



BOSSSES RENEW RACIST CAMPAIGN



MINERS MUST DEFEAT PAY CUTS

It is becoming clear that the NUM ballot on the TUC 4½% wage-cut plan could well result in its rejection.

We urge all miners who still have the chance to vote to help defeat the deal.

More news Page 11.

A conscious campaign is underway to whip up racist sentiments amongst certain sectors of the working class. The campaign, carefully orchestrated by the capitalist class through the press and mass media, aims to turn the frustration felt by many workers at the declining living standards and mass unemployment created by the Labour government, into a means of splitting the unity of the working class itself.

The plan emerged clearly in the sequence of stories publicised last week.

*On Sunday (23rd May) every single news centred around a long main item on 30 fascists (from the National Front and National Party) protesting at Gatwick Airport against the arrival of 40 Goans expelled from Malawi coming to live in Britain. Since plane-loads of people arrive and leave Gatwick all the time it was hard to see any hot news in such a story.

*On Monday the Powell story broke in Parliament. Powell just happened to have got hold of a "confidential" government document, which just happened to support his racist views. To ensure the story was followed up the Assistant Under Secretary of State who wrote the document went out of his way to defend it thus lending the authority of the government to Powell's rantings.

*Also on Monday "ATV Today" presented nearly 15 minutes of coverage on the strength of the National Front in Leicester. The television has played a key role in this campaign.

*On Tuesday the television splashed the trial of Relf, the ex-bodyguard to Colin Jordan, who had tried to start a branch of the Ku Klux Klan, and is an acknowledged Nazi.

FILM

ATV Today showed film of a handful of fascists demonstrating and an interview with Relf's wife.

This spate of propaganda was backed up by a series of articles in

the newspapers, and follows on the articles in the Sun on immigrants in hotels.

The Sun articles certainly helped create the racist hysteria which murdered the two overseas students, stabbed in North London last week.

There has been some surface response in the working class to this orchestrated campaign.

But in order to fight this we have to look at the source of the response - the frustration felt by workers facing problems they cannot solve.

REFUSAL

This frustration is caused by the refusal of the trade union and Labour leaders to mobilise the working class in action over housing, jobs and wages. Racism cannot be separated off from all this.

While some trade union leaders are themselves strongly opposed to racism, this is not enough.

Racist divisions once built up by capitalism can only effectively be knocked down when workers come into action as a class against the main enemy. By blocking this, and carrying out instead the policies of the employers the bureaucracy strengthens racism.

For the most part the union bureaucracy and Labour leaders have the most abysmal record of capitulation to racism and every kind of backward nationalism.

The Callaghan government itself was already considering further restricting immigration before Powell moved on to the offensive.

This is consistent with the vicious attacks of the previous Wilson administration on the right

to free immigration. Not only did they refuse to repeal the Tory Immigration Act, they even tightened it further at the time of the expulsion of Asians from Kenya.

We stand as socialists for the unrestricted right of all workers to live and work in whatever country they choose. The working class is an international class, exploited in every country by capitalism and with a common interest in the struggle for socialism.

We condemn the notorious record of successive Labour governments in supporting the actions of British imperialism against the struggles of workers and peasants in the colonial and ex-colonial countries - as continued today by British troops in Dhofar and Northern Ireland.

And we equally condemn the thoroughly reactionary stand of the 'left' Labourites and union leaders who now daily advocate the nationalist and divisive policy of import controls - seeking to ally workers with British capitalists against "foreign" capitalists rather than pose a socialist programme for the crisis.

POWELL

This policy can now be seen to further fuel the reactionary fire of Powell's nationalism and racism.

While it is vital that every trade union leader and Labour MP and councillor be forced to take a stand against racism, correct speeches are now not enough.

The bosses' moves to whip up divisions and violent splits within the workers' movement can only be fully answered by an all out struggle in defence of jobs, wages

GREEK WORKERS FIGHT ANTI-STRIKE LAWS

By a Special Correspondent.

Violent street battles erupted in Athens on May 25th leading to the arrest of almost 200 people and leaving dozens of workers injured. They were the direct result of the Karamanlis regime using police and military force to force sweeping anti-strike laws through Parliament. On the same day armed police attacked a crowd of 10,000 on the island of Rhodes who were protesting at the visit of two US warships.

The Athens clashes came on the second day of the 48 hours national strike called by a committee of trades unionists against the new laws.

Despite the fact that the government-recognised General Confederation of Labour negotiated the final version of the law direct with the regime, over 150,000 workers struck and forced some last minute amendments.

RUMP

The official Confederation is a rump body in whose leadership government supporters and many figures who backed the Colonels' dictatorship are strongly represented.

In many industries its sections are smaller than more militant unions built since the fall of the Junta in 1974.

The law now passed is a complete straightjacketing of the right to strike, formally embodied in the constitution since the end of open dictatorship.

It bans political and unofficial strikes and those without "proper notice".

Workers in state enterprises face a mandatory ten-day "cooling off" period. At the same time employers' rights to impose immediate lock-outs and the scabs' "right" to work get forceful legal backing.

These sweeping attacks on the working class were pushed

through with massive police violence. Virtually the whole of the Athens police forces, with armoured cars and tear gas, were mobilised against a demonstration to the Parliament building.

An elderly woman died after being run down by a police car, and many building workers were among those injured and arrested.

Paratroops were reported to be at the ready in the northern suburbs, though they were not used. Nonetheless, street fighting continued for almost twelve hours bringing an extension of the strike in some areas, and a press strike in protest the following day.

The determined resistance put up - against very large sections of the trade union bureaucracy, and the abstention of the Greek Communist Party - throws in doubt the government's ability to operate the new laws.

In principle, however, the law would have outlawed all the protests against the legislation.

