

Socialist Challenge

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DEFEND

POLISH

WORKERS



DEMONSTRATE SUNDAY 20th

DECEMBER 1 PM, SPEAKERS CORNER TO POLISH EMBASSY

Editorial

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THE POLISH WORKERS are in great danger. General Jaruzelski and the Military Committee are out to smash the strength of the independent union movement, Solidarity. The defeat of the Polish workers would be a huge setback for the workers of the whole world. Workers power in Poland and international workers' solidarity are the only effective answers to the regime's counter-revolution.

Jaruzelski's Military Committee for National Salvation, comprising 15 generals and 5 colonels, has launched a well-organised military/political coup to smash the workers. Undoubtedly it was carried out with the fullest co-operation of the Soviet bureaucrats: Warsaw Pact commander Marshall Kulikov was known to be in Warsaw last weekend.

The martial law measures they have introduced overturn at a stroke all the gains made by the workers in the last 16 months: civil rights suspended, six day working reintroduced, a night curfew, the banning of all union activity and gatherings, military courts and the death penalty for those disobeying military instructions, including sectors of the civilian population.

Worse, at least 3000 Solidarity activists have been rounded up, factory occupations have been broken up, and all press links with the outside world cut to cover the repression.

Although the bulk of Solidarity's national and regional leaders are in jail or under house arrest like Walesa, the Polish workers are fighting back. A national co-ordination was being set up in the Gdansk shipyards as we went to press and the strikes were spreading. But with the Military Committee set on a course of smashing the union, any workers' resistance will be met with yet fiercer repression — either from the Polish security forces or from Soviet and Warsaw Pact tanks.

The Kremlin, which still has blood on its hands from the invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, has expressed its strong approval of the crackdown. Other Warsaw Pact countries have followed suit.

The response of the imperialist powers has been equally predictable. 'Strict non-intervention' was how Lord Carrington described the Tories' approach. Similarly mild remarks were made by the Reagan administration. This is hardly surprising. As one London banker explained in last week's *Sunday Times*: 'Speaking only as a banker, it would be a good thing if Russia invaded, because then she would be obliged to honour Poland's debts'.

Gone are the days when the Western media rallied to the cause of the Polish workers. They feel much more at home with the rule of the bureaucrats than with an emerging workers' power. The only real friend of the Polish workers is the international labour movement. It is on its shoulders that the full responsibility for solidarity with Solidarity now falls.

In the next few days and weeks the Polish workers will need the maximum support in their confrontation with the armed might of their bureaucratic rulers. This is a struggle for power. All intermediate solutions such as governments of national unity can only mean in the present context the crushing of the independent activity of the Polish workers.

Socialist Challenge calls for the unconditional release of Lech Walesa and all prisoners in Poland, for an end to military rule and for the restoration of all civil and union rights. Any moves towards military intervention by Warsaw Pact troops must be opposed.

We appeal to all our readers to campaign as vigorously as possible to build a massive solidarity campaign with the Polish workers. In particular the Labour Party and TUC leaders should be forced to lead this campaign. We would propose the following simple resolution for discussion at every labour movement body and workplace to stimulate an enormous campaign of marches, rallies and political education on the Polish crisis:

This branch/meeting expresses its full solidarity with the Polish workers. We call for the ending of military rule and all restrictions on Solidarity's right to organise, and for the release of Lech Walesa and all union and political prisoners. We demand that there should be no external military intervention into the Polish crisis.

DEFEND THE

By Davy Jones

MILITARY RULE OR WORKERS' POWER is the choice facing the Polish people. Don't believe the assurances of Jaruzelski and the military — there will be no return to the relative freedom of the last 16 months, unless the military crackdown is defeated.

The ruling bureaucracy in Poland launched the military offensive to defend their crumbling power. The totalitarian regime led by the Communist Party had seen its rule systematically undermined by the emergence of genuine workers' power. They have turned to the naked force of the Army and security forces. Next they may call on Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops.

From the formation of the independent union movement, Solidarity, a major confrontation was inevitable. The bureaucrats regime was only able to defend its enormous material and political privileges by retaining a complete monopoly of political power over the working class.

While it rested on collectivised property relations the regime in no way represented the interests of working people in Poland. There was no workers' democracy before the emergence of Solidarity, and consequently there was no workers' planning of the economy. Rather the regime relied on its network of party members in the enterprises.

The result is well-known: bureaucratic corruption and mismanagement, and Stalinist repression. That's why the Polish workers rebelled in summer 1980 to set up independent unions to fight for their own interests.

Crisis

But the Polish system has no room for such independent activity by the workers. At every stage the workers' struggle for their rights led to a further crisis for the regime and the collapse of their power. Almost unconsciously the Polish workers were drawn increasingly to challenge the overall power of the bureaucrats.

Solidarity never called for a return to capitalism, it never challenged the basic economic structures of the system. It did fight for better conditions for its members and was confronted by the regime with the economic crisis. It responded by demanding workers' control over the economy through the establishment of workers' self-management councils.

Solidarity demanded the right to its own press to counter the lies of the bureaucracy. It was increasingly led to challenge the regime's control over the whole media.

Solidarity drew up its own proposals for economic reform and found this blocked by the Polish parliament. It therefore demanded the right to stand its own can-

The regime also turned to increasing reliance on the Church. Their advisors have consistently cautioned 'moderation' — from Cardinal Wyszynski's appeal for a return to work during the August days of 1980, through to Archbishop Glemp's appeal after the military

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

EVENTS are moving very quickly in Poland, and all communications are cut as we go to press. But the following is already clear.

In the crackdown at least 3000 Solidarity activists at a national and local level have been arrested. The National Commission of Solidarity was arrested after its meeting in Gdansk on Saturday — most of them were arrested in their hotels late at night. Other key Solidarity leaders were arrested outside Gdansk, like Warsaw leader Zbigniew Bujak, who was arrested in Warsaw.

Workers' occupations and strikes on a limited but significant scale have been the response to the military repression. On Monday all production in Poznan and Wroclaw was shut down. Workers occupied the steel works in Krakow and Katowice, but in both places the strikes seem to have been broken by troops. All union officials present at the Krakow plant were arrested.

The Gdansk shipyard, historic birth place of Solidarnosc, is occupied. Solidarity has sent couriers to its 37 regions to urge delegates to come to Gdansk and set up a national strike committee.

In Warsaw the Fiat Polski plant is closed, as is the Ursus tractor plant.

At the Warsaw National Library hundreds of strikers were ejected by riot police. The Swierczewski Precision Instrument plant was shut down and the occupiers placed a crane across the entrance. The complete closing of all communications, together with the closing of Reuters' agency on Tuesday morning is aimed at preventing Western journalists witnessing troops evicting strikers from the factories.

Martial law suspends all civil rights and places transport and other key personnel under direct military command. There is a curfew from 10pm to 6am. All persons over 12 years need identity cards.

All trade union activity is banned, as are all gatherings except religious ceremonies. Breaches of martial law can be punished with the death penalty or years of imprisonment. The first Solidarity leaders have been charged under martial law regulations in Lodz.

didates in the national and local elections.

Every step took the workers further down the road to establishing their own power and overthrowing the ruling bureaucracy. The regime's own power base — the ruling Communist Party — had been ravaged by the crisis. Almost one third of its three million members joined Solidarity, and hundreds of thousands of members deserted the party after the defeat of the democratisation current, before the special party congress this summer.

With the party discredited by revelations of corruption and mass desertions the regime turned to two other institutions to shore up its power. General Jaruzelski was made prime minister and then party leader as the army was drawn into the centre of Polish politics.

Patrols

Conscription was extended and army patrols stepped up through the cities in an attempt to accustom the people to the army's presence. The Polish Army has wide authority among the Polish people whose nationalism and respect for their army's role is strong. It is also an army with more than 50 per cent of conscripts, many of whose members are in Solidarity.



The Gdansk shipyards — birthplace of Solidarity

the union leadership to accept. As the union's major regions announced their intention to contest next Spring's local elections and as they developed the workers' self-management councils, the negotiations for a government of national unity broke down.

It was then that the regime decided on military force to crush the workers. Plans were laid and the Kremlin were brought in to advise. It is unclear how much warning the imperialist powers were given of the unfolding crackdown, although Chancellor Schmidt was in East Berlin for talks at the time of the military takeover. The West German prime minister was last in East Germany for talks eleven years ago, at the time that the Polish workers' revolt was put down in December 1970!

There is no going back to the days before the military coup. While the regime may have hoped to split Solidarity and to win its moderate leaders to a 'compromise' deal involving drastic curtailment of the union's rights in return for 'participation' in an authoritarian government, that perspective looks increasingly unlikely.

The Polish rulers have opted for counter-revolution, and bloody counter-revolution if necessary. The decisive question now is whether the intermediate leaders of Solidarity, with their national leaders imprisoned, can develop a strategy and tactics to lead the Polish workers, farmers and other social layers to challenge for power.

The twelve million workers and farmers organised in Solidarity and Rural Solidarity have learned to rely on their own strength and organisations over the past 16 months. Differences naturally emerged over the best way to fight for the workers' interests.

It is no secret that Walesa and other moderates were strongly influenced by the Catholic hierarchy and hostile to any notion of the workers' taking power. Such political tendencies began to develop into embryonic political parties over the past few months, with the growth of the right wing nationalist KPN, Jacek Kuron's Clubs for a Self-governing Republic, and other, more socialist currents.

These latter forces concentrated on the development of the workers' councils as organs of workers' power. It will be these councils and the national strike co-ordination which will play the key role in fighting to

takeover for the Poles to 'turn the other cheek'.

The regime had tried to establish a government of national unity with the Church, The Army, the ruling Communist Party and Solidarity. The aim was to force Solidarity as a minority force in the government to take responsibility for the crisis and to discipline its own militant members.

Although some union moderates influenced by the Catholic hierarchy including Walesa toyed with this idea as a way out of the crisis the manoeuvre was too transparent for



Demonstrators outside the Polish Embassy last weekend

POLISH WORKERS

Thousands around world march against military takeover

By Toni Gorton

HUNDREDS of thousands in the US and Western Europe immediately took to the streets to protest against the declaration of martial law in Poland.

Demonstrations took place in Sweden, Greece, West Germany, France, and Italy.

While the international labour movement called for 'solidarity with Solidarity', the various communist parties took a mixed view, with the French Communist Party boycotting the 50,000 strong demonstration in Paris on 14 December and the Italian CP supporting the huge demonstration in Rome on the 15th.

Britain: 1000 people demonstrated in front of the Polish embassy on Sunday 13 December, and a further demonstration is called for Sunday 20 December.

Len Murray, General Secretary, of the TUC says, 'The TUC condemns these acts of repression'. Eric Heffer, Labour's spokesperson on European affairs, said that solidarity should be allowed to continue as an independent trade union organisation, that the Military Council should be ended quickly and civilian rule restored, and that no foreign intervention should take place.

The Morning Star, paper of the British Communist Party says that what is needed is 'the creation of a political partnership between the Party, Solidarity and other institutions'.

It states that this 'cannot be achieved by military means'.

France: Liberation, an independent left newspaper estimated that 100,000 demonstrated throughout France.

In Paris, the Socialist Party joined the main non-Communist trade unions in a major demonstration of 50,000 calling for 'Liberty for the Imprisoned' and 'Trade Union rights in Poland'.

L'Humanite, paper of the French CP said that it was 'above all, the excesses of Solidarity which have destroyed the hope that was born for an improvement of life in Poland'.

Italy: Work stoppages took place on Monday throughout the country to discuss the events. Some 10,000 youth marched in Milan and thousands in Rome.

The Italian Communist Party said: 'The blow struck against the attempts at a political solution of the Polish crisis must be con-

demned. The party asks that civil and trade union liberties be restored and guaranteed.'

USA: Tens of thousands of Americans of Polish origin organised protest marches in various cities including one in front of the United Nations in New York.

China: The foreign minister said that China was firmly opposed to any foreign interference in Polish affairs.

Switzerland: The Polish consulate in Berne was occupied by young socialist militants.

Czechoslovakia: General Jaruzelski's measures were saluted as 'the only way for stopping the rise of counter-revolution and for preventing imperialism from putting into question Poland's existence and of breaking up the unity of the Warsaw Pact.'

Hungary: 'The fact that the Polish government has decided to find a solution by its own resources is a good thing.'



Warsaw devastated by the war

Poland since the war

Poland was devastated by the war. One in five Poles died in the war, forty per cent of the national wealth was destroyed, and the whole country was moved two hundred miles to the West!

The Communists led by Wladyslaw Gomulka inherited power after the Soviet Army drove back Hitler's troops. Gomulka was ousted in 1948 by Boleslaw Bierut, a hard line Stalinist, who set Poland on the course followed by the rest of post-war Eastern Europe.

1956: Polish October

In the years following the death of Stalin in 1953 many of the East European regimes experienced crises. The workers at the ZISPO engineering plant in Poznan, Poland struck in June 1956. A protest march of workers into the city centre on 28 June was shot down by riot police. Fifty died and hundreds were injured.

An intense political crisis followed throughout the summer, both in Poland and Hungary. It led to a Soviet invasion in

Hungary to put down the workers' councils, and a change of regime in Poland. Gomulka was brought back as party secretary pledged to extend workers' democracy.

But he incorporated the workers' councils into the 'official' unions and the liberalisation of the regime was short-lived.

1968: The student rebellion.

Dissident intellectual circles had developed in the 1960s. Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski published their 'Open Letter to the Party' in 1964, for which they were imprisoned. When the

students and intellectuals launched various protests for greater freedom in 1968 they were severely repressed.

The crackdown was linked to a vicious anti-semitic campaign by the authorities who blamed Jewish intellectuals. Hundreds of students and lecturers were expelled from the universities. The students received no help from the workers — a fact that was to have drastic implications two years later.

1970: Workers attacked Gomulka's regime finally attempted to deal with the growing economic crisis. Meat and foodstuff prices shot up. But the workers' response was unexpected: widespread strike action and open revolt, particularly in the Baltic ports of Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin. Hundreds of workers were shot down by the police and army. The students failed to aid their worker comrades.

