over well.

What was new in this

broadcast was that we were able to get over precisely what should be done about the situation — building a mass movement for British withdrawal.

## Plug

Thursday's broadcast was on 'defence'. While challenging the capitalists' lies about NATO and nuclear weapons, we were able to give a good plug for the forthcoming CND demonstration. Using the example of the work conducted against the draft by the American Socialist Workers Party, we were able to highlight the international nature of the opposition and the role of the Fourth International.

On Friday, we were allowed a few minutes to present a rounded policy statement.

## Radio

Steve Bell, our spokesperson, was able to outline how we see the different sectors of the world revolution, and how the different movements of the oppressed from Nicaragua to Poland laid the basis for socialism. Finally we gave a 'commercial' on the IMG and *Socialist Challenge*.

All in all a good week. Most of our sympathisers shared this view. We are discussing further the possibility of using local radio to put over our politics.

*IMG branches wanting advice on how to get their politics on the radio, and how they present themselves on radio programmes, can contact Cardiff IMG through Socialist Challenge. Cardiff*



OVER 100 people attended London IMG's solidarity meeting with the Polish strikers. Ivana Shustrova, from the Czech revolutionary Socialist journal *Informachny Materialy*, explained the deep impact that the Polish events

would have on all the peoples of Eastern Europe. Oliver MacDonald, editor of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, outlined the background to the present strikes and the nature of the workers' demands. Tessa Van

Gelderden, London IMG Organiser, announced the appeal for funds to send a delegation of *Socialist Challenge* supporters to meet the strike leaders. All donations should be sent to *Socialist Challenge*, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP

## Introducing the new-look Socialist Challenge

By Yvonne Taylor

A NEW-look Socialist Challenge will be coming your way this autumn.

If you're a regular reader you will know that Socialist Challenge has always been a campaigning paper. In Britain it has consistently organised its supporters to build the National Abortion Campaign, the Anti Nazi League, the campaign against Cruise missiles, and a host of other actions.

When the steelworkers went on strike, it was Socialist Challenge which provided a forum for the rank and file to put forward their case and how the struggle could be won.

Just as importantly, the newspaper has rapidly established a reputation for in-depth coverage for the great international events. We made it a priority to secure on-the-spot reports from Nicaragua, Iran, and most recently Poland.

Since its launch three years ago the newspaper has always advocated and fought for the unity of the revolutionary left and has produced a number of special supplements explaining our ideas on how this can be achieved.

In addition we have encouraged free open debate in the paper and have featured regular contributions from guest writers from the Labour Party, as well as from organisations on the revolutionary left.

At every twist and turn of the class struggle we have sought to promote the maximum debate

about how to build the most effective unity in action against the capitalist attacks.

These are all gains which we wish to build. But at the same time we have to take advantage of new opportunities.

The vicious attacks of this Tory government, coupled with the growing international crisis, are creating an audience among working people which is new to politics and wants to fight back.

To reach these people we can take little for granted. We have to use every means of explaining our aims more simply — though not by watering them down.

Here are just some of the issues that you will be seeing in the coming issues:

- ★ The crisis in the Labour Party: the first new-look paper will carry a four-page supplement on the Labour Party conference.
- ★ Campaigning against Cruise missiles: a major supplement explaining the imperialist war drive and the threat of nuclear war.
- ★ The Third World revolution: breaking the silence surrounding the heroic revolutions in Central America, and the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination.
- ★ Liberating the oppressed: explaining the struggles of black people, women, and gays against the system.

Plus many more regular columns: Arguments for Socialism, Our History, Organising in the Unions, Letters,

## Women in Action

'WOMEN in Action' is a paper for action on women's rights in the unions.

A special issue was produced for the TUC last week. Articles report on the effects of the Employment Act on Women; the growing campaign for positive action to allow women into industrial jobs; and abortion and the unions.

The paper's theme is Women against the Tories, and it's only 10p.

Copies from Women in Action, Box 2, Sister-write Books, 190 Upper St., London N1. Bulk rates offered to labour movement bodies.

## WHAT'S LEFT

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

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

HIGHGATE CND is showing the War Game on Saturday 28 Sept 7.30pm at Jackson Lane Community Centre, 271 Archway Rd. London N6 (opp Highgate tube)

APPEAL for witnesses to the arrest of Jeff West at the ANL picket to defend the Tameside Trades Council conference on Ireland, 7 June Tel 061-236-4905

HORNSEY Defence Committee against police attacks on blacks. Fund raising social. 8pm Sat 13 Sept. TU and Community Centre, Brabant Rd, London N22

BENEFIT for PNS Newsreport. Bands: Charge and Zounds at Chat's Place, 42-44 Brooksbys Walk, Hoxton London E9. Sat 13 Sept, 7pm to 11pm. Adm. £1.50, £1 for unwaged.

SPARTACIST League public meetings. 'Poland — For Proletarian Political Revolution: Down with Clerical Reaction! London: Fri 12 Sept, 7.30pm. Central Library, Holloway Rd. N7. Birmingham: Thurs 11 Sept, 7.30pm. The Foyer, Dr Johnson House, Ground Floor Bull St, B4. Sheffield: Wed 10 Sept, 7.30pm, Station Hotel, The Wicker.

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.

PEACE, Jobs Freedom — come and hear Joan Lester MP speak on Labour's alternative to the Tories. Tues, 16 Sept, 8pm, St Mary's Church Hall, Church St, Nottingham. Support speakers from CND and trade unions. Publications stall.

CIVIL Service Women's Rights Group. Open meeting 'Women in the Eighties'. At Central Hall, Westminster, Room A, 17 Sept, 7pm. Speakers include Oonagh McDonald and NAC representative.

SOUTH London Irish Forum. Speakers include Desmond Greaves, NCCL. Workshops on Ireland and Trade Unions, Women against Imperialism. Sat 20 Sept, South bank Poly, Students Union, Roxy St. SE1. 10.30am to 5pm. Adm free.

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

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, Nocton, 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

SOCIALIST ORGANISER, the fighting left-wing paper produced by rank and file Labour Party and trade Union members, has been relaunched as a 12-page fortnightly.

Our contributors include: Vladimir Derer, Graham Norwood, Ken Livingstone, Patrick Kodikara, John Blow, am, Ernie Roberts, Rachel Lever and Frances Morrel.

We will now also have a wider coverage of our work in the Mobilising Committee for Labour Democracy, Women's Fightback, against the cuts, and in the factories.

For a sample copy send a stamped-addressed envelope to SOCIALIST ORGANISER, 5 Stamford Hill, London N16.

## OUR FUND DRIVE

AS SOON as the Polish workers' revolt began, Socialist Challenge organised to despatch reporters for on-the-spot coverage. We know that the national bourgeois press cannot be relied upon to tell the truth about these heroic struggles. Nor can the *Morning Star*.

That responsibility falls on our shoulders. Socialist Challenge and

our readers will reap the benefits of this coverage every week in our pages.

And public meetings are being organised around the country when our reporters return.

All of this costs money — for fares, meetings and publicity. The IMG-/Revolution Youth public meeting in London last week raised £55 towards these expenses.

We appeal to all our readers to help our fund drive and to cover the costs of having our own reporters in Poland.