HATRED

The demonstration on Rhodes reflected the deep hatred of U imperialism and its close relation to the present regime. Police use tear gas in an attempt to disperse a peaceful crowd of ten thousand demonstrating against the presence of the aircraft carrier America and a cruiser.

In the ensuing fighting the police headquarters was seriously damaged. So was the car of the

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ITALY

CP blocks road to workers government

The Italian general elections on June 20th offer the opportunity for an important advance by the working class towards a socialist solution to Italy's deep economic and social crisis.

But a huge obstacle stands in the way - the policy of the Italian Communist Party.

In the electoral campaign the CP leaders present the party as a saviour of the Italian "nation" (that is, of Italian capitalism), and never as the leader of the Italian working class.

The aim of the party leadership remains the establishment of an emergency 'national' government including all the 'democratic' parties from the CP to the Liberals. The only specifically excluded party is the fascist MSI.

"COMPROMISE"

This is a variation on the 'historic compromise' formula for a Communist and Christian Democrat government which, the CP leaders say, remains their long term aim.

The new plan for a broader emergency coalition is the formula

which for several months has been the policy of the Socialist Party.

The Christian Democrats for their part have ruled out in advance any coalition with the CP, and on their behalf the Vatican is waging the most hysterical anti-communist campaign since 1948, when voting communist was made grounds for ex-communication.

The Christian Democrat leaders are pinning their hopes on another centre-left coalition with the Socialist Party, which has in its turn, however, ruled out participation in any government without the CP.

The left sections of the Socialist Party have begun calling for a coalition of workers' parties should they together get a majority in parliament as at present seems likely. And the CP has not excluded this possibility if the Christian Democrats cannot be persuaded to join a broad 'national' coalition.

The only way forward for the Italian working class after these elections is through the formation of a government of the Communist, Socialist and other workers' parties.

The recent statements of the CP and Socialist leaders contemplate the possibility of such a coalition; but they do so in an utterly opportunistic and unprincipled way.

The CP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer has said that even if the workers' parties are 'forced' to form their own government, they will leave the door open at any time for the capitalist parties to join the coalition.

These treacherous positions of the CP and Socialist Party leaders make it clear that the establishment of a government of workers' parties, though it is an indispensable step for the Italian working class, would by itself solve none of the problems which the capitalist crisis is loading onto the backs of Italian workers.

It would be not the end of a fight but the beginning. The leaders of such a government must be forced to abandon the reactionary policies on which they are fighting this election campaign:

In it they have expressed hostility to further nationalisation; they have given tacit and sometimes open support to wage control; they have warmly supported the EEC; and say firmly that Italy should remain in the NATO alliance!

Such policies must be replaced with policies which can protect workers against the effects of the capitalist crisis and lead on to the introduction of socialism rather than back to the reestablishment of capitalist profitability at the

workers' expense.

The struggle will therefore inevitably be one about the leadership of the working class. Leaders who claim to fight for the interests of the working class must be forced to substantiate their words in practice.

And when they do not, a fight must be waged to replace them.

Proletarian Democracy, the alliance of left wing parties which is fighting the election with joint lists of candidates, has correctly called for the establishment of a government coalition of workers' parties after the elections.

SUPPORT

The present signs are that this call is gaining large scale support among the vanguard of the Italian working class. The programme of Proletarian Democracy calls for more nationalisation and for Italy's withdrawal from NATO.

But it fails either to take up plainly the question of leadership or to unite its demands into a coherent programme.

Unless it can do these things Proletarian Democracy will inevitably become more and more a left cover for the CP at a decisive moment when the political survival and advance of the Italian working class demands a clear and principled revolutionary leadership.

NAMIBIA militants condemned

The death sentences passed on the two SWAPO militants Hendrik Shikongo and Aaron Muchinba by the South African government in illegal occupation of Namibia must be condemned throughout the labour movement.

All measures to secure their reversal must be given support.

They completely expose any talk of 'self determination' for Namibians and show the determination of the Vorster regime to hang onto Namibia with its rich deposits of Uranium and diamonds by all means necessary including the murder of those fighting for independence.

South Africa is currently engaged in a 'constitutional conference' at Windhoek, the capital of Namibia to decide the future of the territory. This is to some extent a reflection of the pressure from the Angolan government which is giving a measure of support to the Namibian independence movement.

However, the present talks are part of Vorster's plan to stall. Majority rule and independence is not even on the conference agenda!

Furthermore, SWAPO, the largest liberation movement and the only one mobilising national support throughout Namibia is effectively banned from participation.

Vorster recently stated that he "would not interfere if the conference should invite them" (because he knows full well that it will not).

PARTICIPATE

SWAPO will only participate in the talks on the basis of:

- a rapid transfer to majority rule.
- recognition of SWAPO as the legitimate government of Namibia.
- The release of all Namibian political prisoners.

Vorster says that: "...the various peoples should work out their own future without any interference from South Africa, the United Nations or anyone else" because he knows full well that the local whites will never agree to the SWAPO basis for talks.

The local whites, with the exception of the German community (Namibia was a German colony up to the First World War) all come from South Africa and are led by a Mr du Plessis of the right-wing HNP South African extreme Nationalist Party.

He enters the Windhoek conference on an explicit position of:

- no modification of apartheid.
- no recognition of SWAPO - only 'safe' Africans are invited to the talks.

Vorster is cynically pursuing in Namibia exactly the strategy - prolonged negotiations with right-wing Africans - that, in attempting to put a liberal face to the world, he condemns Ian Smith for pursuing in Rhodesia!

There is another analogy with Rhodesia however.