But the shock of the events led to the downfall of Gomulka, the cancellation of the price rises and a new regime under Edward Gierek, committed to full-scale industrialisation.

1976: Workers Revolt

The government had borrowed huge sums of Western money to finance the expansion and modernisation of Polish industry. In July 1976 the authorities tried to deal with the problems in agriculture through food price rises of sixty per cent. There was a wave of factory occupations and work stoppages, even more widespread than in 1970.

This revolt confirmed the power and self-confidence of the Polish workers. It also saw the beginnings of attempts to link the struggles of the workers with the intellectuals. Dissidents like Kuron formed the KOR to protect workers victimised after the 1976 events.

Over the next four years there was a steady growth in organisation of the workers round journals like Robotnik. The workers were preparing for the 1980 Polish August.



Protestors outside the Polish Embassy in Rome

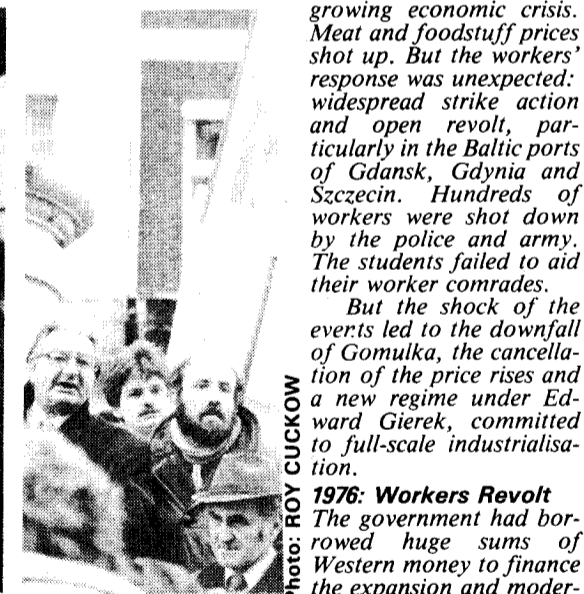


Photo: ROY CUCKOW

Coming events

Manchester
Public Meeting
7.30 Friday 18 December
Central Hall, Oldham St, Manchester

Speakers: Bob Litherland MP; Ken Easthan MP; Ewa Barker, Polish Solidarity Campaign; Oliver MacDonald, Labour Focus on Eastern Europe.

London
Revolution International Solidarity Rally
Friday 18 December at 7.30
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
Tickets £1.00/50p unwaged or YOPs

National Demonstration
Sunday 20 December
Assemble 2pm Speakers Corner to march to Polish Embassy

Called by Polish Solidarity Campaign, East European Solidarity Campaign and Eric Heffer MP.



defend the workers and to defeat the military clamp-down.

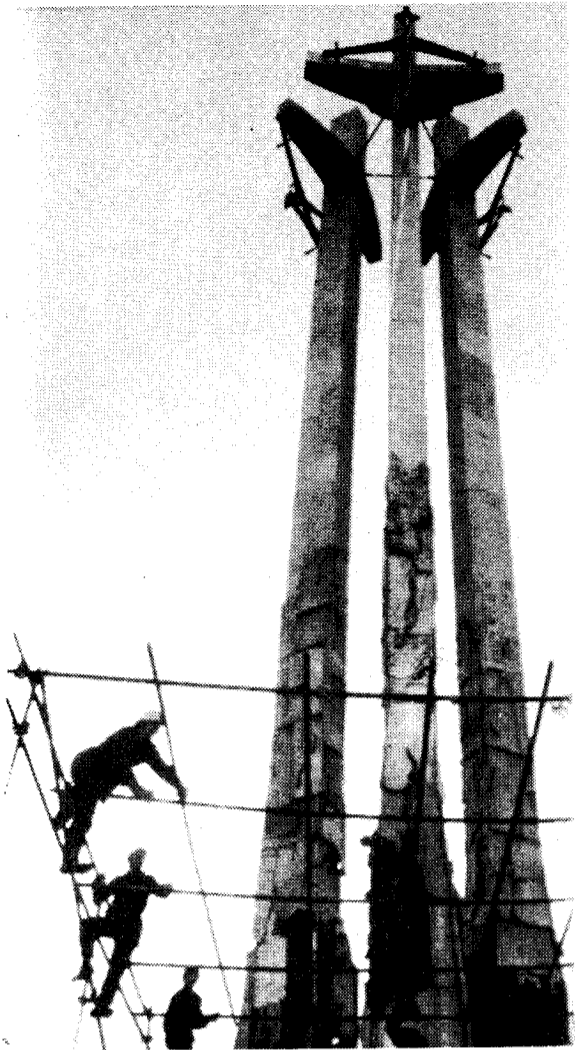
The events of the past few days have demonstrated yet again that the so-called socialist countries are nothing of the kind. They may have overthrown capitalism but their bureaucratic rulers will stop at nothing to smash any development of workers' power.

The power of the military and the bureaucrats must be broken. There is an alternative to Stalinism and capitalism: a system of socialist democracy, allowing full political rights to all parties and individuals prepared to accept the socialist constitution, with economic, social and political decisions taken through a democratic system of workers' councils.

Real workers' democracy in Poland would be an enormous attraction to the workers suffering under the Stalinist and capitalist systems of the East and West. Defeat for the Polish workers would set back the international labour movement enormously.

Socialists should do everything in their power over the coming weeks to help the Polish workers to defend their rights and to struggle for power.





1980-81 POLITICAL

Solid

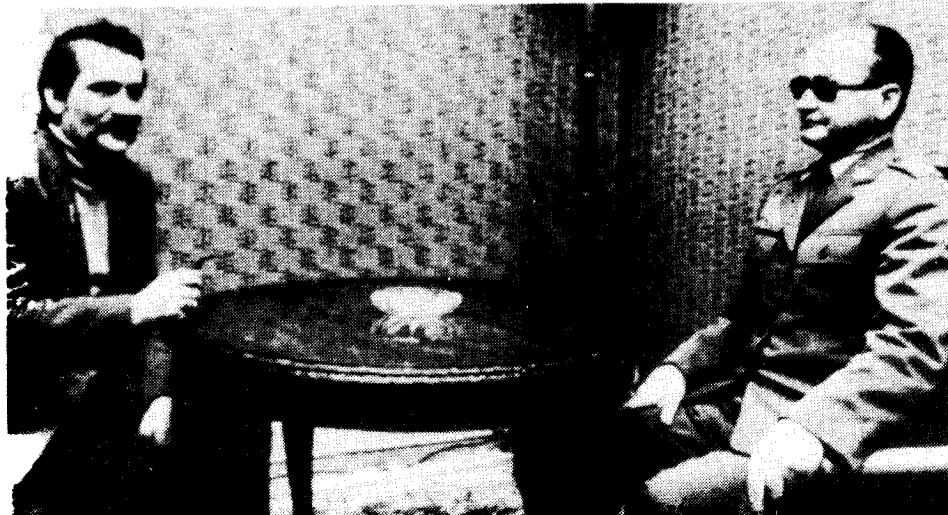


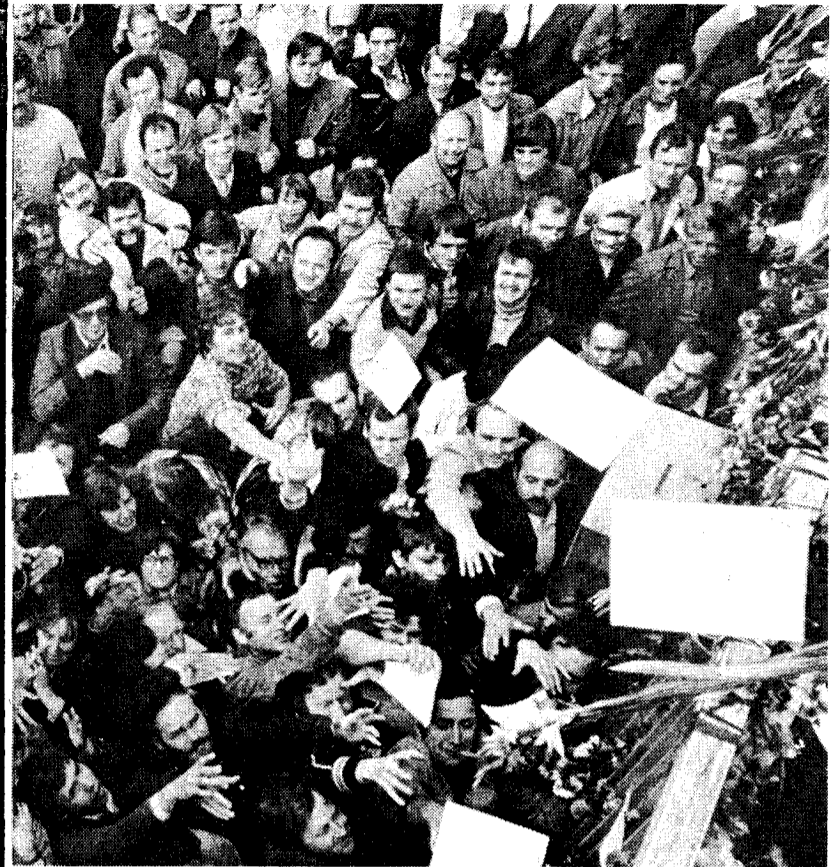
AUGUST 1980. An enormous strike wave engulfs Poland. The workers demand the reinstatement of victimised militants like Anna Walentynowicz, improvements in living standards, and the establishment of independent trade unions. The head of the strike movement is the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. Delegates assemble here from workplaces across the country in a mighty democratic workers' revolt. The government grant all Solidarity's demands.

AUGUST 1980. The Catholic Church offers Walesa and the Polish workers the bitter pill of compromise with the system. Cardinal Wysinski's appeal to the workers to return to work is ignored. But the influence of the Church hierarchy remained as a block on the development of workers' power.

DECEMBER 1980. Reluctantly the government has conceded the registration of the independent trade unions. On 16 December a monument to workers killed in the 1970 revolt is unveiled to a mass commemoration ceremony in Gdansk. The authorities try to turn the ceremony into one of national unity — the Church, the Party and Solidarity. Within one month another strike wave had broken out over 'free' Saturdays for the workers.

MARCH 1981. Party hardliners organise a provocation against Solidarity. Union activists are beaten up in Bydgoszcz by the political police. The threat of a general strike





THE POLISH REVOLUTION

ARNÓŚĆ

forces the government to back down and concede the registration of Rural Solidarity. Another two million people are now allied to Solidarity's ten million workers.

JULY/AUGUST 1981. The rank and file democratisation current in the ruling Communist Party is roundly defeated at the party congress. Hundreds of thousands of members begin to desert the party. Solidarity's congress on the other hand appeals for support to the East European workers. It calls for an end to censorship and for free elections.

SUMMER/AUTUMN 1981. The government allows the economic crisis to let rip. Queues lengthen still

further and the first hunger marches take place. In Katowice the authorities attack Solidarity activists distributing leaflets.

DECEMBER 1981. The authorities use selective repression at Warsaw against the firefighters' occupation. The aim is to accustom the workers to the military police and to test their reaction.

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1981. The Polish rulers propose a government of national salvation of the party, the Church, Solidarity and others. The aim is to make Solidarity take co-responsibility for the crisis. Solidarity counterposes the development of workers' self-management councils in the major workplaces. When the talks break down, the bureaucrats begin to prepare another solution — martial law and widespread repression of the union.

What to read on Poland

Many of the pictures on these pages are taken from two books.

Poland, Solidarity, Walesa, Dobbs, & Karole Trevisan; Pergamon Press, £8.75. Cheap, well-produced, packed with good photos, good on history, wonky on politics.

Gdansk 1980, pictures of a strike, Puls publications, £6.95. Good black and white pics from August 1980, ignore anti-Communist intro.

Other books worth reading **Solidarity, Poland's independent trade union,** Denis MacShane, Spokesman, £3.50. Good basic trade unionists' guide to Solidarity, packed with useful info.