Our thanks this week

to:  
J Webber £1  
T Mohun £8.94  
S Shannon £5  
Poland Collection £55.07  
TOTAL £69.01  
GRAND TOTAL £391.77

## IMG BRANCH ORGANISERS MEETING.

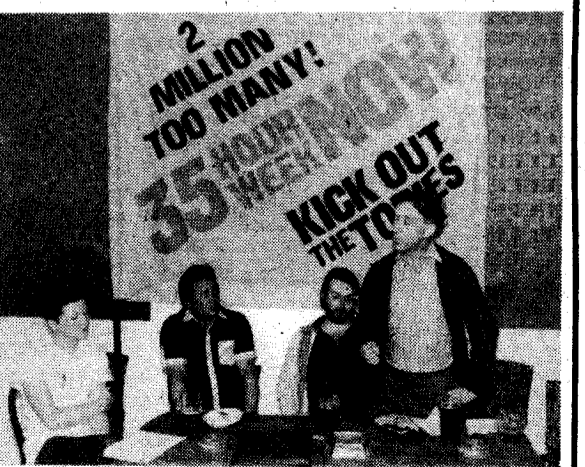
Saturday 20 September 10.30-5.30. Agenda: Turn to industry and Socialist Challenge. Venue from National Office on 01-359 8371. Documentation distributed with SC. IRISH Fraction — 21 Sept, London. Ring National Office on 01-359 8371 for further details and venue. NALGO FRACTION — Sat 13 Sept. National Centre, noon-5pm. WOMEN'S Commission — 20 Sept at Centre.

## Just out!

THE latest edition of *Socialist Republic*, newspaper of the Irish revolutionary organisation Peoples Democracy, is just out.

Featured is a debate on 'Armed Struggle and Socialism' between leading members of PD and Provisional Sinn Fein.

Also included are articles on women's rights, the H-blocks, and the Fianna Fail arms crisis. Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1. Or order from: PO Box 50, London N1. Price 12p plus 10p for p&p.



PICTURED above are the platform speakers during last week's lobby of the TUC Conference. Right to left: Ray Davis, from the Llanwern Steelworks; Stewert MacLennan, TUC delegate from the CP&A;

Mickey Boulter, deputy convenor at British Oxygen, Hackney; and Sarah Hill, representing the Brighton Youth Unemployment Campaign.

## Revolution

THE September issue of the youth paper *Revolution Youth* is now out. This is the 12th issue produced by *Revolution Youth*. The main features are youth on the dole; reports on Ireland and school students; and Nicaragua — one year of the revolution.

Copies are 10p, with a reduction for bulk orders. Orders to: *Revolution Youth*, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Also from *Revolution Youth* is a new pamphlet, *Nicaragua: How the Literacy Campaign is Organised*. It's an eye-witness report from Nicaragua, reprinted in English, which explains how the campaign is run and its political importance to the revolution.

Proceeds are going to the Literacy Campaign and to *Revolution Youth*. 20p each, or 15p for orders of 10 or more. Available from the above address.

AROUND THE WORLD



Israel

HOW CLOSE the Middle East — and possibly the rest of the world — came to hearing the four minute warning siren in 1973 has been revealed in a new book just published in the United States.

The book describes how the Israeli defence minister Moshe Dayan and prime minister Golda Meir authorised nuclear warheads to be placed on 13 rockets during the Arab/Israeli war in October of that year.

Israel was initially in danger of losing the war, and so the nuclear rockets were placed on their launching pads. This exercise was spotted by a US reconnaissance military aircraft. In no time at all, US president Nixon was on the hot line to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev telling him what was afoot.

Brezhnev's response was to dispatch several nuclear warheads of his own to Egypt to allow the Arabs to retaliate in the event of Israel launching a nuclear strike.

The disaster was prevented by Israel's success in stopping the Syrian army's offensive on the Golan Heights. The nuclear weapons were judged unnecessary.

EEC

UNEMPLOYMENT in the Common Market reached 6.7 million at the end of July, the highest figure since the EEC was set up 22 years ago.

The figure for those out of work rose by 29.5 per cent on a year-to-year basis in Britain, 18.3 per cent in Denmark, 17.6 per cent in the Netherlands, and 15.6 per cent in the South of Ireland.

El Salvador

THE ruling junta in El Salvador took another massive lurch to the right last week. After an internal faction fight, the supporters of what is described as the 'moderate' wing in the junta were ousted from power by the most right-wing elements. The targets of the shake-up were army officers who tended to support the civilian side in the civilian-military junta.

Japan

DON'T go swimming in the Pacific Ocean. This must be a strong recommendation following last week's news that the Japanese Science and Technology Agency is to dump barrels of nuclear waste in the Pacific.

The plan is to solidify the waste in concrete, put it in drums, and then dump these in 18,000 ft of water some miles south-east of Tokyo.

The United States government has previously carried out such exercises, despite a government report in 1961 which said that this method of disposal was dangerous and could cause radioactive leakage. The report cited testing in 1961 by the Los Angeles-based Pneumo-Dynamics Corporation. In those tests 54 of 150 barrels dropped into the Pacific were split or crushed by water pressure.

Holland

THE Dutch Navy has announced that women sailors will be allowed to serve at sea for the first time. In a one-year experiment beginning next February, 21 women will join a supply vessel as part of a pledge to give them the same access as men to all jobs in the armed forces.

Costa Rica

THE central American state of Costa Rica is usually cited as an example of how liberal democracy can work in a region not known for its political stability. So much so that its army was abolished in 1948 and replaced by an unarmed civil guard.

But now Costa Rican workers are getting restless. For two months the country's main export, bananas, has been paralysed by a strike of 5,000 workers on the plantation of the US-based multinational, United Brand.

The banana workers are demanding a rise of 35 per cent in compensation for the steep rise in the cost of living in the past 12 months. In an attempt to break the strike the government sent in the civil guard and one striker was killed.

Workers in other plantations then threatened to join the strike, forcing the government to negotiate directly with the workers. A compromise settlement was agreed but then rejected by the company, which refused to pay the agreed rise of 12 per cent and abide by a guarantee not to victimise the strikers. The strike goes on.

Aborigines versus the land-grabbers

By Lesley Wenck

IT reads like something from the American Wild West — the sacred burial sites of the native population, seized for mineral exploitation by a powerful company backed to the hilt by the government.

But it is not the United States in the 19th century, it is Australia today.

The natives involved are the Aboriginal people who have struggled to preserve their land since the first white settlements in Australia 200 years ago.

Last week Aborigines took their cause to the United Nations where Jim Hagen, chairperson of the Australian government's own advisory body — the National Aboriginal Conference — told a UN sub-commission on human rights:

'In a climate of despair the Aboriginal people now turn to you to assist in their struggle for equality and freedom.'

The centre of the most recent conflict is Noonkanbah, over 1,000 miles north of Perth, Western Australia. The Aborigines there, the Yungngora people, are being confronted by a United States corporation, Amax Petroleum, and its ruthless search for oil and diamonds.

The Yungngora people only gained pastoral rights to their land in 1976, and they have been running their affairs independently of outside interference.

But recently the Noonkanbah burial ground was invaded by the Amax oil giant, and already sacred sites have been desecrated under the protection of the Australian

police.

Amax has the full backing of both the right-wing West Australian government and the national government headed by prime minister Malcolm Fraser. In mid-August the regional government provided para-military protection to scab labour transporting an oil drilling rig to Noonkanbah.

Trade unions in Western Australia have vigorously backed the Aboriginal's campaign by placing bans on the movement of equipment to the drill. Union members have also set up barricades in an attempt to stop scab labour, and they have boycotted machinery.