That is the gathering exodus of whites! Considerable numbers of white farmers and businessmen are selling up their properties at rock bottom prices and moving back into South Africa, as the SWAPO guerrillas penetrate ever further southwards from the Angolan

CHINA

Political crisis continues

The political crisis in the Chinese Communist Party has in no way been resolved by the removal of Teng Hsiao-Ping following the demonstrations at the beginning of April.

Almost exactly a decade since the opening of the 'Cultural Revolution' in 1966, the situation in the top echelons of the Party and state machine is one of unstable balance.

The failing health of Mao Tse-Tung raises the spectre of renewed, and more savage political battles.

Daily attacks continue in the press against the 'handful of capitalist roaders' in the Party whom Teng was allegedly sheltering.

But so far, Teng is the only leading figure to have been publicly disgraced. Others, including education minister Chou Yung-Hsin and Chiang Wei-Ching, first Party secretary in Kiangsi province, have been publicly criticised and have disappeared from view.

The press, almost entirely controlled by the 'left' faction of Chiang Ching (Mao's wife) gives a contradictory picture of the political crisis, reminiscent of the justifications given by Stalin's journalists for the pre-war purges within the Soviet Communist Party.

On the one hand it is claimed that there must necessarily exist powerful capitalist elements within the Party itself, that this situation will not disappear until the 'Chinese road to socialism' has led to full communism (ie to an immeasurably higher level of economic and social development).

CONFLICT

Seen in this way, the conflict between the working class and the handful of 'capitalist roaders' in the party leadership can even be called the 'principal contradiction' of modern Chinese society.

On the other hand, in flat contradiction with this, it is said that the 'bourgeois elements' are only a handful who have already been (or are on the very point of being) completely routed, and that the task is to 'concentrate criticism against Teng'.

This must be carried out under the sole direction of the Party committees at every level.

This line, of course, cannot pos-



Liu Shao-chi (centre)

'theory' that the 'main enemies' of the working class are capitalist elements controlling by deceit key sections of the Party machine.

But what it reflects is the fear by the bureaucracy that political conflict will run out of control, as it did during 1967, and that all sections of the Party machine and the bureaucracy may become targets for examination and criticism by the masses and the youth.

It is this that explains the secretive, hypocritical surface of the crisis as it appears through the prism of the presently dominant faction.

Teng has not been brought to trial, and there is no news of his fate, even though, if the official version is to be believed, his activities amounted to treason at the highest level ever since he reappeared on the scene in 1973 (after having been disgraced along with Liu Shao-Chi during the Cultural Revolution).

WALL POSTERS

There were reports in the middle



"capitalist roader" Lin Piao

Prime Minister) openly inviting the imperialist powers to a military alliance against the Soviet Union.

British Conservatives on a delegation in May were pleasantly surprised to be greeted as worthy followers of their 'great leader' Edward Heath.

And the executions by Mrs Gandhi's dictatorship of Maoists for alleged 'crimes' during peasant struggles for land have been no obstacle to the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between China and India.

Yet these opportunist 'alliances' can provide no more than the illusion of security for the Chinese state. It has been for several years a premise of military planning by NATO that an important part of the Soviet Union's land forces will be tied down on the Chinese border.

One of Teng's main 'crimes' is said to have been that he favoured a rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

Yet in reality it is Mao's line that the Soviet Union is a 'social fascist' state and the greater danger of the two 'superpowers' that is one of the main factors assisting the military pressures of imperialism on the

announcing that two people had been executed and others sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, following the pro-Teng demonstrations in Peking - but these were immediately denied by the Foreign Ministry.

There are also reports of simultaneous clashes, some of them violent, in many other areas - Hunan, Yenan, Kiangsi, and in Nanking.

STALINIST CRISIS

The crisis of Chinese Stalinism is of the greatest concern to the international workers' movement, not only to the workers and peasants of China and Asia.

For all their denunciations of 'capitalist roaders' at home, the 'Maoist' faction have gone out of their way to underline that Teng's removal will not alter the cordial relations they are busy building with some of the most virulent anti-communist politicians in the world.

The recent visit of racist, Tory New Zealand Prime Minister, Muldoon to Peking was the occasion for a speech by Hua Kuo-Feng.

CHILE stalinists resume trade

US Treasury Secretary William Simon said on a visit to Santiago in early May that the Chilean government's record on human rights was an unfortunate "irritant".

This was because it detracted from the country's impressive economic record.

Last year foreign capital worth \$250 million went to Chile mostly from Italy, Germany and the US (\$50 millions).

Simon had much more to offer Pinochet's brutal dictatorship if only it would present a cleaner image on human rights so that the US would not be so embarrassed in helping it.

Pinochet has responded by a slight reduction in the number of arrests and the release of a few Popular Unity prisoners who are, of course, kept under constant surveillance.

RECORD

The economic record which Simon praised so loudly is this: unemployment in Santiago has now risen on official figures to 20% of workers; the rate of inflation remains this year over 30% a year; wages still fail to keep up; last year the average real wage fell another 3% and is now less than half what is estimated as subsistence level.

Production and exports however, according to the latest figures, are still falling, and Chile remains in a deep economic slump in which the working class has been reduced to extreme material privation.

It is little wonder that the regime is having problems selling firms nationalised by the Allende government back to the capitalists.

SUBSIDIES

They are already paying huge subsidies to firms at present in private ownership.

Simon's visit brought new hope of large scale US aid.

But meanwhile, 12,000 miles away in Damascus, the Chilean dictatorship began to look for alternative economic help.

There the Ambassadors to Syria of Chile and the Soviet Union held

a meeting which the Santiago daily *El Mercurio* claimed was a prelude to the resumption of trade and economic relations.

REPAY

Such an agreement would presumably have to depend partly on a commitment by the Chilean junta to repay the \$100 million which Allende's government borrowed from the USSR.