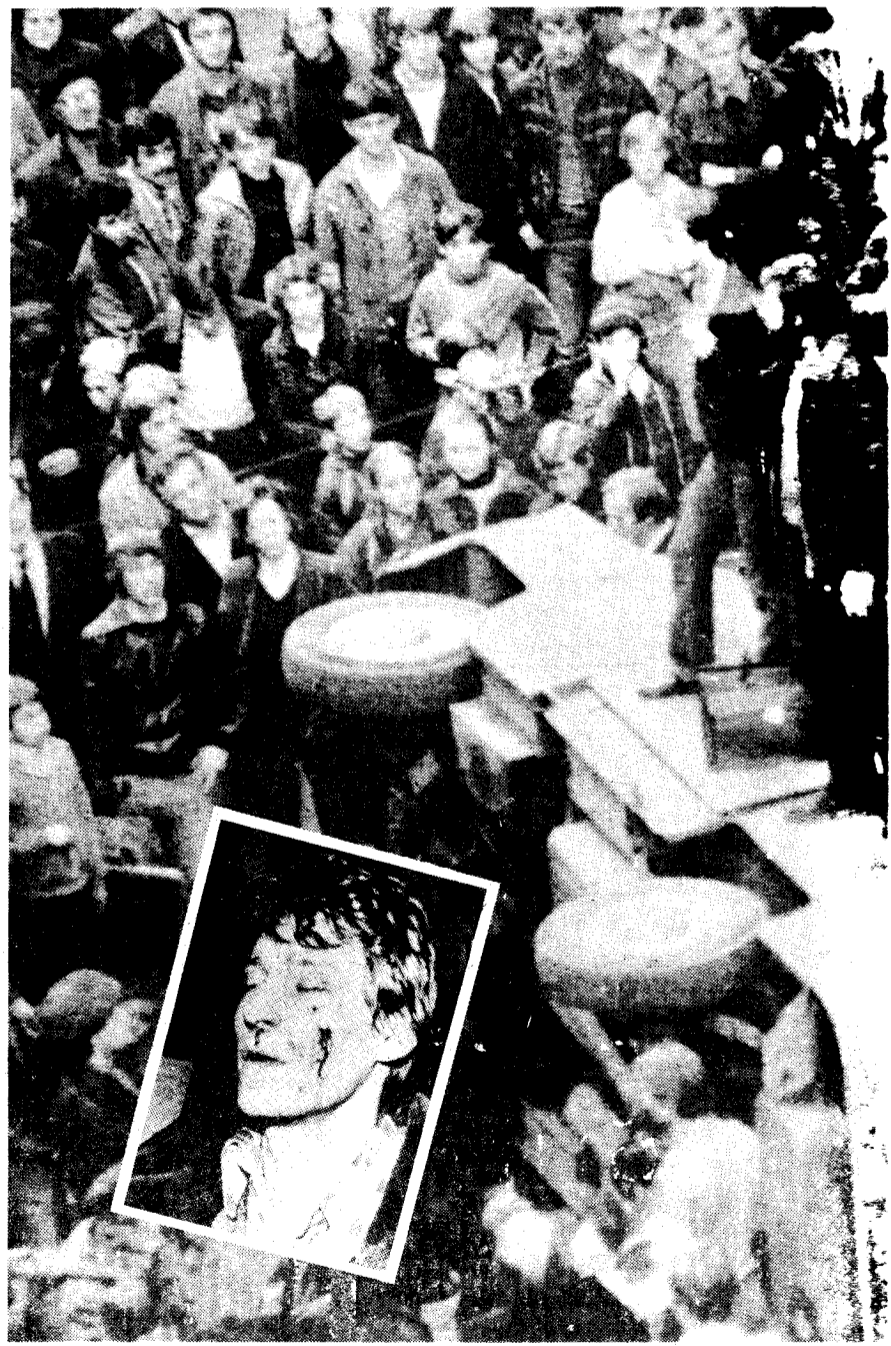
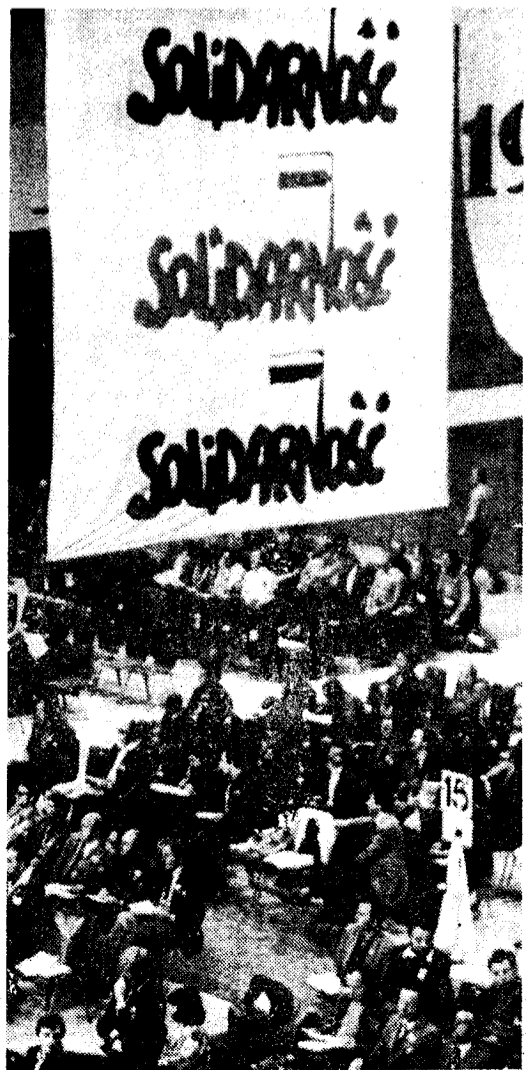
The Polish August, Neal Ascherson, Penguin, £2.50. Comprehensive history of Polish events up to end 1980.

Poland, the state of the Republic, Pluto, £4.95. Pre-1980 experts' reports on developing malaise and crisis in Poland.

The Road to Gdansk, Daniel Singer, Monthly Review Press, £8. Brilliant Marxist view of the background to the Polish events.

Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, PO Box 23, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8. The best journal on the Polish events.

Theses on Socialist Democracy, Fourth International, available from Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1 for 35p. A revolutionary analysis of the struggle for genuine workers' democracy.



"Since the start it was clear that we couldn't avoid a struggle, and that we had to choose the terrain so that society would understand us. We must not shout from the rooftops that confrontation is inevitable. We have to say, "we love you, we love socialism and the party, and the Soviet Union of course," and pre-

sent them with a fait accompli... "But confrontation is inevitable and it will come... I have no illusions any more. Things have gone so far that we must now tell people everything, nothing less will change reality. No change of the system will come about without trouble. The key thing is to win."

Lech Walesa, less than one week before the introduction of martial law.

LABOUR PARTY CRISIS

A CRISIS is gripping the Labour Party which will have profound implications for the whole future of the labour movement.

As we go into 1982 facing an increasingly discredited and besieged Tory government, and the threat of the SDP, the leadership of the Labour Party has started a vicious witch hunt against the left.

Unless this witch-hunt is defeated, it threatens to destroy any possibility of Labour winning the next election; it threatens to wipe out all the gains for democracy and left wing policies which have been won over the past few years; and it threatens to paralyse the party's campaigning ability with a wave of local party disbandments and the expulsion of individual party members. The stakes involved are extremely high.

Why does the leadership want this witch-hunt?

At the *Tribune* rally at the Labour Party conference Michael Foot promised 'no witch-hunts'. The fact that he made it clear that he wanted Eric Heffer to continue as Chairman of the Organisation Committee was also widely interpreted as meaning that he opposed any 'get tough' policies. But Foot's promises have been worthless.

While much of the publicity around the witch-hunt has been directed at the *Militant* tendency, the fact that Foot singled out Peter Tatchell for a lynch-law attack, shows that his purge is directed at the whole of the left. Tatchell is far from being a revolutionary socialist; there are tens of thousands of people to his left in the party.

The meaning of the witch-hunt is that the right wing, which now includes Michael Foot and his cronies like Kinnoch on the NEC, want to reassert their control by bureaucratic and administrative means. Control of the apparatus at the top is to be used to thwart the socialist wishes of the rank and file.

Foot calculates that the left wing can be defeated and the party can be 're-centred'. Effectively this is a strategy of trying to make the party adopt as much of the political ground of the SDP as possible. It would mean approaching the next general election with a manifesto in essence no different to that of the SDP. *This is a formula for certain catastrophe.*

An appeal to the Labour and Trade Union movements



Photo: JEREMY NICHOLL

The only way to counter the Tories and the SDP is to present a programme of anti-capitalist measures which can solve the economic and social crisis.

Thatcherism has failed. The price of Conservative monetarist policy has been the wholesale destruction of even profitable industry. There is no end to the slump in sight.

Without a clear socialist

policy, Labour will fail to present a radical alternative which can solve the crisis in the interests of the workers. An historic opportunity to transforming the catastrophe of Thatcherism into its opposite — a bold step towards socialism — will have been lost.

The future of the Labour Party is at stake

The battle over the past few years between the party's left and right has been fought by a long drawn-out war of attrition. Now the right wing has decided

on frontal assault. In doing so, it puts the whole future of the Labour Party at stake.

For years the right wing have argued that Labour is a 'broad church', in which different currents right and left could be tolerated. But the toleration only lasted so long as the right were in control.

What is being posed now is whether socialists can continue to work and fight within the framework of the party. Now the Labour Party can go two ways. It can become a right-wing dominated rump aping the SDP or it can become a mass campaigning left wing party. But there is no chance of holding on to the left wing gains of the past period without the left itself now going onto the offensive.

Organise a mass campaign in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions

Tony Benn got it right when he attacked the Labour leadership's moves at the London *Labour Briefing* rally. The right wing of the party would rather go into a coalition with the SDP than allow the left to carry through socialist policies in a new Labour government. The stakes are so high that only a massive reply by the left can throw back the right wing offensive.

The first task is to defend Peter Tatchell and the *Militant* supporters who have been adopted as parliamentary candidates. Resolutions should be got through every possible trade union and Labour Party branch. Joint Labour Party-trade union rallies must be held in every part of the country to mobilise working class opinion.

A campaign based just on the constituencies will never be adequate. The deputy leadership election showed that the unions are still a decisive arena for the strength of the right wing. Foot and company must be attacked from the unions as well as the constituencies.

Every section of the Labour left is under attack. If *Militant* is attacked today, every part of the left wing will be under threat tomorrow. There is no time to lose.

Bennite target in witch-hunt

PETER TATCHELL is interviewed by Brian Heron

PETER Tatchell is a middle of the road Bennite party member, who has got in the way, in his own words 'of a general and desperate attempt to reverse the gains of the left in recent years'.

Foot's decision to attack Bermondsey's candidate signalled that the right wing Labour leadership have the Bennite base in the party as their ultimate target.

'Here we have the right wing preaching tolerance and unity in one breath' explains Peter Tatchell, 'and in the next doing enormous damage to Labour's election prospects.'

What does he think is behind the move against himself and the successful Bermondsey Party?

Hardy

'If myself and the Bermondsey Party are not legitimate then Keir Hardy and George Lansbury would not pass similar criterion. This attack represents a complete turning away from the Labour Party as a force for radical change in society; a complete capitulation to a mixed economy consensus, whose greatest advocates are the SDP.'

Michael Foot has led the right wing attack. His position in the party as the 'builder of bridges' has collapsed to reveal a stalking horse for the right wing.

'Michael Foot, points out Peter Tatchell, 'can attack those who supported him through his rebel years at the behest of those people who victimised him in years gone by.'

In the background of the right's witch-hunt is the more sinister project of a link up with the SDP/Alliance to form a government with Labour backing after the next election. 'If the right engage in a McCarthy style witch-hunt, if they carry it through there will be enormous damage to the Party's prospects for which they will be responsible.'

Coalition

Peter Tatchell continues: 'We might end up with another 1931, in which a section of the party will sheer away to form a coalition government.



Peter Tatchell: a McCarthy style witch-hunt

Whilst I wouldn't wish it to happen the right may force it ... but in turn such

events could perhaps lead to a 1945. Only this time we will stand by election



Not going back to policies that have failed

pledges and carry through a real distribution of wealth and power in favour of working people and their families.'

How then does he see the role of extra-parliamentary action? 'The same kind of movement for democratic ac-

countability must now be carried into the trade union movement, to link political and industrial struggles to build up a mass popular movement for a real transformation of British society.'

Referring to the recent article of Alex Kitson,

leader of Peter Tatchell's union, the TGWU, which called for industrial action aimed at the Thatcher government Tatchell agrees, 'The former chair of the party is quite right to make such statements. The whole history of the Party has included extra parliamentary activity.'

Fighting Heseltine

ON Saturday 12 December, the London Labour Party held a special conference on how to defend local government. Socialist Challenge talked to GREG TUCKER, a delegate from Vauxhall CLP.

This conference has committed the London Labour Party to a campaign against Heseltine. It agreed to organise a series of events building up to an all-London demonstration. It agreed to organise a conference of local government trade unionists to co-ordinate this campaign of action. Which is all to the good and making the party stick to its guns should be a major priority.

However, at the same time conference let local councils off the hook by passing an electricians' union amendment which ensured that action should 'stay within the law' and removed the call of any future Labour government to cancel penalties imposed on councillors.

As delegates were quick to point out this meant that the union leaderships had voted to let councils make thousands of their members redundant. What is more, conference couldn't agree on any strategy and rejected Vauxhall's proposal for a 'no rent or rate increase, no cuts position' in favour of 'no budget on Heseltine's terms.' This meant for Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth council, 'no cuts, no rate increases', but for others it meant making socialist cuts.

This ambiguity will be the death of any campaign. We in Lambeth have seen



what happens when you try to take on the government without putting your own house into order first. Ted Knight

says he has learnt his lesson. Let's hope the London Labour Party can learn its lesson quickly.

Benn, Briefing and Bermondsey

By Tessa van Geideren

'THE proposed purge is really directed at all those who support party policy so as to drive good democratic socialists out of the party, to pave the way for a coalition between a right-wing Labour Party rump and the SDP, after the next election. Such a coalition would also provide a way of ditching all the policies agreed at conference.'

Tony Benn's speech at the London Labour Briefing meeting, on Saturday 12 December, was a declaration of war. It was a declaration to take on the party leadership and to fight openly against the witch-hunts in the party.

Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth council, had earlier in the meeting called for Labour Party members to 'stand shoulder to shoulder with Bermondsey, shoulder to shoulder with the Militant tendency.' There was a 'political necessity to fight this battle now' and no-one should be asked to swear a false membership oath, Ted Knight argued.

Peter Tatchell, at the centre of the storm, told the packed meeting that he nearly hadn't submitted the offending article for London Labour Briefing and 'stated the obvious'. He went on to say that in the circumstances where fundamental rights were being denied to the working class, women, ethnic minorities,

it was absolutely correct to advocate extra parliamentary action.

'Do they want us to accept this poverty without a fight,' Peter Tatchell asked, 'simply because we don't have a majority in parliament?'

Tony Benn also took up this theme when he pointed out that 'all our battles have been fought by people demanding their rights'. Now the battle is taking place inside the party itself — and people are demanding their rights.

As Tony Benn pointed out 'an overwhelming majority of the party is equally opposed to bans, proscriptions and investigations into the opinions held by party members, and the many groups which exist within the party and enrich its life.'

What all the speakers made clear at the meeting was that the fight now taking place inside the party is about what policies are needed to oppose this government and how to get those policies accepted in the labour movement as a whole.

Tony Benn summed it up well: 'After the catastrophic defeat of the Labour government in 1979 which followed the adoption of SDP policies and the Lib-Lab pact, neither the affiliated trade unions nor the constituency Labour Parties are prepared to go back to the policies that have failed.'