The exploitation the Aborigines are now suffering is a familiar story.

In past centuries the

native Australians were massacred to allow the expansion of primary industries — sheep, cattle and wheat.

Now many Aborigines face a living death on white-controlled missions and cattle stations. Children in the arid Australian interior are among the most undernourished in the world. Medical, educational, and housing facilities are grossly inadequate.

The Noonkanbah struggle is part of a recent upsurge in Aboriginal demands to control their own lives, the key to which is land rights.

A campaign of international support is presently under way with a number of African nations threatening to boycott the 1982 Commonwealth Games, due to be held in Brisbane, as a show of their support.



Digging for victory

By Geoffrey Sheridan

WHEN did you last see a film that was financed by a group of British trade unions?

The answer is that you never have, yet 38 Australian unions put up half the cash for *Dirt Cheap*, a superb 90-minute film that is likely to play a major part in building resistance to uranium mining in Australia and supporting the Aborigines' struggle for their land rights.

Bonanza

Two years ago, when the filming of *Dirt Cheap* began, a fierce debate raged in Australia over the implications of mining uranium in Northern Territory.

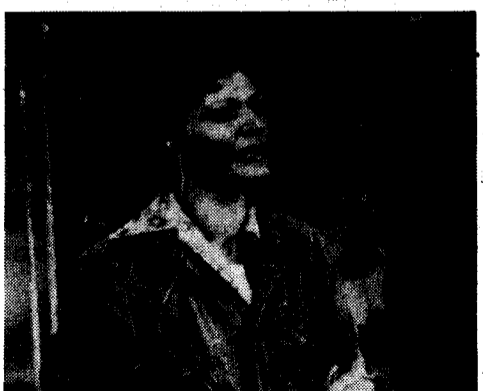
It meant uprooting the Oenpelli people, who had lived in the area for some 40,000 years. A government inquiry concluded: 'Aboriginal opposition should not be allowed to prevail.'

With Australia facing its severest unemployment crisis since the '30s, the promise of a profits bonanza from what was then the largest uranium deposit in the world attracted both overseas and domestic capital, leading to a further decline in manufacturing industry — and jobs.

And then there was the issue of the regimes which were due to be the recipients of the crucial ingredient for nuclear power and bombs.

Deadly

Thousands marched in opposition to the mining project. The Australian Labour Party declared that it would shut down the mines if it were elected. The Australian Coun-



THREE of the people whose lives are featured in 'Dirt Cheap'. Dolly Jarmaru (top left) is one of the traditional landowners whose life the mining companies are uprooting. Top right, a miner. Helen (above) is a shop steward at Mistral Fans in Melbourne.

cil of Trade Unions adopted a policy which prohibits trades unionists from servicing the mining and from transporting the deadly mineral.

But the project got underway. *Dirt Cheap* brings to life the issues which for much of the Australian working class — living in cities thousands of miles from the mining areas — must seem abstract.

Covering the Aborigines and their attitude to the land; the meeting where the govern-

ment minister persuaded the Aboriginal representatives to 'sign away' their rights; the miners, with their racist and chauvinist attitudes; and trades unionists in the south of Australia, including a militant woman shop steward, the film admirably exposes Australian capitalism at work while in no way understating the complexity of the issues involved.

It presents life-styles, as well as arguments. Given the obscurity of

much that passes for left-wing 'avant-garde' film-making in Britain, *Dirt Cheap* is a model of what can be achieved by film-makers who are determined to make their work accessible to working class people.

It was premiered in Sydney in July, and is now being widely seen by Australian trade unionists and Aborigines. Hopefully *The Other Cinema* will distribute it in Britain. The film was produced, written and edited by Marg Clancy, Neil Hunter, and David Hay.

# El Salvador

## Carter's Secret War in El Salvador

By Nancy Cole

EL SALVADOR is on the brink of insurrection and civil war. Its neighbour, Guatemala, is also in the grip of a popular revolt.

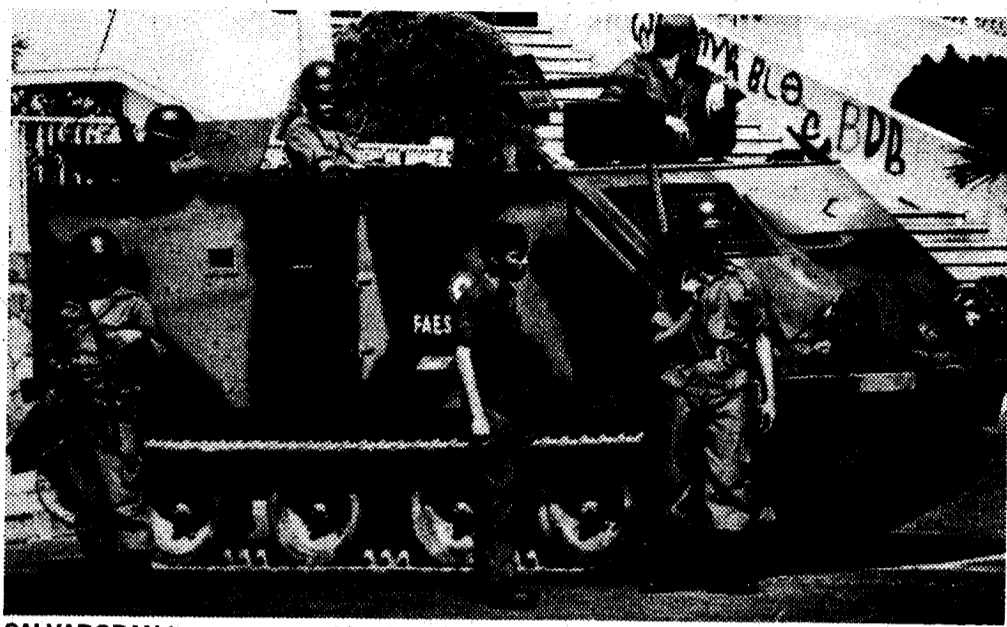
Washington's traditional hold on the region was cracked open a year ago by the workers, peasants, and students of Nicaragua. Led by the Sandinista National Liberation (FSLN), they toppled the US-backed Somoza dictatorship.

The shock waves from their victory are now being felt throughout Latin America...and elsewhere. Reporting on events in El Salvador, the *New York Times* wrote in July: 'As recognition of Central America's strategic importance has

spread through Washington, pressure has mounted in Congress, the National Security Council and the Pentagon for a hard-line response to the leftist challenge.'

Today Carter is effectively fighting a secret war in El Salvador. Four thousand Salvadorans were killed in the first six months of 1980, and every day more are being gunned down by the official armed forces and right-wing paramilitary gangs of the ruling junta.

*This is Washington's war.* The slaughter could not go on without military, economic and political support from the Carter administration for the Salvadoran military regime. Below we look at the form and nature of this backing.



SALVADORAN troops — armed by the USA

## US Aid — Backbone of the Junta

ON 24 March, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero was gunned down by rightists after counselling Salvadoran troops to 'heed the law of God' and halt the killing.

Several weeks before his death, Romero wrote to President Carter pleading with him not to give more military aid to the junta. His letter was prompted by news that the US Congress was considering a \$5.7m emergency military aid package for the Salvadoran generals.

'The contribution of your government, instead of favouring greater justice and peace in El Salvador, will undoubtedly sharpen the repression', charged Romero.

The package was duly approved by Congress on 1 April.