The possibility of such a development especially combined with the recent revelation of trade between Chile and E. Germany, shows that the working class resistance to the Chilean dictatorship can expect no assistance from the Soviet bureaucracy, and certainly no direction from the still outlawed Chilean Communist Party.



Photo: USLA reporter.

Chilean soldiers

ARGENTINA

Law number 21,297, signed two weeks ago by Argentina's new dictator General Videla, authorises the establishment of government committees to make recommendations about trade unions and the right to strike.

These problems have taken on a sudden urgency with a major outbreak of working class resistance to the regime's economic policies, centred on the Renault factory in Cordoba.

A go-slow of 4,000 workers was met, under government prompting by a management lock-out.

The protest began over the management's refusal to grant a wage increase.

Since the regime seized power on March 24th, inflation has continued at well over 30% a month while wages have been frozen.

The economic cabinet has now authorised a wage rise of a derisory 15% from June 1st, together with a month's advance of part of the

normal half yearly bonus. These moves still leave real wages cut by around half since the coup.

The regime realises that the valuable time it gained due to the abject surrender of the Peronist trade union leadership at the time of the coup, will soon be lost unless it can curtail the potential power of the labour movement at local and factory level.

COMMITTEES

This has been growing through the clandestine establishment of Co-ordinating Committees of unions and factory delegates which in some areas have effectively replaced the moribund CGT organisation.

The military dictatorship is preparing to fight the battle on several fronts.

It has contemptuously dismissed overtures from the old Peronist CGT leaders, well aware that their support among the rank and file has collapsed.

There are signs, however, that they are prepared to try some kind

moves to suppress strikes

of deal with former Buenos Aires governor Victorio Calabrio, a leader of the metal workers union UOM.

Calabrio and his allies emerged as a mildly left-talking opposition to the orthodox Peronists before the coup. They now claim to control 40 out of the 100 unions in the CGT confederation - and there is every sign that they are ready to do a deal.

A growing number of Argentina's four million trade unionists are now fully conscious that they face a major battle for organisational, economic and physical survival, in which their traditional leaders will be on the side of the enemy.

The weapon the enemy is increasingly using against the workers is the right wing death squads of the 'Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance' (AAA). These are largely controlled by generals of the regime and have been making numerous murderous attacks on workers, especially local factory delegates and their families.

The regime's tightening censorship laws forbid the publication of information on these terrorist

groups and their activities, but their recent murders are known to have run into the hundreds.

In spite of the murder of some of their militants by the death squads, however, the Argentinian Communist Party continues to give Videla's regime critical support.

The Cuban news agency *Prensa Latina*, however, after weeks of total silence on the situation in Argentina has finally started publishing the fact that the regime has made thousands of arrests.

The position of the Argentinian Stalinists is a scandal rivaling their support for the Gandhi regime in India.

In the building of new leadership in the underground organisations now emerging in Argentina, the political lessons of these betrayals must be drawn, along with the need to break once and for all all links with the Peronist movement. A political party must be built to represent the independent interests of the working class.

Immediate steps must be taken to provide forms of workers' defence against the AAA and other murder squads.

The Workers Socialist League

The Workers Socialist League was formed in December 1974 to struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism in Britain and towards the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

In the daily struggle to take the demands and principles of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* into the trade unions, the WSL has been at the forefront of the fight for the sliding scale of wages, and work sharing on full pay - demands which at the 1975 T&GWU Conference were the only alternative to Jones' £6 pay plan and the wholesale acceptance of redundancies by the bureaucracy. In today's fight against the TUC's 4½% pay cutting proposals this demand for a sliding scale of wages (rising according to the rising cost of living as assessed by trade union committees) is the essential basis of consistent opposition.

In the Health Service WSL comrades have led the struggle for a sliding scale of NHS spending, for the start of workers' control of the service (beginning with opening the books of the Health Authorities), along with the fight to end all private practice. Perhaps more important we have led the growing call for *strike action* to defend the NHS against the cuts and to implement these policies, fighting those like the ASTMS leadership who substitute the words for the action.

In local disputes also, WSL comrades have tested and developed the demands of the *Transitional Programme*, putting forward in every case the only real opposition to the Stalinists and the right-wing. Our struggle for the "open the books" demand in the motor industry has won a mass response.

At the same time we have put forward a policy to fight unemployment, calling for unity of employed and unemployed through the fight to mobilise the trade union movement.

The WSL is the only movement that fights consistently for transitional demands, going beyond mere trade union militancy to pose the political issues to workers.

In doing this our comrades have been forced also to lead struggles for trade union democracy against the bureaucratic manipulation of the Stalinists and right-wing.

While these interventions have developed the League's grasp of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* there has been a consistent drive to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International, as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

We urge all readers who agree on the need for revolutionary leadership and the demands we put forward to find out more about the WSL and join our fight in the labour movement.

IRELAND

Six members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary have been executed by the Provisionals in a period of eight days. Against that should be contrasted the number of British soldiers shot - only five this year in the whole of the six counties.

As the number of troops in the Province is reduced, so the RUC are most reluctantly being pushed forward into the front line to replace them. Their old rifles are being replaced by high velocity SLR's and their vulnerable land rovers are to be replaced by heavily armoured patrol vehicles.

To carry through this process of what is called "ulsterisation" of the national struggle, the Northern Ireland Office forced out the Ulster-born chief constable of the RUC Jamie Flanagan and appointed in his stead a reliable Englishman from Scotland Yard, Kenneth Newman.

Under pressure from within the RUC even Newman has been obliged to retard the process.

Merlyn Rees, the Secretary of State for Ireland continues to deny that a British withdrawal is contemplated. But for the Provisionals and what deludingly calls itself 'informed opinion' a withdrawal is already under way and the militarisation of the RUC is only the latest proof of it.