FORD WORKERS STRIKE

BY Mick Drake,
Dagenham Assembly Plant

Ford's 54,000 manual workers voted overwhelmingly in favour of strike action from Tuesday 5 January in response to the company's offer of 7.5 per cent with strings.

Although two small plants in Southampton voted to accept this, the mood at the giant Dagenham and Halewood plants was militant and enthusiastic. 'Raring to go,' was how Halewood body plant steward, Jimmy Atkinson, described the mood of the Merseyside workers. And at Dagenham even the radio news admitted that the only discussion about the strike call was whether there had been 98 or 99 per cent in favour.

The size of the strike vote, although not the outcome, surprised many stewards and shook the company. It has been scabbling around for any old excuse to explain it away. First of all, Ford accused the Halewood stewards of 'stampeding' the vote by holding their mass meetings before other plants. Then, after the Dagenham votes, the company claimed the unions had 'misled' members about what the offer meant.

In fact, a leaflet issued

by the trade union side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee spelt it out very clearly. In return for a money offer, 4 per cent below the current level of inflation — and that was before the mini-budget — and twelve minutes off the working day in 1983, the company were demanding unconditional acceptance of:

1. An end to any demarcation between jobs and grades
2. An acceptance of any new work system devised by company
3. An end to ALL local agreements which Ford thinks are inefficient
4. Total mobility of labour.

The trade unions emphasise that this slaves' charter, 'are not paper requirements. Every clause will be implemented by the company and will affect all grades of Ford workers.'

As Socialist Challenge has stressed in recent weeks, the choice facing Ford workers was not between war and peace. It was between an all-out strike

now to smash Ford's efficiency demands and win the £20/35-hours claim, or never ending strikes and lay-offs as Ford implemented its efficiency plans section by section, plant by plant.

The company is now determined to play it hard. No further negotiations are scheduled and Ford announced on 14 December that it will be locking the workers out on Monday 4 January. This is the day before the strike begins and normally the qualifying shift for payment for the three bank holidays over the Xmas break. At the time of writing, Ford has not made it clear whether they intend to pay these.

Ford workers will have to be equally determined and organised to win. Around the clock picketing of plants, docks and depots needs to be organised from day one of the strike with all workers involved in picketing rotas. And the size of these pickets and where they are put should be determined by the need to make the strike effective, not the Tories' anti-union law.

Contractors working

in plants to prepare them for new car models must be removed. And the support of other workers won through speakers and delegations to factories, trade union and Labour Party branches. Particular effort needs to be made with other workers like the miners, who may be going into struggle against the Tory attack on jobs and wages.

To get this level of involvement, Ford workers should have every opportunity through regular steward, trade union branch and mass meetings to find out what is happening.

That means no more secret talks between top officials in the company, and all negotiations being conducted through the full national negotiating committee, with report backs afterwards. After the experience of Leyland, Terry Duffy and Moss Evans have to be told very firmly to keep their noses out of Ford.

By building on the unity demonstrated in the strike vote, and by winning the support of other sections, Ford workers can show that they have the power to win.



Scott's workers face a bitter prospect

by Pat Sikorski

There has been a vicious twist to the knife that was plunged into the backs of the Laurence Scott workers last August.

In a letter to Joe Gormley. Recently Alex Ferry, secretary of the Engineering Unions Confederation, informed the miners' union executive that the Scott's dispute had been terminated since the end of July, was totally unofficial and should not be supported.

Scott's workers now face a prospect even more bitter than the Arctic conditions of the Doncaster picket line. They approach the court hearing being brought by boss Arthur Snipe, under the Tories' 1981 Employment Act, with the blacking campaign in the pits under severe attack.

It is a bitter irony and an ominous pointer to the future that all this took place as the newly elected miners' president, Arthur Scargill, made a speech likening 1981 and the fight against Tebbit to 1971 and the fight against Heath's Industrial Relations Bill.

The record shows that Scargill has ignored the Scott's dispute from the moment the picket started in Doncaster.

An open commitment from Scargill, giving the full backing of the whole Yorkshire area NUM for the blacking and for regular delegations to

picket lines would have transformed the situation and forced Snipe to negotiate from a position of weakness. Instead, local pit leaderships are now completely exposed to their area managements who are threatening large scale lay offs if blacking continues.

In this situation and with massive fines or even imprisonment in prospect, Scott's workers, and especially the six strike leaders named, do not feel they can defy the High Court injunction.

Even support from Labour MP's has been sabotaged by the engineering union's head office. They have put enormous pressure on their sponsored MPs, especially following the defeat of the Scott's appeal by the recently recalled National Committee. On top of this, the MP's have been mesmerised by the fact that, with the House of Commons hearing pending, the matter is 'sub-judice'.

This apparently has prevented them raising the matter in the House of Commons or coming on the picket line.

It is a step in the right direction that Michael Meacher and Charles Morris have pledged to get one hundred signatures for an

The two faces of Arthur

ARTHUR SCARGILL, president elect of the miners' union, will have the eyes of many militants turned upon him in the next year. His overwhelming election victory on a left wing platform indicates the possibility of organising a real fight to kick out the Tory government.

But, reading the following articles, his recent actions seem contradictory. Perhaps Arthur Scargill may be willing to set the record straight by making his first act as President elect the call for full support of the miners to the Scott workers? Your move Arthur!

early day motion, if and when the court's judgement becomes clear.

There will be a picket of the court hearing from 10am onwards on Friday

18 December. Phone 061 231 4434 for further details.



Scargill says miners have had enough

By Alex Baillie

ARTHUR SCARGILL has made his first major speech since his landslide victory in the miners' presidential election. In it he argued that only complete rejection by Britain's 230,000 miners of the National Coal Board's pay offer would show that British miners had had enough of this government.

He was speaking to a packed meeting at Lochgelly in Fife, organised by the Scottish area of the NUM to mark the centenary of the birth of Willie Gallacher, the cantankerous communist MP for West Fife from 1935-1950.

Scargill said, 'I believe that my election last week and the decision of the NUM to consult their membership marks the start of a new campaign of mass opposition against Tory government policy. We must all of us pledge ourselves to a campaign of mass opposition — yes, including extra-parliamentary action — against the Tory government.'

He continued, 'The scenario facing British working people in the closing months of 1981 is the most optimistic in the history of the socialist movement. The year ahead could provide the turning point in British politics. 1982 will mark the start of a campaign to get rid of the Tories and elect a Labour government pledged to socialism.'

Peter Tatchell's only crime, as far as he could see it, was that he was in favour of a socialist Britain, while many of the present labour leadership were not.

Scargill gave an ambiguous comment on the situation in Poland. He remarked, 'It is ironic that at a time when the Tory press are singing the praises of the Polish working class, here in Britain they are loudly hailing the introduction of legislation aimed at the emasculation of the British trade union movement.'

Surely on 13 December, nine hours after the state of emergency had been declared in Poland, the Polish workers deserved a rousing call of solidarity from the leader elect of the British miners.

Or did the celebration of the centenary of such a well worn Stalinist as Gallacher preclude the mention of international solidarity at a primarily Communist Party gathering?

Labour's extra-parliamentary tradition

By Geoff Bell

Peter Tatchell has been judged unfit to be a Labour MP because he wrote an article in support of 'extra-parliamentary action'. Yet compared to some tactics which have been either adopted by the Labour Party, or suggested by its leaders in the past, Peter Tatchell's proposals for a sit down in Westminster and large demonstrations are mild.

There is the following example: 'No parliamentary effort could do what we are asking you to do, and desperate as our measures are, dangerous as they are, we believe that the disease is so desperate and dangerous that it is only desperate and dangerous methods that can provide a remedy ... it means a challenge to the whole constitution of the country.'

These remarks were made in 1920. The 'measures' being advocated were an indefinite general strike aimed at stopping British military intervention against the Soviet government in revolutionary Russia.

But what is perhaps most remarkable about this speech is who made it. Not some communist agitator, not even a member of the left wing of

member of the Labour's right wing leadership who ten years later was to join Ramsay MacDonald in splitting the party.

Thomas made this speech when the government of the day, led by Lloyd George had more or less ruled out possible military intervention against the Soviet government. In that respect Thomas's words were largely rhetoric, for he knew it was unlikely that he would ever be asked to carry out the threats he was making.

Nevertheless, that Thomas was obliged to sound so militant says much about the period of history in which he spoke, for it was a time which established a very different sort of tradition in the party than that which Michael Foot and his cohorts are swearing by today.

The demands that were then being made in the party for 'direct action' were not just confined to possible British intervention against the Soviet Union. There was also much talk of a general strike to secure the nationalisation of the coal mines.

Action

The whole debate came to a head at the Labour Party conference in 1919. The key resolution was one which instructed the Labour Party and TUC leaderships to take 'effective action ... to enforce their demands ... by the unreserved use of their political and industrial power'.

The party leadership, especially the parliamen-



1912 Transport strike — only for industrial ends?

tary leadership was hostile to the resolution. During the debate the chairperson of the party, J McGurk of the miners' union, sounded like Michael Foot sounds today.

'We are either constitutionalists or we are not constitutionalists', he said. 'If we are constitutionalists, if we believe in the efficacy of the political weapon then it is both unwise and undemocratic because we fail to get a majority at the polls to turn round and demand that we substitute industrial action.'

Weapon

Finally, J R Clynes, who was also to go with MacDonald in the split of 1931, insisted that he believed in the use of the 'great trade union weapon' for industrial ends, but that 'he refused to use that weapon for so clearly and obvious a political purpose as that mentioned in the resolution'. It would, said Clynes — and again the phrase is familiar — be 'a blow to democracy'.

These right wingers were well answered. Robert Smillie of the miners' union maintained

that the party national executive 'feared more than anything else what had come to be called direct action' and thus it had 'taken up exactly the position of every exploiter and capitalist and politician at the present time'.

Fred Bromley, a delegate from the train

drivers' union rammed home this point. He called on the conference to 'give the rank and file a lead. They were waiting for it. It was the leaders who were too respectable, who did not like to be roasted in the capitalist press, who liked to be called level-headed trade unionists.'

By a two-to-one majority the advocates of direct action won the conference vote. Threats of a general strike in support of transport workers the following year also secured an important victory in the industrial front.

It would be wrong to argue that the advocates of

'direct action' are more representative of the history of the Labour Party than are the Michael Foots of this world. But they have a place in the party's history, and in that respect they are part of Labour's traditions. It is those traditions that need defending today.

The last inquisition

By Tom Marlowe

WITCH-HUNTS are nothing new in the Labour Party. The very nature of the Labour Party tends to make them inevitable. This is because of the dual nature of the party.

On the one hand it is made up of tens of thousands of party activists and trade unionists, who are proud to call themselves socialists; on the other the party, on a day-to-day basis, is controlled by small and unrepresentative elites — most notably the parliamentary party.

It is when this control is challenged that the elites seek to drive out of the party or silence those who question their privileged position. Inevitably as well, such witch-hunts begin on a small basis, directed against the most identifiable targets. But eventually those who direct the purges cast an ever widening net.

Such trends are illustrated by the last time the party leadership attempted a major witch-hunt. The first victims, in 1951 were comparatively small fry, the Socialist Fellowship. This grouping was established in the summer of 1949 by MPs Ellis Smith and Fenner Brockway.

It sought to link up in the party constituency activists, MPs and trade unionists. Trotskyists played an important part in the running of the Fellowship but it sought to unite all those, in the party who agreed with 'socialisation, workers control, ending the gross inequalities of incomes, a socialist Europe and freedom for the colonies.'

As the Fellowship grew and the Labour government moved steadily to the right a clash between the two was inevitable. In April 1951 the Fellowship was proscribed.

The same day Labour's executive had approved a budget from Hugh Gaitskell which imposed cuts in social spending and an increase in military spending. The success of the Fellowship, especially its opposition to the Korean War, had made it necessary for the party leadership to try and silence the grouping.

But Fellowship was only part of a larger left wing in the Labour Party,

under the leadership of Nye Bevan. And when the Bevanites and others refused to support the Labour government in a defence debate in March 1952 the knives went out for them.

At a meeting of the parliamentary party one MP, referring to the Bevanites alleged 'a special group within the party, organised, secret'. The PLP agreed to suspend from membership any MP who voted against the government.

and supported the blue union it was censured by the Labour NEC.

Side by side with this, CLPs which had shown a willingness to defend the Fellowship or other slogans of militancy were disaffiliated and 'reorganised'. The climax of the purge came in March 1955 when Bevan and 61 other Labour MPs abstained on a Labour opposition amendment to the Tories' defence white paper. The rebels viewed the white paper unamendable and argued instead for outright opposition.



Nye Bevan with young Harold Wilson

One historian has recorded what happened next, in language which is currently much in vogue: 'Held in check ... in the Commons the Bevanites concentrated on extra-parliamentary activity ... and so came into collision with big trade unions.'

A press campaign against the Bevanites followed. The *News Chronicle* complained that the group was a 'party within a party', and other Fleet Street rags joined in. But what really made the Labour right go on the offensive was the Bevanites' campaign in the constituencies and the unions.

The party leadership was especially annoyed at the support the Bevanites gave to the 'blue' dockers' union against the 'white' union of the TGWU led by Labour right winger Arthur Deakin.

When *Tribune* attacked Deakin,

The Labour shadow cabinet voted to withdraw the party whip from Bevan and hinted that he should be expelled from the party. A massive campaign in the constituencies and in some unions eventually came to Bevan's rescue.

The NEC decided not to expel him, but only by the narrowest of majorities. It was nine more years before Labour was returned to office.

By then both Bevan and Hugh Gaitskell, who had been loudest in demanding Bevan's head, were dead. But Gaitskell's witch-hunting mentality can be summed up with the allegation he made to Richard Crossman: 'Bevanism is a conspiracy ... it has three essentials of a conspiracy, a leader in Bevan, an organisation run by Mikardo, and a newspaper run by Foot.'

The Foot in question was Michael.