As noted by the American Friends Service Committee, the list of equipment included 7,500 CS tear-gas grenades, 250 'Manpack' field combat radios, thousands of batteries, and an unspecified number of tear-gas grenades launchers.

Another item was fifty portable night-vision devices for observation and night-time weapons targeting. These were perfected for use in Vietnam.

For fiscal year 1981, the Carter administration has asked Congress to approve even more openly combat-oriented aid. This includes helicopters, jeeps, patrol boats, aircraft engines, and parachutes.

All this is totally separate from the 'private' arms sales to El Salvador, which require approval by the US government. According to a congressional

source, this year the State Department's Office of Munitions Control expects to issue licences for up to \$250,000 worth of arms from US corporations for export to El Salvador.

Even more of the Salvadoran military's armaments are provided by Israel, Washington's usual weapons channel to discredited rightist regimes. In recent years Israel supplied more than 80 per cent of the weapons purchased by El Salvador.

These include Ouragan

fighter-bombers, Arava transport planes, and large quantities of Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault rifles.

Apart from this aid, there are already US troops in El Salvador. Fabio Castillo, former rector of the University of El Salvador and now a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), recently told the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*:

'American troops have also begun to be directly involved in the fighting. In fact, 36 American military advisors are

stationed at three anti-guerrilla bases in El Salvador.'

Writing from San Salvador in June, *Intercontinental Press/Imprecor* correspondent J. Milan reported:

'The presence of North American advisors and pilots is very evident. They are working with the army, but even more with the police.'

'The presence of two uniformed Yankee soldiers stood out at a press conference to explain the detention of ex-Minister of Education Samayoa. Numerous denunciations of 'Green Berets' have been made in recent days by peasants from the militarily occupied zones.'

For us, that would be like aggression against our own person, since we are an integral part of Central America. If that should occur, it would produce an explosion in the Central American political struggle.'

### 'REFORM' IS COVER FOR TERROR

THE WHITE HOUSE claims that the regime in El Salvador is made up of well-intentioned reformers, caught between extremists of the right and left.

But the junta's announcement of 'reforms' coincided with an official declaration of a state of siege, removing any formal rights Salvadorans had before.

The much-heralded land redistribution has, in fact, been used as cover for a terror campaign against suspect peasants. Betty Richardson Nute and William Nute Jr reported in the 11 June *Los Angeles Times* on a recent fact-finding visit to El Salvador.

On 3 March, they wrote, the National Guard and the rightist terror group, Orden, 'invaded a community Bible-study group in Canton Carmen Montes, Chalatenango department, and massacred 12 people. In Canton Ojo de Agua, two men were decapitated and their hands and feet cut off, and two girls' arms were cut off and they were left to bleed to death.'

Their crime? Membership in a Christian peasant league.

The Nutes heard eyewitness reports of such murders in six departments: Chalatenango, Cuscatlan, Cabanas, Santa Ana, La Libertad, and La Paz.

'...at the Hacienda de Tihuilacoyo in La Paz, those who applied for admission to the promised cooperative were systematically slain along with their children. Often the new 'cooperative' is run by the same Orden member who was manager of the estate.'

### WHY SALVADORANS ARE IN REVOLT

EL SALVADOR is the smallest country in Central America, with 8,260 square miles. Its population of 4.7 million, however, is surpassed only by Guatemala.

There has been considerable industrialisation since 1962, but most Salvadorans don't benefit from the wealth they produce. Average income is £190 per person per year.

Hunger is a big problem in El Salvador. About half of all children die of malnutrition or related ailments before their first birthday.

There are fewer than three doctors for every 10,000 inhabitants. Illiteracy is 59 per cent.

Since 1932 the army has ruled El Salvador on behalf of a tiny elite known as the 'fourteen families', which controls over 60 per cent of the cultivable land.

Most industry is foreign-owned. US corporations predominate. These US capitalists rake in huge profits off the sweat and blood of the Salvadoran workers.

US corporations with investments in El Salvador include Exxon, International Basic coffee company, Westinghouse Electric, Alcoa, Texaco, US Steel and more.

They back the junta because it defends their interests. That is why the demand 'Yankee go home' is central to the fight of the Salvadoran people for their freedom.



ARMED guerrillas (left) help to protect massive street demonstration (right)

# Confessions of an American Priest

By Geoff Bell

MOST of the time Paul Abels is a Methodist minister in Greenwich Village, New York. But last week he did something different: he became a campaigner for Irish political prisoners in the H Blocks of Long Kesh and the women's prison in Armagh.

It was not an instant conversion. His interest in the issue has been growing since his church staged a cycle of plays on Ireland by John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy at Easter.

But five days in Ireland last week has turned that interest into something approaching an obsession. 'Something has to be done about this inhumanity', he told me last week.

## Shock

What so persuaded Paul Abels was the shock of seeing conditions in the North of Ireland, talking to prisoners' relatives, and standing outside Long Kesh and Armagh with the guns of the British Army trained on him. He summed up his experience this way:

'There was an atmosphere of depression about the whole place. Economic depression, as well as psychological depression.'

'But in the midst of that never have I experienced the strength of character and will I experienced in the prisoners' families. They have a sense of commitment which needs to be held up to the world for inspiration.'

Paul was part of a six-person delegation of US clergy who had flown to Ireland with the intention of visiting Long Kesh and Armagh. The best known was Daniel Berrigan, a Catholic priest who played a leading part in the movement against the war in Vietnam.

The visit was given wide coverage in the Irish media. There were front page headlines, television coverage, and radio interviews.

## Silent

But the British press remained silent. As Paul says, 'the whole H Block issue is a subject of great pain to the establishment'.

So it was not surprising when the delegation's request to go inside Long Kesh and Armagh was refused. Daniel Berrigan commented:

'Clergy are supposed to have access to prisons, so clearly



these prisoners are a special case. We wonder if it is because they want the truth hidden of the inhuman treatment these prisoners are suffering.'

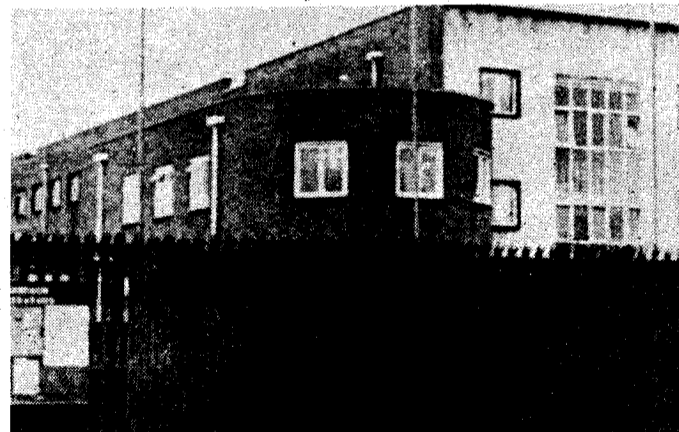
The nearest Berrigan, Abels and the rest came to Long Kesh was the car park outside the main gates. 'We called out the names of each man on the blanket and after each name we chanted, 'You are not alone.'

This 'witness', as Paul called it, was repeated outside Armagh prison, where 'the guns were aimed at us most of the time. It was a most persuasive

experience.'

It was not the first time, or the last time the delegation came face to face with the British Army. When they arrived in Belfast at the headquarters of the National Smash H Block Committee, Paul was 'surrounded by British troops. They were there with saracens, guns and a camera.'