The attitude of the Provisionals towards these indigenous develop-

jobs crisis splits Protestants

ments was made clear by the IRA leadership in a recent statement:

"We wish to state explicitly that no distinction will be drawn between regular British troops and other branches of the Crown forces. Police, UDR and civilian employees of the British government are all classed as legitimate targets and will be struck down when and wherever possible".

Every such blow is regarded by the Protestants as an undermining of the link with Britain and produces in reply sectarian attacks on Catholics such as the bombing of Clancy's Bar in Charlemont which left three Catholics dead.

IRA REPLY

In its turn the IRA reply with increasingly sectarian actions such as the murder of the Dobson brothers in Moy, shot in the office of their egg packing station last Monday.

With this simplistic belief in the efficacy of bombs and bullets the Republicans can make no political capital out of Ree's declaration that not a penny will be spent to prevent growing unemployment in the North.

At the Lord Mayor's Show in Belfast on May 22nd Rees said:

"...one thing I must tell you is that there is absolutely no spare money in the public coffers. Government money does not grow on trees".

Occupation, expropriation and

nationalisation represent the only policies that can defend jobs and the fight for them poses the question of the border in a far more concrete way than the utopian scheme for a federal and capitalist republic put forward by the Provisionals.

The importance to Protestant workers of the link with Britain explains why a united protestant response against direct rule has been impossible to secure.

Since the Convention broke down the petty bourgeois politician Ernest Baird has incessantly called for rebellion. More recently another loyalist politician Edmond Thompston has said that "to maintain the link with Britain is to actively assist in the downfall of Northern Ireland".

But while the Protestant working class resist being dragged into a civil war and an independent Ulster run by chemists and other shopkeepers the Bairds and the Thompsons are generals without an army.

The UVF intensely suspicious of 'their' loyalist politicians have called a ceasefire in which "for three months they would sit on the fence and observe and act only in defence".

Our demand for the immediate withdrawal of troops, to be taken up in the English working class, must be widened to further undermine the link with Britain by advancing in Ireland both North and South our programme to defend jobs.

Teachers must STRIKE TO SUPPORT OCCUPATIONS

The occupation of all 10 teachers colleges in Scotland and of at least 95 out of 140 in England, all within the space of ten days, is a major step forward in the fight against the Labour government's economic policies.

The wildfire spread of these actions confirms the disgust and anger which exists throughout the working class against the cuts in living standards which the government's policies are inflicting through wage control, unemployment and cuts in spending.

The occupations spread as soon as it became clear from official announcements that about a third of new teachers in England and over 60% in Scotland would be unable to find work this year.

ONLY TWO

These are average figures. Some areas are even worse. In Bradford, for instance, only two out of every 70 teachers qualifying this summer have jobs. In the surrounding area only 15 out of 255 have jobs to go to.

This has absolutely nothing to do with whatever to do with erroneous calculations of the birth rate, as the government with the support of the capitalist press is trying to maintain.

It is entirely the result of the Labour government's refusal to maintain and develop education services.

More teachers relative to pupils could mean full employment for teachers, smaller classes and higher educational standards.

The Labour government, in all practical senses, is against all those things.

SHAMED

The National Union of Students Executive has now finally called for the extension of the occupations, though for months they have offered no lead against the cuts until they were shamed into supporting these occupations by a movement which was already strongly underway.

A fight must be conducted inside the occupations and throughout the NUS to prevent the executive from retreating when the going becomes difficult. This requires the construction of a national coordinating committee to spearhead the struggle, with delegates elected from occupations.

In the immediate situation, the teachers' unions have a special responsibility. The statements from the executives give every sign that they intend to duck this responsibility in practice.

NATFHE

NATFHE general secretary Tom Driver has said that his union supports the students, will oppose new proposed cuts and fight every college closure.

But there is no sign that his



Student teachers on May 26th march against unemployment in London.

opposition will take on the form of real action to support and match the action of the students.

A fight must be taken up in NATFHE to demand strike action locally and nationally in opposition to the cuts and in support of the occupations.

NUT

The same goes for the NUT. The reasons for the new disciplinary regulations (which threaten members taking action not sanctioned by the executive with expulsion) will become very plain as the struggle against the expenditure cuts develops.

Already Fred Jarvis, NUT general secretary, has gone as far as he dare in trying to weaken the action of the student teachers.

He issued a statement supporting their objectives but not their actions.

Apart from Fred Jarvis' impotent words, the only action which the NUT is supporting is that

of not covering for teachers absent for more than three days.

This action, which was spread to Surrey last week, has only been introduced on a limited basis in a few areas. It should be made national immediately.

But actions of this kind are no substitute for strike action in support of the students' occupations and against the spending cuts.

The demand should also be taken up through the teachers' unions and the occupation committees for the opening of the books of the educational authorities as a basis for teachers' control of manning levels.

CAMPAIGN

At the same time it must not be forgotten that education affects the whole working class, not simply teachers. Trades Councils and local union branches must be mobilised in the broadest campaign of action in defence of education.



Charles Clarke, NUS President.

The Labour government has met these occupations with contempt and hypocrisy. Higher education minister Gerry Fowler said that he had every sympathy with the teachers but would do nothing because the government's policy was to cut education spending.

MAY 26: DAY OF ACTION

Tens of thousands of workers throughout the country took part in demonstrations and strikes on the May 26th Day of Action against unemployment.

In London 5,000 workers

marched from Tower Hill to a lobby of Parliament. In Liverpool police estimated the demonstration as 10,000-strong, while in Scotland thousands marched in Glasgow, Dundee and Edinburgh.

These actions are a clear indication of the readiness of the most

advanced layers of workers to fight given even the most limited lead.