J H Thomas — to the left of Michael Foot? the Labour Party, but one J H Thomas, a leading



Miners' leader Robert Smillie, advocate of extra parliamentary activities.



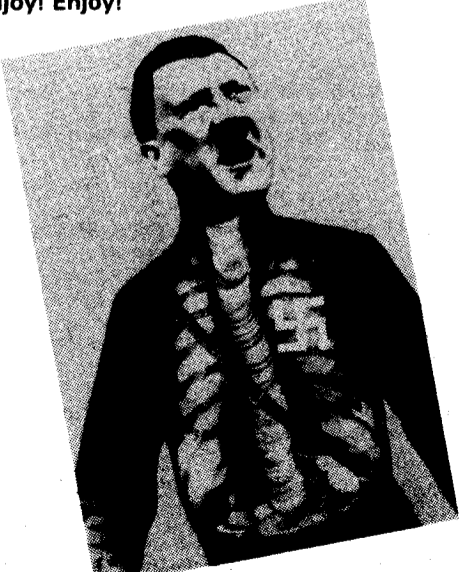
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Christmas TV

WATCH out for some real goodies among the films screened over the holiday. Of course we'll all be glued to our seats for Scarlet and Rhett in *Gone with the Wind* on BBC1 on Saturday and Sunday 26 and 27 December. The nice surprise is *Man of Marble* on Friday 1 January along with a profile of the Polish film director Andrzej Wajda. Then there's *The Man who Fell to Earth* on Sunday 20 December. ITV is running *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* on Monday 28 December at 7.30. Enjoy! Enjoy!



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Looks good in London — a completely biased selection

(734 9052). **Asante: Kingdom of Gold**, Museum of Mankind, Burlington Gardens, W1 (437 2224). **Lutyens**, Francis Kyle Gallery, Maddox St, W1 (499 6870). **El Salvador: Repression & Revolution**, until Sat 19 December. Camerawork, 121 Roman Rd, London E2 (908 6256).

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Books of the year

CHRISTMAS is the time for giving your friends and loved ones the books that you want to read yourself. PHIL HEARSE suggests the following, as the key books of the year for socialists.

Bevanism, Labour's High Tide, Mark Jenkins, Spokesman, £4.95
Mark Jenkins tries to explain Bevanism in terms of its relationship with Stalinism. Nonetheless, packed with factual information about the witch-hunts and the divisions in the Labour left. Essential reading for anyone contemplating entrisism.

Comrade and Lover, Rosa Luxemburg, Pluto, £4.50
Rosa Luxemburg's love letters edited by Eliza Ettinger. All the questions of combining full-time revolutionary activity and personal life are posed here. Highly recommended, despite the very silly introduction.

Inside BOSS, Gordon Winter, Penguin £2.95
Gordon Winter was a journalist and agent of the South African security service BOSS. A very nasty piece of work (and probably still is). But fascinating insights into how our enemies work.

Food Without Frontiers, Gerard Chaliand, Pluto, £2.50
Marxist cookery from Gerard Chaliand. Single pot dishes. Just right for Marxist bed-sitter subversive infiltrators with little time between meetings.

Long Waves in the History of Capitalism, Ernest Mandel, CUP, £7.95, and **Capital Vol 3**, K Marx, introduced by Ernest Mandel, Penguin, £6.95.
Long Waves is a tour de force, situating the present crisis and the prospects for the future. Penguin's Capital Volume Three is mainly remarkable for Mandel's 80-odd page introduction, in which he delivers the polemical karate chop to opponents of the law of the declining rate of profit. Classic stuff.

Tell them Everything, Margaretta D'Arcy, Pluto, £1.95.
The struggle of the Armagh women.

Nicaragua, The Sandinist Revolution, Henri Weber, NLB, £3.25, and **Nicaragua**, Susan Meiselas, Writers & Readers, £5.95p.
Weber's book is a little speculative and uncritical, but is packed with the facts. Meiselas's book is a coffee-table picture book, but the pictures are beautiful.

Sour Cream 2, Sheba, £1.95.
A second volume of very funny feminist cartoons.

The Politics of Combined and Uneven Development, Michael Lowy, £4.50.
The theory of permanent revolution brought up to date. Essential for all those currently debating Iran and Central America - which includes at least 55 of our readers.

The Dollar and its Rivals, Riccardo Parboni, NLB £3.95.
Parboni traces the struggle of the dollar against the yen and the Deutschmark, and the new international monetary order after the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in the early seventies.

Brideshead Revisited, Evelyn Waugh, Penguin, £2.50.
Compelling. Anyone who has seen the TV series can't help but be fascinated by the long and difficult struggle of the bourgeoisie to find things to occupy their time. Pulls at the heart strings.



Spot the
The top helicopter scabbed on the ed Polish riot police on the roof


Christmas picket line

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Quiz of the year

How carefully do you read Socialist Challenge? How well do you remember what happened in the last 12 months? Test yourself with this quiz. All questions are based on information contained in Socialist Challenge during 1981.

January

1) Which European political party led an assault with bulldozers, wire-cutters and clubs on a hostel for immigrants, declaring: 'The people are fed up... out of every ten inhabitants, two are immigrants'.

2) It wasn't the Cup Final, but what did Tony Benn describe as 'a turning point in British Labour history'?

3) Richard Giordano became the highest paid company executive in Britain with a salary of £271,400. What was his company?

February

4) What did Carl Weinberger, US defence secretary describe as 'a valuable addition to our forces, which we shall probably want to use'?

5) Which union launched a campaign for 'positive action' in employment for black workers?

6) In an exclusive interview, who told Socialist Challenge how: 'The first bullet hit me in the back, then the second one hit me in the arm... the next bullet hit me in the head.'

7) 'I haven't changed my politics', she said, as this former president of the National Union of

Students swapped parties. Who was she, and what did she leave and join?

March

8) A 'Black People's Day of Action' ended with central London being taken over by black demonstrators. What was the protest about?

9) After a five year campaign who won the right to live with her children?

10) Ten million Polish workers went on strike after police attacked Solidarity members, in which town?

11) Which 27-year old member of the National Union of Vehicle Builders announced his intention to stand in a by-election?

April

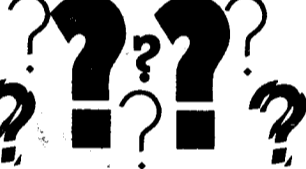
12) Which 56 year-old member of the Transport and General Workers Union announced his intention to stand in another election, and for what?

13) An estimated 40,000 women went on strike in Amsterdam. Over what?

14) Which occupation began under the slogan, 'We want to be Manchester workers not Doncaster Rovers'?

May

15) Who defeated Gerry Fitt in a council election in



Belfast?

16) In a referendum, in which European country did 70 per cent vote against what?

17) What leading politician did Socialist Challenge reveal was being paid £8,616 a year by the Daily Express?

18) Who told Socialist Challenge: 'I don't think import controls would solve the crisis, any more than devaluation or wage controls'?

June

19) Who joked at the start of an inquiry: 'I was told as a child to always agree with the police. It's the safest course'?

20) What happened when the Foreskins played at the Hambrough?

21) Who won 38 per cent in the first round?

July

22) Who announced his support for an independent Northern Ireland?

23) Who seized whose coffin in Belfast?

24) Who blamed 'people coming from outside' for the youth uprising in Manchester?

25) In an opinion poll in the Sunday Times what percentage said Britain needed 'a revolutionary change'?

August

26) John Boyd of the AUEW wrote: 'We have therefore instructed our

members to return to work.' Who ignored the instruction?

27) After seven months, what ended in victory?

28) What was the significance of the figure 31,278?

29) Where was a second state of emergency within three months declared?

September

30) What did EP Thompson and Edward Heath have in common?

31) Who didn't heckle Denis Healey?

32) Who was refused entry into Spain?

October

33) What did Derek Foster, Tom Graham, John Smith and 59 others not do?

34) Who called for a 'decade of confrontation'?

35) Where did PASOK win 47 per cent of the vote?

36) Who was ousted as Communist Party leader?

November

37) Who said: 'There seems to be some confusion about whether NATO has a contingency plan to fire a nuclear missile first'?

38) Who wrote, 'I want to pay tribute to Michael Foot', and then left the Labour Party?

39) Who said: 'There is another option to that of compromise and understanding: namely, confrontation'?

December

40) Who said, 'Confrontation is inevitable and confrontation will take place'?

Answers

40) Lech Walesa.
39) The BBC withdrew invitations to Polish Communist Party.
38) George Cunningham.
37) Ronald Reagan.
36) Stanislaw Kanala, in Poland.
35) Greece; PASOK is the Socialist Movement.
34) US defence secretary Caspar Weinberger.
33) They were Labour MPs who didn't vote for Benn in defiance of constituency policy.
32) Bernadette McAisley.
31) Jon Lansman.

26) James Callaghan.
25) Ten per cent.
24) Labour MP George Morton.
23) The RUC seized the coffin of hunger striker Francis Hughes.
22) James Callaghan.
21) The French Socialist Party.
20) Southern youth fought with the Lord Scaman.
19) Tony Benn.
18) Denis Healey.
17) The number of votes won by Owen Laws.
16) In a referendum, in which European country did 70 per cent vote against what?
15) Fergus O'Hare of Peoples Democracy.
14) Laurence Scott.
13) An anti-abortion bill.
12) Who announced his support for an independent Northern Ireland?
11) Which 27-year old member of the National Union of Vehicle Builders announced his intention to stand in a by-election?
10) Ten million Polish workers went on strike after police attacked Solidarity members, in which town?
9) Anwar Ditta.

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1) French Communist Party.
2) The Labour Party special conference at Wembley.
3) BOG.
4) The neutron bomb.
5) NUIE.
6) Michael McAisley, who along with Bernadette, was shot in January by Loyalists.
7) See Shipman, from the Communist Party to the Council for Social Democracy.
8) Police inaction over the murder of 13 young blacks in the New Cross Massacre.
9) Anwar Ditta.
10) Bydgoszcz.
11) Bobby Sands.
12) Tony Benn, deputy leader of the Labour Party.
13) An anti-abortion bill.
14) Laurence Scott.
15) Fergus O'Hare of Peoples Democracy.
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25) Ten per cent.
26) James Callaghan.
27) After seven months, what ended in victory?
28) What was the significance of the figure 31,278?
29) Where was a second state of emergency within three months declared?
30) What did EP Thompson and Edward Heath have in common?
31) Who didn't heckle Denis Healey?
32) Who was refused entry into Spain?
33) What did Derek Foster, Tom Graham, John Smith and 59 others not do?
34) Who called for a 'decade of confrontation'?

The Art of Resistance

As a special Xmas/New Year offer, Socialist Challenge will be giving away a FREE COPY of the Pluto Big Red Diary with every 12 months subscription.



The 1982 Diary celebrates popular resistance and its expression through visual art.

The compiler, Guy Brett, has drawn together from twenty three countries, examples of the Art of Resistance as varied as woodcuts from China, pendants from El Salvador and embroidery from Palestine.

With an 800-entry directory of radical campaigns, plus an editorial by the NCCL on civil liberties under attack it's a diary no militant can do without.

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War in the inner cities

THE BLACK PEOPLE'S DAY OF ACTION in March this year was an historic event. The call came from the New Cross Massacre Action Committee in response to police and press attempts to cover up the real story surrounding the fire at 439 New Cross Road, in which thirteen black youth lost their lives.

The determination of Britain's black population to defend themselves against all comers — be they police, fascists or Tory policies — has made its mark on the major political events of 1981.

In April, when the police launched a special operation against the black community in Brixton — 'Swamp '81' — black youth were joined by whites in street battles unprecedented on the British mainland this century.

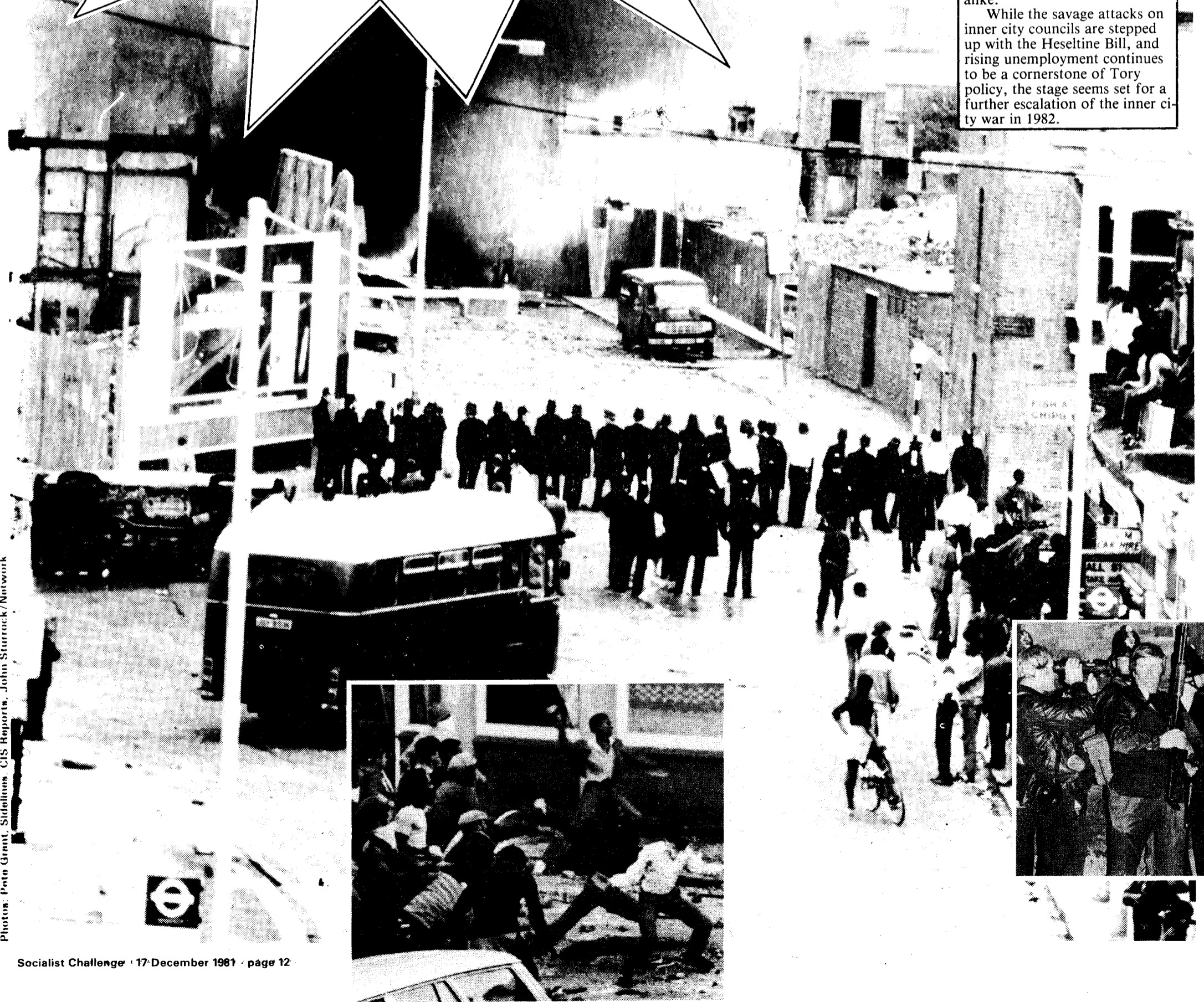
Nobody in the black community in Brixton was prepared to condemn the young people.