Then the next day when the delegation were having discussions with three Irish priests in a hotel room, a British soldier opened the door and walked in



Castlereagh Barracks — torture starts here

unannounced. 'West Belfast', said Paul, 'was a place under siege'.

Like other visitors to the beleaguered Catholic ghettos, what impressed Paul most was the determination of the people — and especially of the prisoners' relatives. He also notes how, despite the compounding of suffering they have experienced, they retain a sense of fun.

'There always seems a bit of humour in it all. Almost every house in the area we visited seemed to have a dog. When the military come in the dogs bark; first one, then another, then another. There becomes a chain of barking dogs.'

'It only happens when the military come in: the dogs seem to know. The families call it their early warning system.'

Paul and his colleagues will now return to the United States to try to spread the truth about the H Blocks.

Five days in Ireland convinced him that 'the inhumanity of the situation exceeds anything else I have witnessed anywhere in the world. It is my deep hope that Britain will get out of Northern Ireland.'

## CHARTER 80 to hold founding rally.

THE experiences of Paul Abels once again underline the importance of campaigning for the rights of Irish political prisoners.

In Britain the recently formed Charter 80 is doing just that. The Charter 80 petition reproduces the demands of the prisoners themselves and calls for:

- ★ The right of prisoners to wear their own clothes.
- ★ The right to refrain from prison work.
- ★ The right to free association amongst other political prisoners
- ★ The right to organise their own educational and recreational facilities and to receive one visit, one letter, and one parcel a week.
- ★ The right to full remission of sentences.

Signatories of the Charter 80 petition include seven MPs — most recently Joan Maynard, Ron Brown (Leith) and Les Blackfield.

Others who have signed include Lawrence Daly, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers; Alan Sapper, general secretary of the television technicians' union, ACTT; and Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the Communist Party.

The founding rally of Charter 80 takes place on Saturday 27 September at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London. It begins at 1pm and speakers include Irish trade union leader Kevin McConnell, Bishop Winter of SWAPO, and Chris Myant, deputy editor of the *Morning Star*.



'West Belfast was a place under siege' — Paul Abels

# Irish Abortion Campaign to be launched

From the National Abortion Campaign

THERE must be many in this country who are tired of fighting tooth and nail to defend the inadequate 1967 Abortion Act from the likes of Tory MP John Corrie.

But consider the situation in Ireland and it will become clear why, at the May conference of the National Abortion Campaign, it was decided that the building of solidarity with women in Ireland, as well as those in Spain, should be the top international campaign of NAC.

Abortion is illegal in Ireland, except in the case of ectopic pregnancy or cancer of the cervix — where the foetus could not survive anyway. The penalty for anyone connected with an abortion can be life imprisonment, the same as for murder.

Since the 1967 Act was passed, Irish women who can afford it have been coming to Britain for abortions. British clinics reckon that for every Irish woman who gives them an Irish address, two give an English one.

This means that last year approximately 9,000 Irish women came to Britain for abortions — an average 180 a week. For those who can't afford it the 'choice' is to have the child or risk the backstreets.

Until now Irish feminists have concentrated their activities on the issue of contraception, which is also effectively illegal in the South. A few clinics exist which, lacking government funding, struggle to carry on by donations.

The Health (Family Planning) Act, passed last year, will restrict availability even more when regulations to enforce it are enacted. Doctors' prescriptions will be needed to obtain contraceptives, and even then doctors may refuse to prescribe to single people.

Despite this restrictive legislation on contraception, Irish feminists are now beginning to raise the taboo subject of abortion as well.

On 8 August, 70 women met in Dublin to hear speakers from the US 'Catholics for Free Choice' and NAC and to

discuss opposing and changing Ireland's repressive abortion laws. The arduous task ahead for the newly-formed Woman's Right to Choose Group is obvious.

The aims of WRCC are to decriminalise abortion; for removal of all economic and social discrimination against pregnancy; for freely available information on all methods of fertility control; full access to abortion facilities for all women in Ireland; open referrals from health centres and hospitals.

Among other activities the WRCC is hosting the co-ordination meeting of the International Abortion, Contraception and Sterilisation Campaign in Dublin on 18/19 October, from which the Woman's Right to Choose Campaign will be formally launched.

Those organising WRCC are 'looking forward to seeing a big gang' of their British counterparts in Dublin. The urgent need for solidarity speaks for itself. Anyone interested in going to Dublin for that weekend can contact the National Abortion Campaign at 01 278 0153.



NAC meeting of the Women's Right to Choose group in Dublin last month



# LETTERS

## Socialist unity — time for another go?

### Possibilities of Sculpture

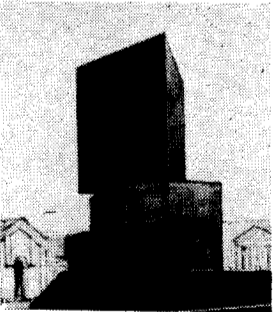
IN the list of demands which you published in your extensive coverage of the Polish workers' struggle, you omitted to mention the 'monument' demand.

According to the Guardian (28 August), 'a professional sculptor has drawn up plans for a monument to commemorate the workers killed in 1970. This is one of the strikers' demands, already accepted in principle by the authorities, but there may well still be arguments over the form the monument will take.'

According to the strikers' design, which is pasted up all over the shipyard, it will consist of four huge crosses soaring 60 feet into the air. At the top of each cross is an anchor symbolising the dashed hopes for political and economic reform in the past. Beneath is a huge flame representing Poland's eternal optimism.

'Like the paper monument, the strikers' ambitions reach higher every day. But one wonders... and then the Guardian rambles on in its usual way, with an extra touch of lyricism.

As an artist, I find this extremely exciting. I thought that I'd write to you about it as it is a living example of how sculpture can be something other than blocks of rock on loan to the Serpentine from the Guggenheim, but that for sculpture to be able to become this other whatever a context of general strike is necessary. Simple. SUSANNA SHANNON, London NW1



AFTER much deliberation I have decided to quit the Labour Party, which I have belonged to these past two years. No longer does reformism and the parliamentary road hold any future for the working class.

Labour is in complete disarray and is ideologically directionless despite the efforts of small groups of radicals and socialists, notably the Independent Labour Party, the Labour Co-ordinating Committee and the 'Militant' (I was a supporter of the ILP for a while).

My politics have developed towards Trotskyism, leaving me with no faith in Labour as a party of social change. Even the 'Militant' group's own brand of



### Democracy is a practical question

I MUST take issue with the extract you printed (28 August) from the pamphlet *Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.

It elevates to a principle the right of all political parties to participate in workers' councils. Surely,

though, the issue is one of practicality, not principle.

We support the struggle for democratic rights in Poland, which includes the right of workers to create their own political parties, because we understand that workers' democracy in Poland is practically necessary for the defence of that country against imperialism and for the struggle for socialism internationally, not because of any moral desire for 'freedom', which the title of the ex-

'Trotskyist' politics presents no alternative while remaining in the Labour Party.

But upon leaving I find myself presented with numerous groups claiming to represent the revolutionary alternative, ranging from the SWP and WRP through to the IMG, WSL and then a number of diminutive groups, like RCT, SL/B, etc....

Chaos, there's no other word for it! Like many others I cannot bring myself to join any group because of the history of internal intolerance that heralded the mushrooming of small left-wing groups through split after split and so on.

We must learn how to reconcile the differences that exist on the far left so that greater unity may be achieved in action against our real enemy...capitalism!