PROTEST

The Day of Action, decided on at the 3,000-strong Assembly on Unemployment was called simply as a protest - with no programme to fight unemployment at factory level and no demands other than "reflation" of the capitalist economy and the reactionary nationalist demand of "import controls" backed by the Communist Party and 'left' reformists.

For these people of course the Day of Action was simply an elaborate finale to this year's show of opposition to the policies of the Callaghan government.

THREAT

But for the thousands of workers facing the threat of unemployment through spending cuts and TUC-policed speed up and closures, May 26th showed a willingness to respond and a search for a way to defend jobs and living standards.

In these conditions, the struggle by the WSL throughout the labour and trade union movement for new leadership to stand on principle and fight for occupations in defence of threatened jobs, work sharing on full pay in place of redundancy, and the opening of the books of "bankrupt" firms to prove the case for their nationalisation, is essential in preparing the way forward from the Day of Action.

The next step in the fight for these policies must be the biggest possible lobby of the TUC Congress on June 16th.

BOOED

Education minister Fred Mulley was correctly booed at the conference of the further education teachers' union NATFHE, when he repeated Fowler's crocodile tears and said 'if they can't find a job in teaching they will have to find a job in something else'.

Like the other 1 1/2 million unemployed, perhaps?

Mulley's cynical words underline the fact that this protest against teacher unemployment must be taken as a stimulus to a much broader struggle throughout the labour movement against unemployment and all the other consequences of the Labour government's economic policies.

The last meeting of AUEW Shipley No. 2 Branch (near Bradford) heard a speaker from Bradford college and voted support for their occupation.



Liverpool demonstration against unemployment on May 26th. Ten thousand trades unionists marched through the town on the protest called by the Trades Council, Merseyside Joint Construction Unions and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

This massive response was despite almost total lack of leadership even by those who ostensibly were organising the demonstration. The demonstration included contingents from Fords, Halewood, Shotton steelworks, students from teacher training colleges under occupation and a large contingent of girls from the Tate and Lyle refinery which is under threat of closure.

At the meeting afterwards, speakers from the local trade union leadership together with left MP Eddie Loyden were unable to put forward any message which might begin to direct the strength of working class

**LOBBY
TUC
June 16**

Join WSL contingent
9.00am CENTRAL HALLS
WESTMINSTER

SUBSCRIBE to Socialist Press

BRITAIN		EUROPE	
6 issues	£1	6 issues	£1.15
12 issues	£2	12 issues	£2.30
24 issues	£4	24 issues	£4.60

REST OF THE WORLD

6 issues	£1.50
12 issues	£3.00
24 issues	£6.00

I would like to take out a subscription to Socialist Press. I would like . . . issues, I enclose £ . . .

NAME

ADDRESS

COMPLETE and SEND to: 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

WOMEN LEAD WAY IN PAY FIGHT

by Maureen Shevlin

Not satisfied by the TUC's plan for massive wage cuts under the 4½% pay limit, employers at the Atkins hosiery factory in Hinckley want to cut take home pay for their workers by £6 - £10!

The (mainly women) workers in the Hinckley area had to wage a bitter battle during last winter to defend jobs and protect living standards. Faced with moves to impose speed-up and redundancies they staged a series of one-day strikes, pickets and occupations.

At the centre of these struggles was the claim for the full £6 increase allowable under the Labour government's pay laws. But it soon emerged that their fight for this was not just against management, but against the bureaucracy of the Knitwear and Hosiery Union as well.

"BEST DEAL"

Vic Towers, Secretary of the Hinckley and District Branch, settled for a deal which he described as "the best deal we could get". It gave most workers either a percentage increase or a two-part payment which in both cases meant less than the £6 limit.

Now, instead of rejecting Atkin's managements' wage-cut demands out of hand, the union leaders are desperately seeking a "compromise" figure.

While management want a 15% wage cut, an arbitration board has suggested a cut of 11½%. This has, not surprisingly, been flatly rejected by the workers.

There are no grounds on which a cut in take-home pay should be accepted. If the management are unable to maintain the full workforce at adequate rates of pay their books must be forced open to an elected trade union committee. If the employer really is that bankrupt, then he is clearly incapable of guaranteeing jobs and wages, and must be nationalised without compensation.

MEETINGS

To put the union officials on the spot in this fight and to lodge demands for substantial increases linked to a sliding scale of wages to protect against inflation the workers at Atkins must demand and attend regular union branch meetings.

In Liverpool women workers are again in the forefront of the struggle - this time on strike at the Dublin electronics factories in which the workforce is at least half women workers, mainly in the AUEW. They are fighting for a wage claim plus equal pay.

A strike committee statement says that the company agreed a £6 increase backdated to November - subject to Department of Employment approval. At the end of March the Department decided in the union's favour.

But when the company was called upon to pay the backdated increase they refused, saying they would appeal against the decision! And, according to the strikers, they further refused to give the women workers equal pay - at the end of last year they were offered the same pay as labourers, though they are given the same training as semi-skilled workers.

ORLAKES

Meanwhile at Or Lakes in Dagenham (110 women out of a 140-strong workforce) a strike over wages has lasted more than four weeks. As in the Liverpool dispute the strike centres around a wage



PHOTO: Chris Davis s. Report.

Jones (right) with Murray

The trade union bureaucracy rest on the more privileged layers of workers, hostile to the struggles of the most oppressed.

claim submitted during the £6 legal pay limit.

The women work mainly on presses and packing records. Their present take-home pay averages between £13.50 and £15.00 for a 25 hour week. The employer's first offer was a puny 7p per hour increase. When this was rejected the offer was upped to 10p.

Getting the message that a fight could win still more, the workers voted for strike action. This was met by management attempts at intimidation - threatening to sack workers if a strike or any other industrial action took place.