The Brixton events marked a historic break with British society by large sections of the most oppressed of the inner cities. Three months later, in July, the pattern was to be repeated up and down the country.

As the year ends, Tory Britain has come no closer to solving the problems of Britain's inner cities.

The Scarman inquiry into Brixton has been greeted with derision from the black community and local council leaders alike.

While the savage attacks on inner city councils are stepped up with the Heseltine Bill, and rising unemployment continues to be a cornerstone of Tory policy, the stage seems set for a further escalation of the inner city war in 1982.



Photos: Pete Grant, Sidelinus CIS Reports, John Sturrock/Network



Bobby Sands



Francis Hughes



Raymond McCreesh



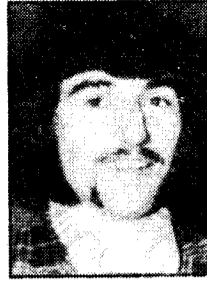
Patsy O'Hara



Joe McDonell



Martin Hurson



Kevin Lynch



Kieran Doherty



Thomas McElwee



Micky Devine

RHYTHM OF TIME

By Bobby Sands, MP

There's an inner thing in every man,
Do you know this thing my friend?
It has withstood the blows of a million years,
And will do so to the end.

It was born when time did not exist,
And it grew up out of life,
It cut down evil's strangling vines,
Like a slashing searing knife.

It lit fires when fires were not,
And burnt the mind of man,
Tempering leadened hearts to

steel,
From the time that time began.

It went by the waters of Babylon,
And when all men were a loss,
It screeched in writhing agony,
And it hung bleeding from the Cross.

It died in Rome by lion and sword,
And in defiant cruel array,
When the deathly word was 'Spartacus',
Along the Appian Way.

It marched with Wat the Tyler's poor,
And frightened lord and king,
And it was emblazoned in their deathly stare,
As e'er a living thing.

It smiled in holy innocence,
Before conquistadors of old,
So meek and tame and unaware,
Of the deathly power of gold.
It burst forth through pitiful Paris streets,
And stormed the old Bastille,
And marched upon the serpent's head,
And crushed it 'neath its heel.

It died in blood on Buffalo Plains,
And starved by moons of rain,
Its heart was buried in Wounded Knee,
But it will come to rise again.

It screamed aloud by Kerry lakes,
As it was knelt upon the ground,
And it died in great defiance,
As they coldly shot it down.

It is found in every light of hope,
It knows no bounds nor space,

It has risen in red and black and white,
It is there in every race.

It lies in the hearts of heroes dead,
It screams in tyrants' eyes,
It has reached the peak of mountains high,
It comes searing 'cross the skies.

It lights the dark of this prison cell,
It thunders forth its might,
It is 'the undauntable thought', my friend
That thought that says 'I'm right!'.

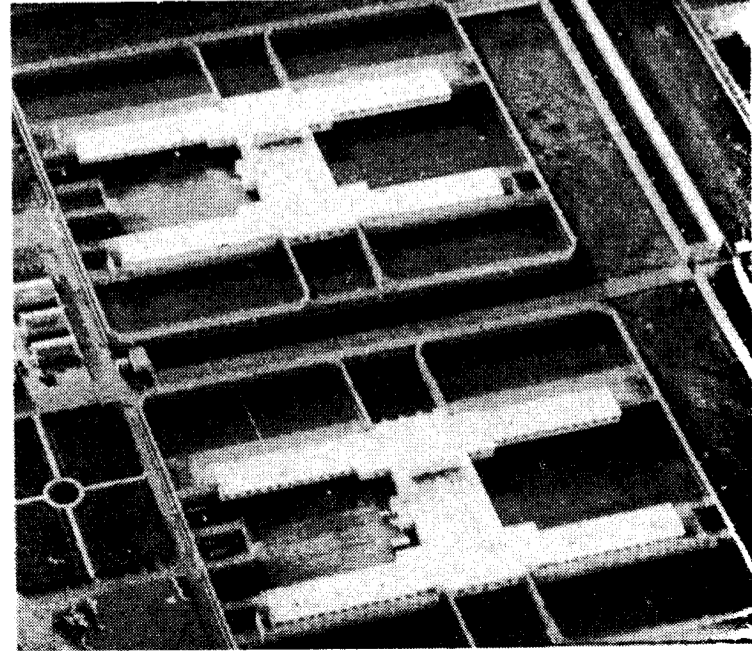
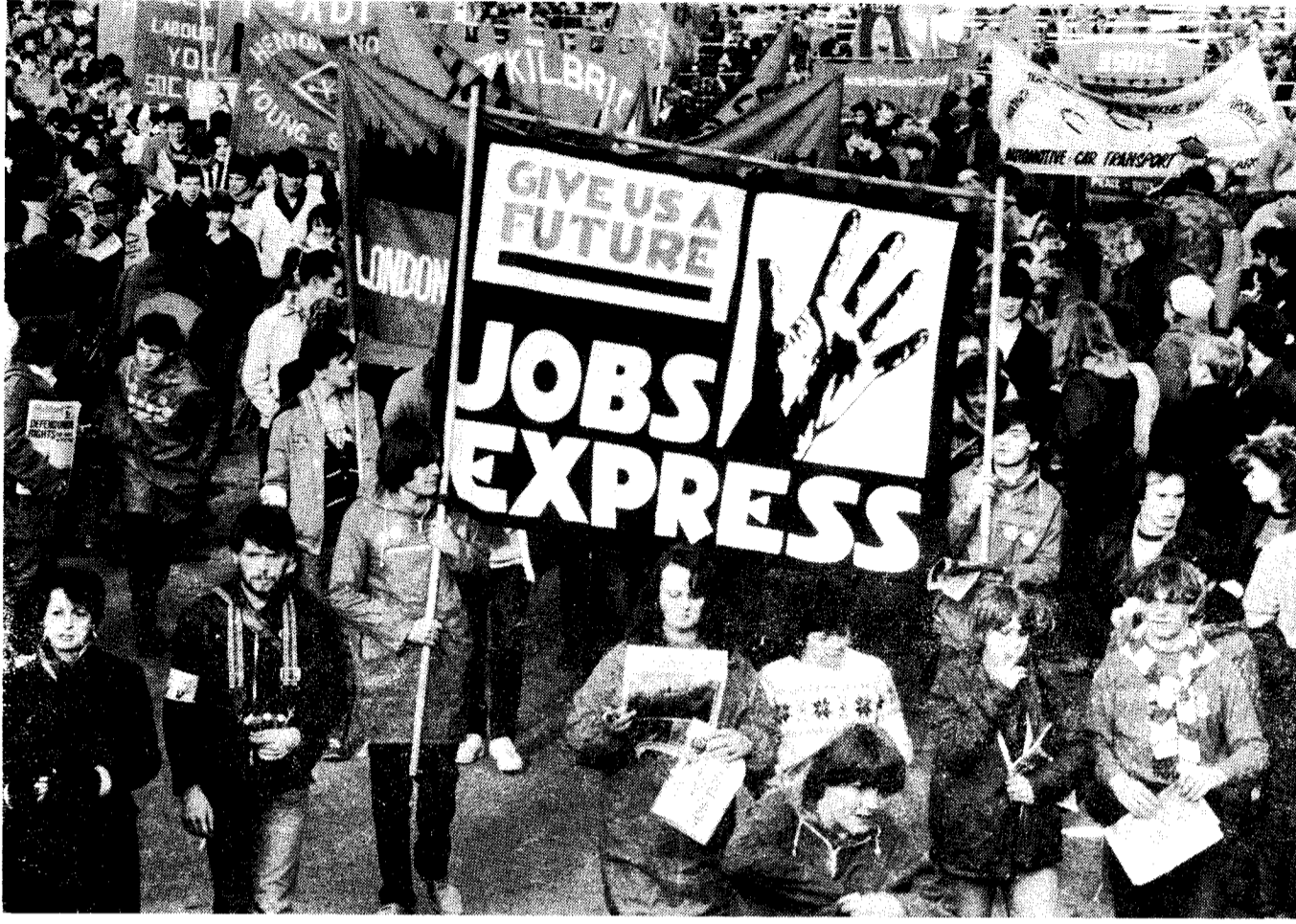


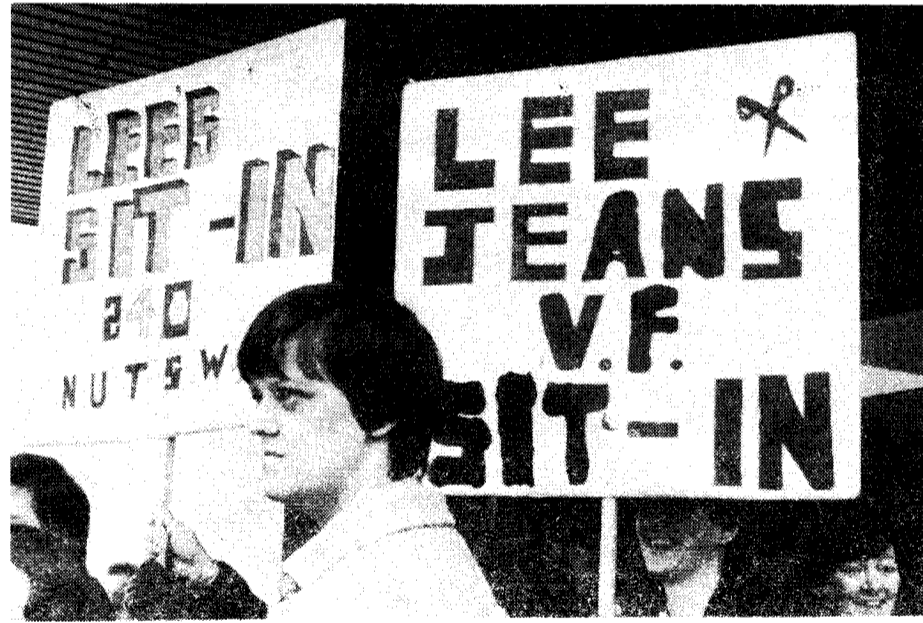
Photo: REPUBLICAN NEWS



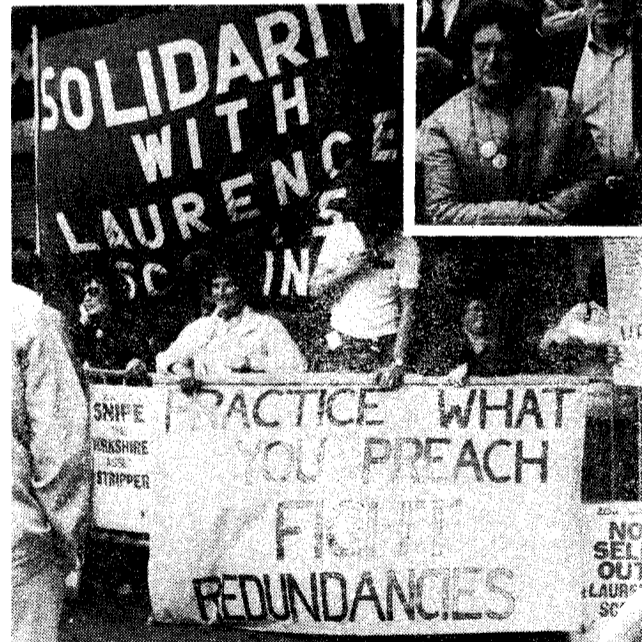
MILLIONS unemployed... but millions on the streets showing their anger and determination to fight this government. Jobs for youth, jobs for women, jobs for all — that was the message that

came loud and clear from the Labour Party marches in Glasgow, Cardiff, Birmingham and London, the People's March for Jobs and the Jobs Express.

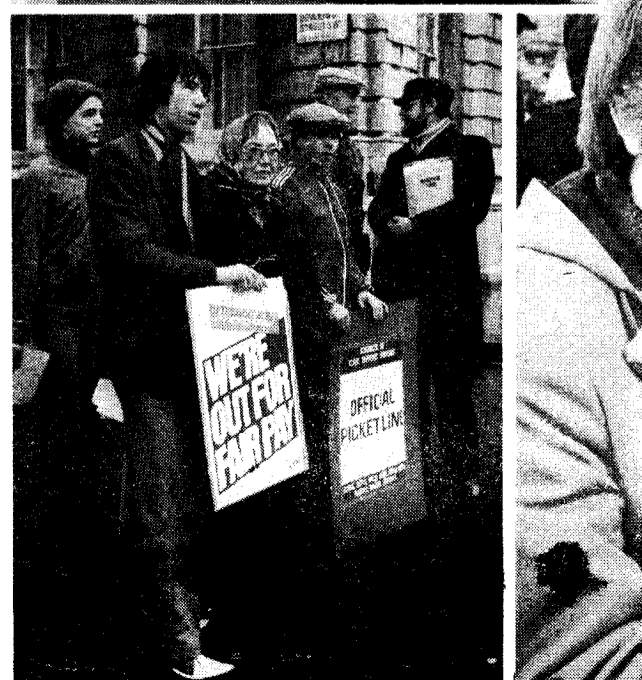
THE YEAR PEOPLE



EIGHT months on strike and still going strong. Laurence Scott workers have led the struggle for jobs in 1981 against their boss, the police and bailiffs, and against Boyd and Duffy. Now they face Xmas and New Year on the picket line



WOMEN have the right to work too. That was the message Lee Jeans workers took round the country in their victorious fight for jobs.