We need a single party with a tolerant leadership (i.e. allowing full discussion without resorting to expulsions and splits — except perhaps under exceptional circumstances — whatever they will be I don't pretend to know). Then the many isolated militants could be brought together.

Perhaps *Socialist Challenge* could re-open its columns to another concerted effort for socialist unity. Perhaps your Battle of Ideas could be revamped this time for contributions and discussion among the rank and file instead of vast ramblings from the Central Committee!

HOWARD J FULLER, London SE15

tract you printed seems to suggest.

Moreover, for purely practical reasons, workers may well decide to ban certain parties from participating in the democratic process of a workers' state. Would we, for instance, be in favour of allowing fascist parties, who stand on a programme of destroying all forms of workers' power, to participate in principle? No; if they posed a real threat — as they invariably would — we would be in

### Bolshevism is not enough

SO we can all breathe a sigh of relief — the Beyond the Fragments conference was a 'failure', a 'retreat from politics'. But of course what can you expect from 'non-Leninists'?

Unfortunately, these sentiments fail to explain why 1,400 people feel disillusioned enough with the practices of the left to attend such a conference. It seems to me that the debates around *Beyond the Fragments* have demonstrated how closed in fact the International Marxist Group really is to examining both its history and its practice.

This type of attitude is very evident in Valerie Coultas's article in *International*, where she fails to take up in any concrete way the criticisms that have been made of the style and practice of the left.

It seems as if every article written by the IMG on the subject ends up with the assertion that we must smash the state. I agree, but that is not an end in itself. It is merely a means to establishing a socialist society — undoubtedly the determining factor, but it is idealist to assume that the means used to smash the state will not matter once it is smashed, hence the importance of prefigurative forms of struggle.

In my opinion, *Beyond the Fragments* has tentatively begun to elaborate a more effective understanding of an advanced capitalist state than any analysis I have seen from the revolutionary left. It has begun seriously to ask how community workers, doctors, nurses, and so on who work for the state, can struggle against it.

But perhaps the IMG is no longer interested in winning these 'petty-bourgeois' layers to the side of the revolution. It is our own loss if so.

Bolshevism is for me still relevant but it can no longer be sufficient. To believe it can be is to disarm ourselves theoretically and politically in the face of a Tory government which understands full well the complexity of the society we live in.

B. FEATHERSTONE, London SE4



### Dirty tricks in Glasgow

ON 14 August you carried a front page report of the arrest of Mike Duffield and Kirstin Crosbie in Glasgow on 9 August. The two comrades were selling the RCG's newspaper *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* at the Celtic football ground when they were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, charged with soliciting and inviting financial and other support for a proscribed organisation — namely the IRA and detained in custody for a week.

The two comrades appeared in court on 18 August to discover that the PTA charge had been dropped and replaced with one of breach of the peace. The Glasgow police have thus been

forced to beat a retreat. This was no doubt in response to the extremely wide ranging and energetic campaign mounted by the Glasgow 2 Defence Campaign.

However, the Glasgow 2 Defence Campaign will continue to fight until all charges are dropped. The breach of the peace charges are still political charges directed against sellers of *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* which if successfully pressed will give the racist imperialist British police a precedent for stopping the sale of anti-imperialist and communist literature in the streets of Britain.

We are determined to continue the campaign until all charges are dropped, especially in view of the fact that since our comrades have been

released on bail they have faced further harassment. Their house has been burgled in mysterious circumstances and the police, without having to be informed, knew of an item of lost property from their house! Kirstin has since lost her job as a result of the week's detention, and Mike lost the opportunity to attend an arranged job interview.

We will continue this campaign until we win and until all harassment of our sellers ceases. To do so we urgently need funds. Please donate generously. Cheques and POs should be made to Glasgow 2 Defence Campaign, 49 Railton Road, Lodon SE24 OLN. MAXINE WILLIAMS, London SE24

favour of repressing them.

After all, what does the dictatorship of the proletariat mean if not the dictatorship of one class (the working class) over another class (the bourgeoisie) — including, if necessary, the latter's political organisations?

We must also not gloss over the events which took place inside the Soviet Union during and after the civil war immediately after the revolution. Then Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks banned fac-

tions within the party and all opposition parties, as well as effectively removing the accountability of the government to the soviets.

They felt it was practically necessary to guard the young and desperately weak workers' state from slipping into the hands of the bourgeoisie. They saw it as a temporary measure to enable them to 'hang on' to power until the German revolution came to the rescue.

In our genuine desire to be seen to be the best

fighters for democratic rights against a background in which communism is so discredited, we must make sure we draw a clear distinction between the sorts of democratic rights which enable the working class to proceed towards the building of socialism and 'democratic freedoms' which merely allow the ruling classes to exert their dictatorship over the rest of us.

FRED KINGDOM, Reading

### Mass action is better than arson

IN his letter on the second homes fires in Wales, Rod Jones raises important points — arson is a viable tactic, a mass movement will be built through arson and similar tactics, our call for a mass movement is an empty formalistic one.

Firstly, arson as a tactic. No doubt the sales of second homes have gone down since the fires. This will last only as long as the arson continues. Is the British bourgeois state going to sit idly by? No, it will put in more police, arrest more militants, and intimidate particular districts.

Would the arsonists retain the silent support of the Welsh people faced with such intimidation and the inspiring sight of burnt-out houses that they need so badly? As socialists, our aim is not to knock the bottom out of the market, but to take it over and end it by confiscating its goods.

What evidence is there that the arson has increased opposition to

second homes or helped to give it the beginning of mass forms? As the International Marxist Group is restricted to South Wales, our appreciation of how this opposition, mostly in the north and west of Wales, can be organised is limited.

But we believe militants can begin organising a broad movement through such actions as demonstrations, occupations, mass lobbies and sit-ins of county and district councils. These actions can be tied to such demands as a complete ban on planning permission for second homes; their compulsory municipalisation; priority re-housing for Welsh people wishing to remain in the area or move back; opposition to spending and job cuts and for a crash programme of council house building throughout Wales.

The Welsh Socialist Republican Movement took such an initiative with its recent demonstration in

Llangranog, and that's why the IMG took part in it.

United actions, by such means and with such aims, are the approach of revolutionary Marxists, because they allow working people to realise their collective strength, and widen their political horizons and goals. A revolutionary organisation will be built within that mass movement, not instead of it in its own isolation. The arson campaign leads militants away from the source of mass action, the labouring people of rural Wales.

Rod Jones claims we only take up the second homes because of the arson. But we would have also taken it up, if there had been a substantial mass campaign. In fact, a mass campaign would have demanded from us a good deal more energy in our opposition! DEREK DAVIES and STEVE BELL, Cardiff



## Edinburgh International TV Festival Television's own JRs

By Geoffrey Sheridan

THE extraordinary thing about television is how little is generally known about the ideas, the processes, and the individuals who determine what tens of millions of us see on the small screen.

Even the press is more informative about what goes on in newspaper offices than the television moguls reveal about their own industry. From that standpoint the Edinburgh International Television Festival, held at the end of last month, was an eye-opener to a mere viewer.

### Who's who

Among the 400 participants was a cross-section of the names which would figure in a who's who of the industry: managing directors, executives, and programme controllers from a bunch of the ITV companies; BBC chiefs and heads of departments; programme makers of various kinds; together with lecturers in film and television, who were mainly of a left-wing persuasion.

That the former should sit uncomfortably with those whose business is to analyse the output of the industry was apparent at the beginning of the week-long conference.