T&GWU

In response to these threats a mass meeting of three shifts met and decided to join the T&GWU - up to this point there had been no organisation in the plant.

The next step was organising a picket of the factory, blacking goods in and out, and stopping management's attempts to employ agency staff. In this they were backed up by Dagenham Trades Council.

It took 2½ weeks before the strike was made official, and the first steps by T&GWU District Official Canfield was to attempt to reduce the size of the picket to six - stressing the need to "give management a chance".

In what is now time-honoured T&GWU routine the official's main energies were then directed to bringing in the "independent" ACAS arbitration. This was linked to the call for the women to go back to work "for negotiations to continue".

WHIP HAND

Returning to work would of course make "negotiations" meaningless since it would give management the whip hand and sacrifice the strength of the strike. At the same time the proposal is to take a secret ballot on whether the workers want to join the union or not - as if the strike is not sufficient evidence!

The reactionary role of the union bureaucracy emerges with great clarity on these basic issues of organisation and equal pay where victory is so clearly possible - and impeded only by the officials' preference to get along with the employers than defend the working class.

OPPRESSED

These strikes and struggles show clearly that women are not simply busy and concerned with "family affairs" as the bureaucratic union leaders would like to make out.

They are a particularly oppressed sector of the working class entitled to the same rights and facing the same crisis of leadership.

STRUGGLES

Only by drawing women into struggles against the employer, showing the relation between their particular problems and those of the whole of the working class can women's oppression be seriously fought.

We must fight at every point to organise women into the trade unions whether they work full time or part time. And in the fight for organisation women will provide additional support in the fight for new leadership against the reactionary bureaucrats who turn their backs on oppressed layers of workers.

As Trotsky points out it is only the sharpest social crisis which will draw forth the mass of the oppressed who will come forward with their own demands. The fact that women now emerge in struggles throughout the country is an indication of the upheavals caused by the crisis and the possibilities opening up.

As Trotsky wrote: "Millions of toil-worn little men to whom the reformist leaders had never given a thought will begin to insistently pound on the doors of the workers' organisations. The unemployed will be drawn into the movement. The agricultural workers, the ruined and the semi-ruined farmers, the oppressed of the cities, the woman worker, housewives, proletarianised layers of the intelligentsia, all these will seek unity and leadership". (Transitional Programme)

OUT NOW!

THE BATTLE FOR TROTSKYISM
Two documents of the WRP opposition plus an account of the expulsions prepared by the Executive Committee of the Workers Socialist League.
Available from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.
Price £1.20 (incl. P&P).



KELLY APPEAL THROWN OUT

As Labour Party bureaucrats and right wing union officials redouble their efforts to restore Reg Prentice anti-union former Education Minister, as Labour candidate in the next election in Newham North East, the abuse of rules and democratic procedures hots up all round.

Tony Kelly, Newham NE CLP Secretary has suffered a further attack at the hands of the ASTMS bureaucracy.

First he was unconstitutionally expelled from ASTMS membership in a bid to exclude him as a Newham NE GMC delegate from the Charing Cross ASTMS Branch.

This took place with the personal involvement of General Secretary Clive Jenkins, keen to prove his respectability to the Labour Party right-wing.

Jenkins used the formula of declaring that Kelly had "never

been a member of ASTMS" on the pretext that the NEC had not approved his membership application.

This, of course, if taken seriously would exclude virtually every member of ASTMS. It is simply transparent means of victimising Kelly.

Immediately this was known Kelly submitted an appeal to the NEC. The reply was predictable but blatant. Muriel Turner, assistant general secretary of ASTMS has written to Kelly explaining that he cannot appeal - because he is not a member!

We urge all ASTMS members to take up this issue and fight for resolutions to the NEC protesting at this bureaucratic victimisation and demanding Kelly's full reinstatement as a member of the union.



DEFEND 44!

About 1500 trades unionists attended the picket of Hendon magistrates called by the Right to Work Campaign on 21st May. Appearing before the court were 44 Right to Work marchers, arrested after the police three time violently attacked the Campaign's national march against unemployment as it passed through the London borough of Barnet at the end of its journey from Manchester.

To cheers from the pickets, the 44 arrested marchers marched up to the court behind a large "Right to Work" banner, chanting slogans before disappearing into the court through an enormous contingent of police posted around the gate.

Those supporting the picket later formed up for a demonstration to Hendon police station near Staples Corner and scene of one of the three incidents on the original march which led to the arrest of some of the 44.

Of the 44, 43 were remanded on bail until September, while the march organiser and secretary of the National Right to Work Campaign, John Deason, was remanded on more serious charges