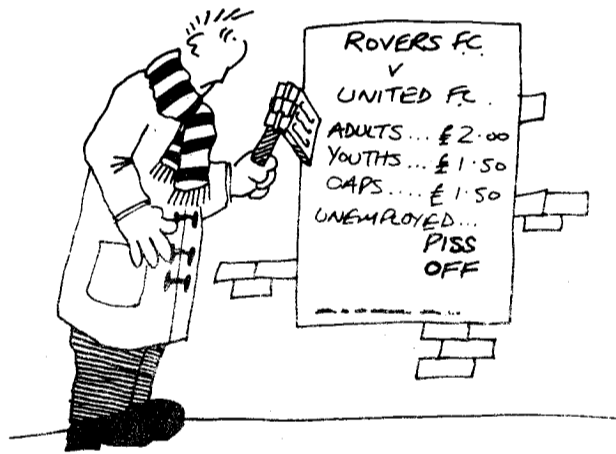




MARCHED FOR JOBS

BL and Edwardes may have won a battle but they haven't won the war. Despite the failure of BL workers to come out on national strike, the Longbridge workers showed they were not demoralised when they walked

out for four weeks in an attempt to get a 39 hour week without strings. What BL workers want for Xmas is a new union leadership, both locally and nationally.



MAGNIFICENT! The miners opened the year by forcing Thatcher to make a U-turn when they struck against pit closures. And they went out of the year with a bang when Scargill was elected president by a landslide.

1982 and the battle lines are being drawn. The miners and Ford workers are preparing the ground. Women are campaigning for the labour movement to take up their right to work. Youth will not be satisfied with trips on trains or Youth on Poverty Schemes. Black people are fighting back too.



British politics in 1981

THE YEAR THE



SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

OF ALL the countries in the capitalist world, Britain in the last twenty years has suffered the most acute economic, and increasingly the worst social, crisis. But the political crisis in that period was nothing like so acute. The certainties of the British politics — the steady alternation of Labour and Tory governments of a 'moderate' character — appeared to hold. The 'social democratic' consensus established after the second world war around state intervention in the economy, limited nationalisation and the welfare state continued unabated.

ting inflation, creating a 'slimmer but healthier' industrial base and attempting to break the working class through unemployment — has failed. Unemployment, despite inflicting some important defeats on the workers, and despite a drop of one million in the number of trade unionists, has not crushed the organised combativity of the working class.

of the crisis has meant that formerly profitable industry, especially in engineering, has been bankrupted. Important sections of the ruling class are turning to the SDP for an alternative.

For the labour bureaucracy, both in the Labour Party and the trade unions, the problem is Bennism. Benn's base wants to break with the social democratic consensus to impose radical policies through a new

More importantly in the short term, the depth

Labour government.

The fight waged for democracy has weakened the control of the bureaucracy over the Labour Party apparatus and threatens to spill over into the trade unions. The

response of a section of the Labour Party right-wing has been to give up the struggle in the Party and form the SDP.

The struggle in the labour movement in 1981 was started by the special

Wembley conference in January to discuss the constitution. The adoption of the 40-30-30 formula for electing the leadership was a stinging blow to the right, a victory for the Bennite left.

The dominance of the centre in British politics was broken in the 1970s by twin phenomena — Bennism and Thatcherism. The crisis became so acute that in both the ruling class and the working class, radical solutions were popularised.

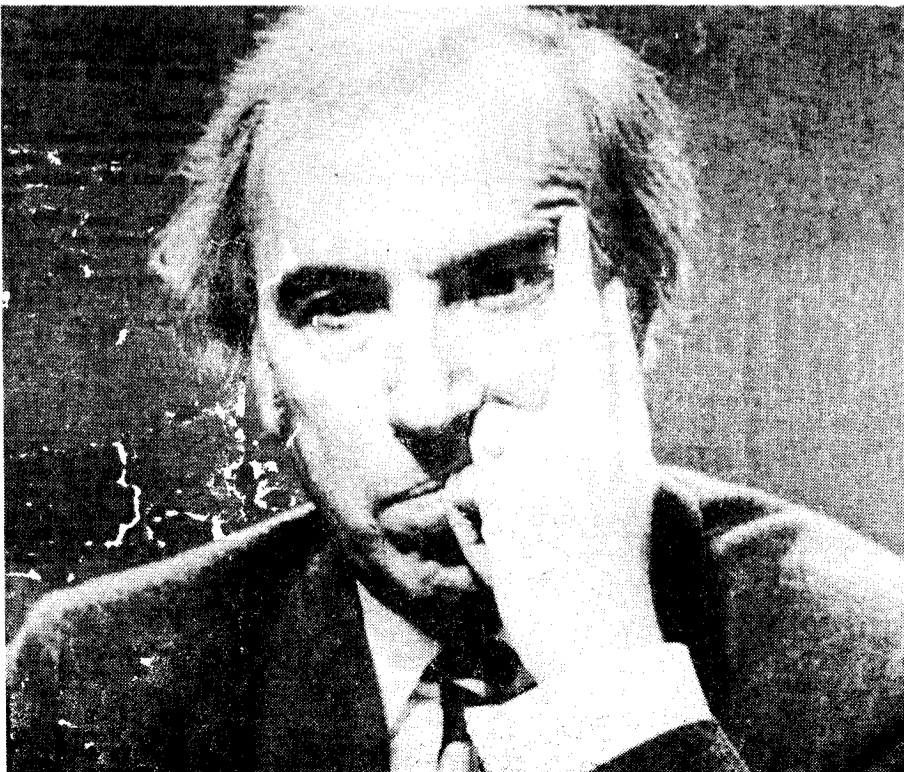
The deflationary strategy of monetarism — putting the emphasis on combat-

The crisis and recomposition of British politics has come to a head in 1981 around the establishment; and growth of the Socialist Democratic Party, the simmering crisis in the Tory Party and the eruption of civil war inside the Labour Party. British politics will never be the same again. It was truly 'the year the mould broke'.

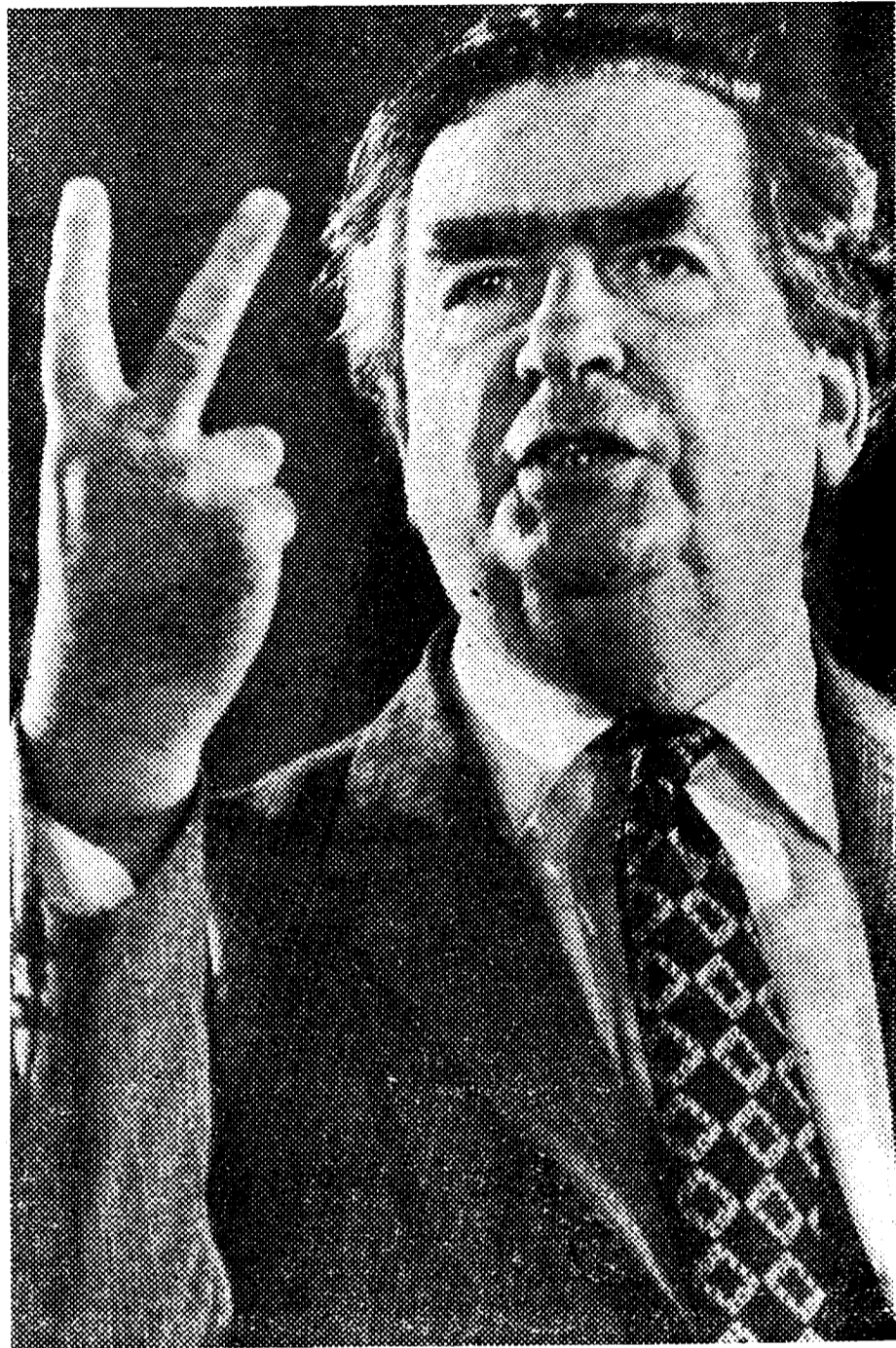
Acute

The turmoil of British politics, symbolised by the growth of the SDP is the joint product of the problems facing the ruling class and the labour bureaucracy.

For the ruling class Thatcherism is posing acute political problems.



MOULD BROKE



The left's victory created the excuse for the 'Gang of Three' (later the Gang of Four) — Williams, Rogers and Owen — to set up their 'Council for Social Democracy' as the first stage in splitting from the party. But it was just an excuse: the split had been long prepared in alliance with Roy Jenkins.

Tony Benn's decision to test out the '40-30-30' mechanism through the deputy leadership contest threw the right wing into disarray. At first it seemed that Benn had no chance. But as the campaign proceeded, taken into the unions and sweeping the constituency parties, the right panicked: The TGWU conference was only just prevented from mandating its delegates to vote for Benn.

But the deputy leadership campaign hastened the differentiation *inside the Labour left itself*. The emergence of John Silkin as the 'third candidate', backed by a goodly part of the *Tribune* group led by Neil Kinnock, brought in to the open the conflict between the old Foot-style Tribunites and the Bennites — a division consummated at the Labour conference itself when some Silkin supporters voted for Healey in the second round.

The defeat of Tony

Benn in the deputy leadership fight — by half of one per cent — started the Labour right's fight back.

Their defeat of a number of left candidates in the NEC elections, their victory in control of the election manifesto, and now their opening up of a full-scale witch hunt against the Left in the party was all based on the defeat of Benn in the deputy leadership election.

The crisis in both the Labour and Tory parties was compounded by the series of startling election successes for the SDP. Roy Jenkins' near miss in Warrington and Shirley Williams' victory in Crosby, and the generally high standing of the SDP in the opinion polls has hastened the differentiation in both parties.

'Wets'

Unfortunately the SDP represents nothing new for either the labour bureaucracy or the bourgeoisie. They have ransacked the last twenty years of British political history for some ideas. The few they have found are the policies of capitalism in boom, not capitalism in crisis.

In the Tory party, the response to the SDP has been to stiffen the determination of the 'wets' to challenge and oppose

Thatcher.

Risking temporary unpopularity with the Tory ranks, people like Heath and Gilmour have come

out in open opposition. They are swimming against the stream today in the hope that ignominious defeat for Thatcher in the

next election will sweep them back into power in the Conservative Party.

At the end of 1981 British politics is in a greater state of flux than at any time for forty years. At the next general election it seems likely that there will be three major parties in parliament and not two. While the fight

which is developing in the Tory party is just in an embryonic state, that in the Labour Party is reaching a crucial stage.