The theme of the festival was 'Television and the real world'. At the end of it a couple of the TV high-ups said from the platform that they had had just about enough of their Marx-

ist critics. Michael Grade, programme controller of London Weekend Television, suggested that they needed an event where the executives and professionals could discuss 'making good programmes'.

Polarisation surfaced in virtually all the discussions. A session on current affairs, introduced by Roger Bolton, editor of *Panorama*, edged around the notorious idea of 'consensus', by which TV presenters and reporters believe they maintain impartiality and balance — the stock-in-trade language of the TV industry.

Left-wing critics pointed to the anti-working class bias built into much news, current affairs, and documentary output.

A paper on the single play, presented by *Time Out's* television writers John Wyver and Carl Gardner, argued that the creative scope which had been given to dramatists such as Jim Allen, Dennis Potter and Trevor Griffiths was the only way in

which the consensus view could be officially side-stepped, but that commercial and political pressures are putting a stop to it.

That argument fell on deaf ears as far as the TV moguls were concerned. If the managers, the heads of departments, and programme editors were sometimes defensive and self-critical, the prevailing tone was one of com-

placency and a desire to keep their show on the road and the profits rolling in.

Surprisingly, little was said about the technological developments which are likely to transform television. While there was some discussion about the fourth channel, which in the grip of the Independent Broadcasting Authority promises to be more of the same, the explosion of TV channels which is likely to come via satellites and cables was hardly touched on.

There was just one prediction, from a senior IBA official, that in 10 years' time there will be no regulation of television in Britain. Hallelujah to that.

But regulation — presently enshrined in law, statutory duties, and the ideological 'standards' of the TV companies and authorities — is about to take a decided turn for the worse.

The Broadcasting Bill setting up the fourth channel includes provision for a Broadcasting Complaints Commission, to be run by three people appointed by the Home Secretary. The new commission will have sweeping powers over all four channels.

It's not difficult to guess how the Home Secretary's appointees would have dealt with *Death of a Princess*, which Edinburgh's Lord Provost tried to prevent being shown at the festival, or Granada's *Steel Papers* which exposed the shady manoeuvres of the steel bosses and the government at the time of the steel strike.

Barrister Geoffrey Robertson, who described these new legal moves, also raised some pertinent questions about present censorship on TV. Why had the BBC and IBA told Parliament that they wanted the D-notice system to continue? Why had Granada held back on screening its exposé of Britain's spy station in Hong Kong? Why does the BBC still ban *The War Game*, a television film made in 1965 about the effects of a nuclear war?

The answers from those responsible for these decisions were mealy mouthed.

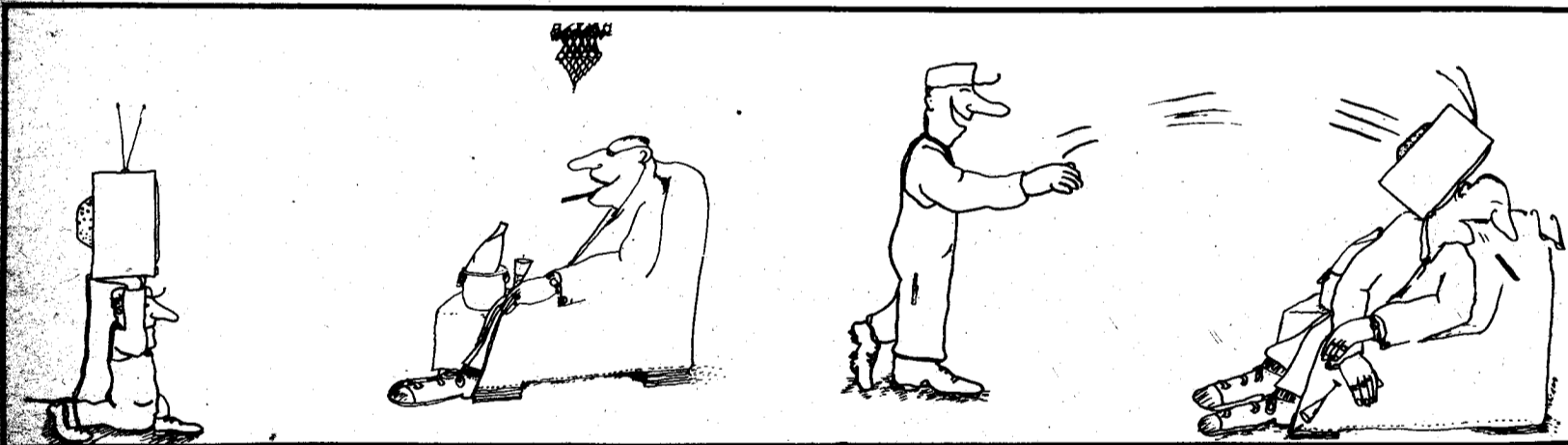
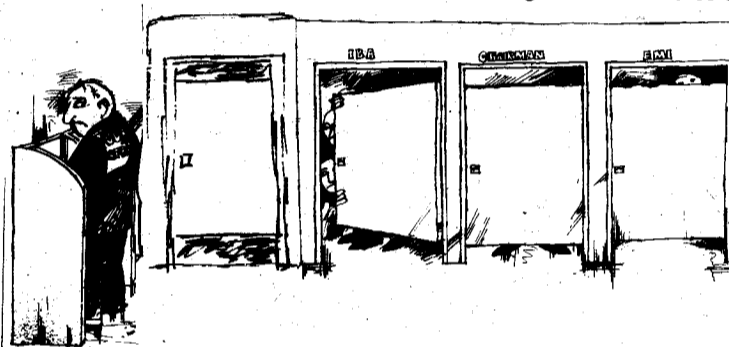
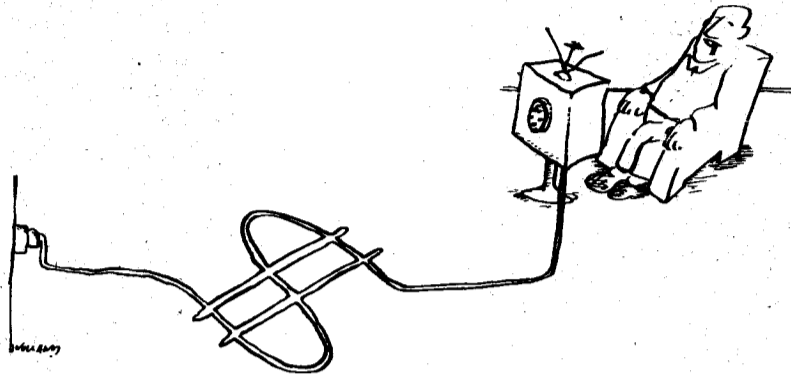
This session and a discussion about women in TV were the liveliest. The latter was chaired by Anna Ford who wanted to know from various programme controllers why they could find so few women to fill editorial positions.

### Women

Mary Holland's paper 'Out of the bedroom and onto the board?' had argued that more women in TV would have a positive effect on the kind of programmes that are made, but that was not taken up in the discussion. Although various executives indicated their willingness to consider positive discrimination in order to secure jobs for women, there was no sign of women organising within the unions to obtain such demands.

The attack on the left academics which came at the end of the festival carried the threat that in future years the moguls would arrange an event which would exclude vociferous critics and seal even these slight cracks in their fortress.

Argument, however powerful, is clearly not enough to change what goes on our TV screens. In a week when the print union leaders agreed in principle to fight for the right to reply to attacks in the press, it should surely be to the organised labour movement that left-wing TV critics should turn to make changes in the running and control of television.