The question being posed is whether the bureaucracy will re-assert its control through expulsions, the disbanding of local parties and proscrip-

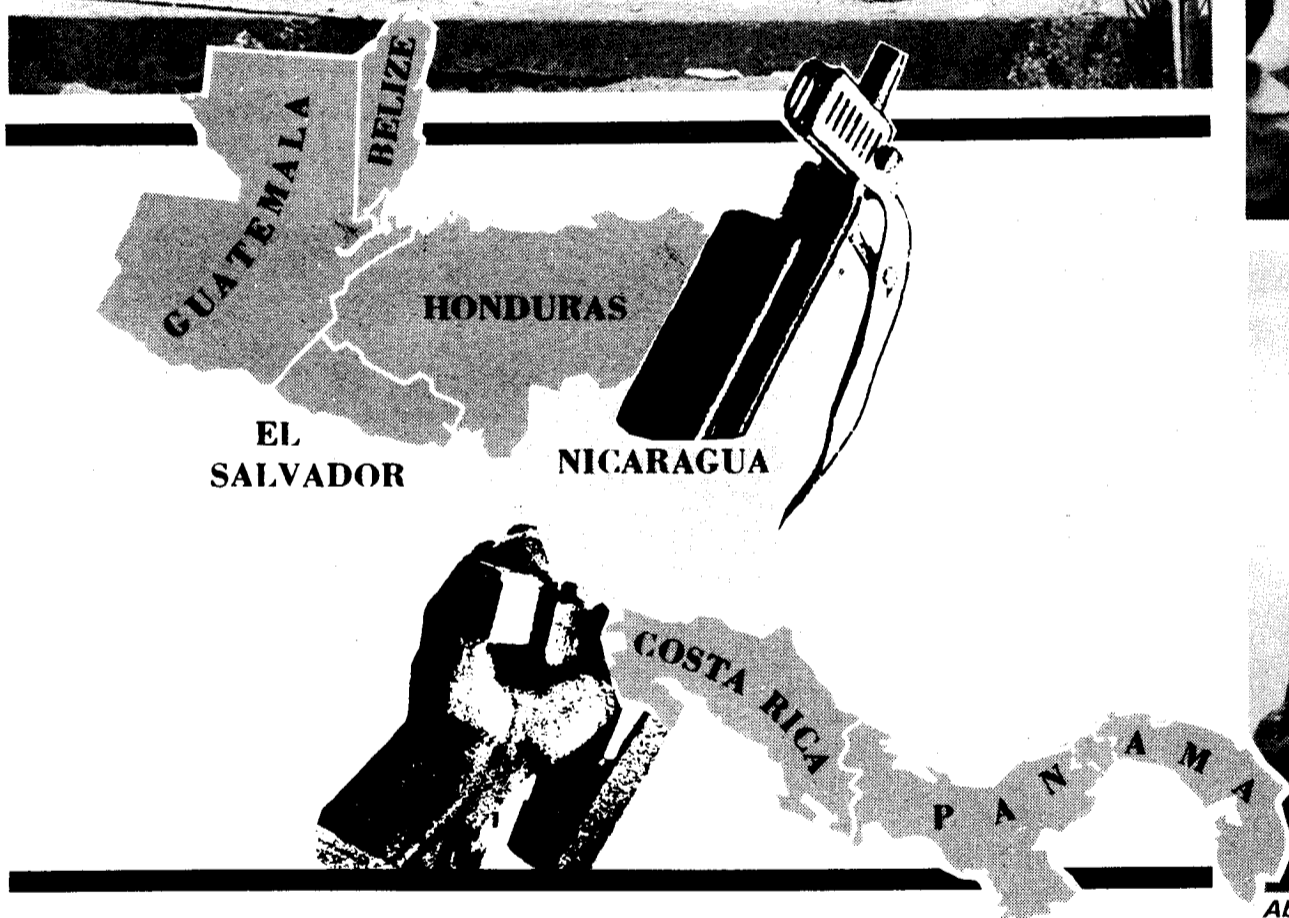
tions, or whether the Labour Party will consolidate its move to the left and become a different type of Labour Party.

The stakes in British politics today are extremely high. What is done by the left today will affect the outcome of the struggle for many years ahead.



Central America:

THE HOUR OF THE FURNACES



1981 announced itself with fury in Central America. On 11 January the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front launched its 'final offensive' in El Salvador. Guerillas swept into the suburbs of San Salvador, dozens of barracks in provincial towns were attacked. Santa Ana was taken and held by the guerillas for a week.

But the FMLN, despite striking hard blows against the dictatorship did not succeed in ousting the military junta. The cities, and especially San Salvador did not sufficiently respond to the general strike call. American military aid — helicopters, guns, and military advisors — poured in to relieve the beleaguered regime.

Central America has become one of the two central arenas of struggle for the world workers' movement, along with Poland. The outcome will depend on the evolution of the struggle in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, and on whether the

United States can be prevented from intervening to crush the revolutions.

The El Salvador regime's counter-offensive has come unstuck. By the middle of the year, industry in San Salvador was grinding to a halt as the FMLN sabotaged the nation's power supplies. The liberated zones remained intact, subject only to occasional government airborne attack.

The guerillas renewed their military attacks in the summer. Mexico and France severely dented the US's attempts to get international support for the junta by recognising the FMLN/FDR as a legitimate political current.

Meanwhile in Nicaragua, the revolution has been subject to internal sabotage and economic blockade. The cutting-off of US credits dealt a hard blow to the economy while the Sandinista government was forced to take emergency measures against the sabotage of the bourgeoisie.

Capital flight and an effective investment strike forced the government to intervene against more and more private enterprise. The struggle against imperialism and the local bourgeoisie is inexorably forcing the FSLN to take power — political and economic — from the bourgeoisie. A workers' state is emerging.

The war in El Salvador and the struggle in Nicaragua has tended to overshadow the revolution in Guatemala. But in 1981 the war, led above all by the Guerillas Army of the Poor, left thousands dead on both sides.

1981 concluded with the threats from the United States to take military action against Cuba and Nicaragua and the heroic revolution in nearby Grenada. The whole of Uncle Sam's 'back yard' is under threat from the revolution. In these decisive hours international solidarity is more vital than ever.

Above FSLN fighters in Nicaragua. Above left: National Guard in El Salvador





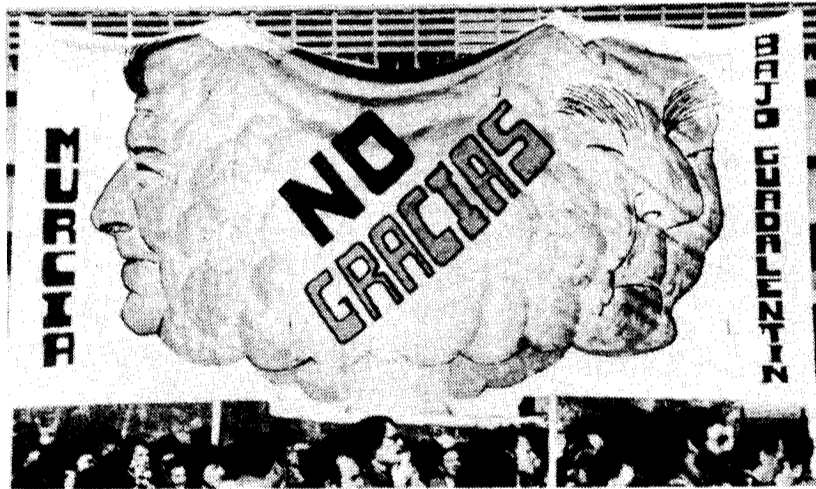
The year 2 million marched against the bomb

WHATEVER the language, two million marchers across Europe were saying the same thing: no to Cruise, no to Euroshima, no to the US war drive.

Their voices made the White House tremble. Reagan scrambled to regain some degree of credibility in the propaganda war with his 'zero option' proposals.

But it is too late to wipe out the almost universal fear that he is preparing for a limited nuclear war in Europe, and conventional war in Central America, which could provoke a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union.

In Britain, the revulsion against becoming 'Uncle Sam's aircraft carrier' brought a quarter of a million onto the streets in the largest anti-war



demonstration ever.

The Tory party and its shamefaced cousin the SDP, share a common approach to nuclear weapons. They support them along with the nuclear alliance, NATO.

Although the fight to withdraw from NATO has yet to be won in the labour movement, both the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress have been firmly committed to the next Labour government

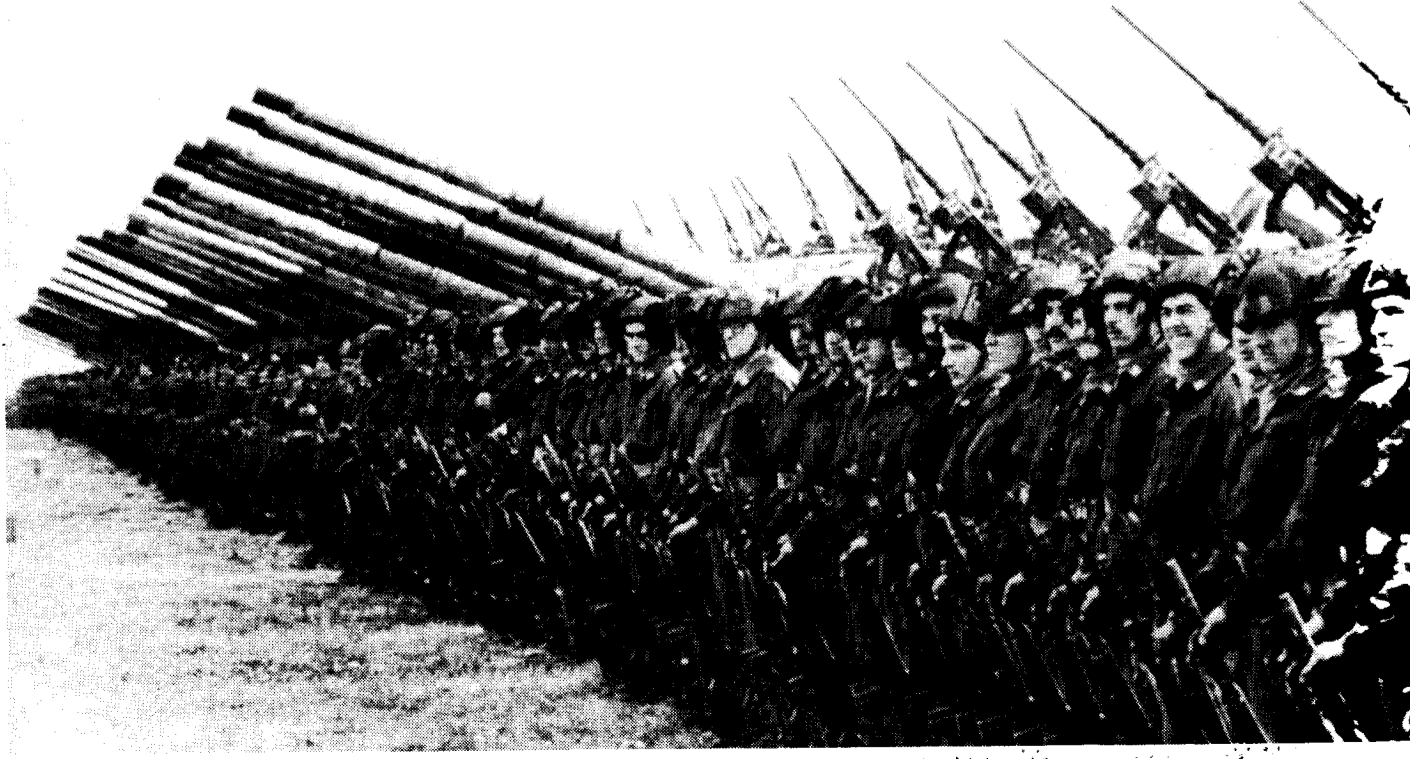


withdrawing nuclear weapons from Britain.

This should be coupled with vigorous fight against any attempt by the right wing of the labour movement to ditch opposition to Cruise and Trident.

What is needed in 1982 is a building an international demonstration of massive proportions among the youth and working people across Europe.

Protest and survive: throw the war-makers out.



Help us to defend

SOLIDARNOŚĆ

By the Editor
SOLIDARITY with the Polish workers! That's the battle cry of Socialist Challenge for the New Year. But without your immediate support our very future is threatened.
 So far you have been quick off

the mark with your support for the Polish workers. It was Socialist Challenge supporters who made up the largest left contingent of the crowd of 500 people that gathered outside the Polish Embassy last Sunday chanting: 'Defend Solidarity. Support the Polish workers!' Now it's all out for next Sunday's demonstration. We urge all

our supporters to march with our banner. Socialist Challenge supporters too were first off the mark in Manchester organising a united front rally with labour movement speakers and circulating a petition started by the Eastern European Solidarity Campaign for trade unionists condemning the government crackdown and

Socialist Challenge

pledging trade union support. On Friday in London's Conway Hall Socialist Challenge is jointly sponsoring a rally with the paper *Revolution* highlighting the Polish events and the struggle against oppression world-wide.

Revolutionary Marxists abroad also took the lead in organising the 5,000 strong demonstration in Paris and one of a similar size in Milan.

Your paper is at the heart of all these developments. That's why this week it's coverage has been expanded to 20 pages to bring you all the latest news and analysis and maintaining all our regular features.

But to get the truth out on Poland needs money. Lots of it. In co-operation with other revolutionary Marxist papers in Western Europe we are maintaining a team of reporters in Poland. When communications are resumed we hope that their coverage will be the best on the left. To maintain this team costs us £50 per week; to get out our extra four pages costs us £300.

This is why we are appealing for £500 to get the truth out on Poland over the next month.

Contrary to the claims of the witch-hunters, all our financial support is from donations from those active in the labour movement. We receive no backhanders from shady foundations or trusts, nor the massive backing of the media like the SDP traitors.



Photo: ROY CUCKOW

In the New Year we will be launching our next major fund drive appeal. But let's finish the old year as we mean to begin the new.

Rush us your donations before Christmas, better still take out a standing order... but do it today!

Socialist Challenge Fund Appeal, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP

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Next issue of Socialist Challenge will appear on 7 January 1982

Revolution Youth Rally

Friday 18 December

Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., London WC2 7.30pm

Solidarity with 'Solidarity'

and

Solidarity with the struggle against imperialism

Speakers from the New Jewel Movement of Grenada, the El Salvador FDR/FMLN, the FSLN of Nicaragua, Peoples' Democracy from Ireland, Young Socialist Alliance from the United States plus a speaker on the situation in Poland

Tickets £1 (50p unwaged) from RY rally, PO Box 50, London N1, or on door.

Don't die for Thatcher!



Photo: JOHN SMITH (JFL)

Come to the Revolution Youth Conference

19/20 December.
 Phone (01)359 8371 for details.