## Socialism and Welsh Nationalism

DEREK DAVIES reviews *Socialism for the Welsh People*, a pamphlet written by Gareth Miles and Robert Griffiths.

IN THE late 1960s, when British politics was staggered by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, hundreds of young people in Wales fought to get Welsh accepted as the day-to-day language of public institutions.

Road signs were daubed, local authorities picketed. The Welsh nationalist movement had revived.

### Movement

*Socialism for the Welsh People*, in inspiration and intention, is firmly based on that nationalist movement of the sixties. It is a pity it does not explicitly say so, particularly at a time when some Welsh nationalists, out of desperation, have turned to ar-

Ambiguity also exists in the pamphlet. A 'Welsh state' is called

for; Plaid Cymru's present strategy is firmly rejected; the possibility of setting up an independent Welsh socialist party is discussed and the Labour-Plaid plans for a toothless Assembly are attacked. But no precise, detailed alternative comes across.

### Electoralism

If Plaid's passive electoralism is not the way, what is? And if you're against a powerless assembly, are you for a Welsh parliament with 'full' powers?

The pamphlet rejects the multi-class 'socialism' through reform peddled by the Labour and Communist parties in Wales. But what strategy can unite the Welsh working class in mass action? What forms of organisation should that mass action take? What attitude should be taken to the mass organisations of the Welsh workers, especially the trade unions?

Historical observations hint at gut-reactions to these pro-

blems, but they are often inaccurate. Reference is made to 'John MacLean's section of the Scottish working class', but no reason is given why it remained only a section.

The decline of regional unions is deplored in the pamphlet, but no explanation is given as to why Scottish and Welsh workers decided to come together on an all-British level. Nor does it deal with the prominent role of the South Wales Miners' Federation in the creation of a single miners' union in Britain.

### Councils

The pamphlet avoids the highspots of the Welsh class struggle that contradict its 'national identity' criteria. The workers councils in the 1926 General Strike, the unemployed movement of the '30s, the solidarity campaign with Republican Spain are consequently undervalued.

The authors are therefore able to avoid explaining why, during the most militant and

class conscious periods of Welsh working class history, the demand for a separate Welsh state was not raised. Nor is the united front of working class organisations in Wales given enough prominence.

### Start

*Socialism for the Welsh People* is not a finished product, but a starting point for a discussion. As such it is to be welcomed.

By exploding the myth that Wales is kept by the British bourgeois state, by pointing out how important the language and land questions are to Wales, and by showing how Welsh nationalism has been given inspiration from the strong tradition of Irish nationalism, the pamphlet attempts to place the national question in Wales in a socialist perspective. *Socialism for the Welsh people* opens up a long-awaited dialogue between the Welsh nationalist left and the British left. It would be a particularly good education for any British socialist to read.

### Other THE BOOKSHOP

**WHY CHILDREN?**, edited by Stephanie Dowick and Sibyl Grundberg. In this book 18 women speak out on making the decision to have — or not to have — children and express a wide range of feelings towards motherhood. Womens Press, £2.75.

**PEOPLE WITHOUT A COUNTRY: THE KURDS AND KURDISTAN**, edited by Gerard Chaliand. A comprehensive book that covers the history of the Kurdish question over the past 60 years. Zed Press, £3.95.

**NEW LEFT REVIEW No. 121.** This issue includes a major article by Edward Thompson on the nuclear arms race as well as articles by Roy Medvedev on the Afghan crisis and Michael Rustin on perspectives for the left. £1.50.

**HARDSHIP HOTEL**, Counter Information Service. This latest CIS report investigates the situation in the hotel and catering industry. 85p.

**SPLITTING UP**, by Catherine Itzin. In this book single parents talk about marriage, divorce and the new lives they have created for themselves after splitting up. Virago, £3.95.

All available from *The Other Bookshop*, 328 Upper St., London N.1. (tel 01-226 0571). Add 15 per cent if ordering by mail.

# Socialist Challenge

Friday

10

October

# ROUT THE TORIES!

By Phil Hearse

THOUSANDS of trade unionists from all over the country will be converging on the Tory Party conference in Brighton on 10 October.

A massive day of protest against unemployment is being jointly organised by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and the Right to Work Campaign. The day of protest will give expression to the huge groundswell of anger which has been building up amongst trade unionists all over the country.

Not content with presiding over the highest level of unemployment since the 1930s, Thatcher, Joseph and the rest have displayed contempt for the unemployed. Thatcher advises them to 'move' to seek jobs elsewhere. This is just a cynical piece of nonsense.

Unemployment is today increasing faster in the manufacturing areas — above all the West Midlands. Even prosperous areas like West London are suffering closures and redundancies. There is nowhere to move to to escape unemployment.

The initiative for the day of protest comes from the Right to Work Campaign. Their march which precedes the demonstration has received enormous support and sponsorship from every section of the labour movement. This response shows that the support is there for action on unemployment — support which the TUC leadership is absolutely unwilling to tap.

Socialist Challenge has always argued that the demands and methods of the Right to Work march are politically inadequate for a sustained fight on unemployment. What the labour movement needs is a series of policies which could begin to solve unemployment.

This is why we have prioritised in our propaganda the campaign for the 35-hour week, the banning of overtime and the demand for work-sharing with no loss of pay. The Right to Work Campaign is not a systematic campaign for such policies in the labour movement, but an annual act of protest.

Nevertheless, the culmination of this year's march on

## Tony Benn signs Charter 80

TONY Benn, the leader of the left wing in the Labour Party, has called on the British government to agree to the demands of Irish political prisoners in the H-Blocks in Long Kesh and the women's prison in Armagh.

Benn has put his name to the Charter 80 petition currently being circulated in the British labour movement and elsewhere, which calls for 'human rights for Irish political prisoners'.

Seven Labour MPs have now signed Charter 80, whose founding rally will take place in London on 27 September.

Tony Benn will also be a speaker at the Labour Party conference fringe meeting on Ireland, to be held under the auspices of the Labour Committee on Ireland.

For more details of Charter 80, see page 13.



Flashback to the Welsh Tory Party conference in the summer. Make sure the voice of the working class is heard on 10 October

10 October will be the most significant action against unemployment for a long time. That's why it deserves support from every socialist and every trade unionist.

All supporters of Socialist Challenge should be using the next month to mobilise in their workplaces and trade union branches. The fact that this action is now supported by both the Right to Work Campaign and the LCDTU should make it easy to get support and delegations from labour movement bodies.

When the Tories go to Brighton in October, their conference will be an orgy of complacent self-congratulation on the job that this vicious reactionary government is doing.

This disgusting week of celebration — of the Employment Act, the bolstering of 'law and order', and 'economic good sense' (read unemployment) — will be reported with adulation by the Tory press.

Let's make sure that for one day the voice of the working class and the unemployed is heard loud and clear; and that not one single delegate or one single newspaper can ignore the growing resistance to Thatcherism.

How we are organising the Right to Work march — interview, page 2

## 'NO TO CLOSURE AND REDUNDANCY' Public meeting at the Labour Party conference

29 September, 7pm Cliffs Hotel, Blackpool  
Speakers include: Emlyn Williams (NUM President, S. Wales), Dennis Skinner (MP), Bill Sirs (ISTC), Llanwern Steel Action Group, Alec Jones (Shadow Secretary of State for Wales)

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