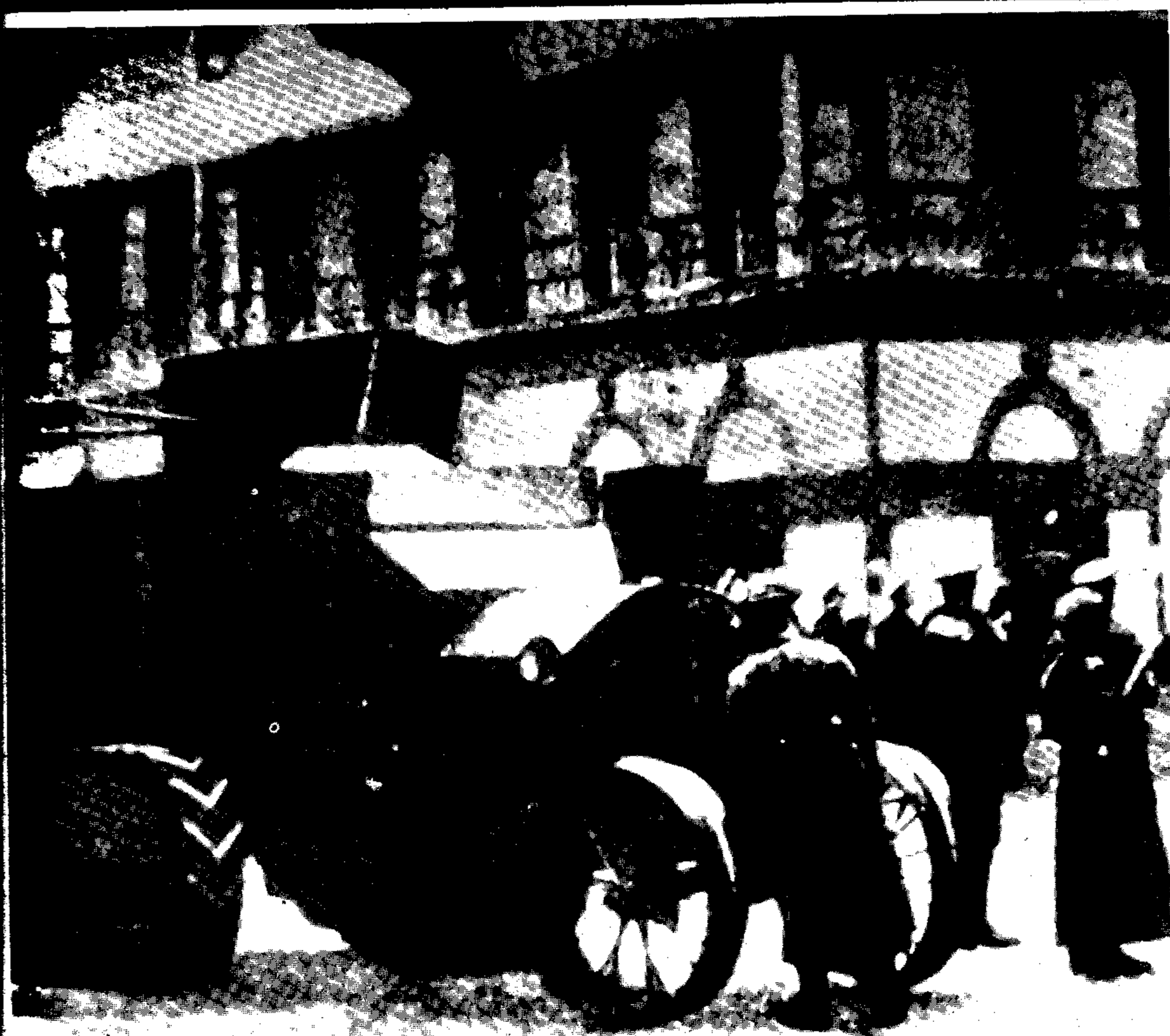
until July. Barnet Trades Council has sponsored a trade union inquiry into the attack which has received the backing of prominent trade union leaders. The findings of the inquiry are expected shortly.

Meanwhile money has been pouring in for a defence fund from union branches and shop steward committees all over the country. The defence of these workers from further police victimisation and from the courts is a basic issue of principle, for the workers movement.

The fact that right wing Home Secretary Roy Jenkins is allowed by Labour "lefts" to preside over such actions as a further indication of the need for new leadership in the workers movement.

Jenkins has specialised in the use of the power of the state to intimidate and attack the working class - from the continued jailing of the Shrewsbury pickets to the police raid on the premises of the Workers Revolutionary Party last autumn.

The defence of the 44 is therefore linked completely with the demand that the "lefts" launch an offensive within the labour movement as a whole to oust the anti-working class Jenkins-Healey Callaghan clique from the Labour leadership.



Government troops with armoured car



THE RUSSIAN PAR OCTO

The defeat of the Kornilov revolt led to an enormous upsurge of hostility in the working class to the Provisional Government and the capitalist ministers who sat in it. Having been forced to mobilise independently, frequently under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, to defeat Kornilov and prevent the further advance of his armies, the working class was able to return to the offensive.

The witch-hunting of the Bolsheviks after the July Days now counted for nought. It was the Provisional Government which had ordered another offensive; it was the Provisional Government which refused to carry the revolution forward to the overthrow of capitalism and the solution of the food and land problems; it was the Provisional Government with its capitalist ministers which was seen to have opened the way up for the Kornilov revolt, the success of which the capitalists alone had stood to gain by.

The enormous pressure which built up in the working class, therefore, led to the downfall of the government. Kerensky was forced to form a Directorate of five to try and form a new government because the Social Revolutionaries refused to let him lead a government which included capitalist ministers.

URGENT

The most urgent task facing the compromisers and their capitalist backers in the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary parties, was to channel the increased militancy of the working class away from independent mobilisation and back onto the path of bourgeois "democracy".

The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets, still under the domination of the Mensheviks and SRs therefore called on popular organisations to send delegates to a Democratic Conference to meet in Petrograd in September.

In the meantime, the Bolsheviks won control of the Soviets in Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and many other cities.

The response of the Executive Committee was to alter the representation of the various delegations to the Democratic Conference in favour of the more conservative groups.

Despite this, the first decision of the Conference on the question of government was to call for a coalition *without* the Cadets (the capitalist party).

DIFFICULTY

It was only with the greatest difficulty that Kerensky was able to persuade the Conference to reverse this decision.

The Bolsheviks had participated in this Conference in order to expose the role of the Compromisers, but Lenin himself was growing impatient.

wrote two letters to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party urging the leadership to prepare the seizure of power.

Describing the Democratic Conference as representing "not a majority of the revolutionary people but only the compromising upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie" Lenin insisted that:

"The point is to make the task clear to the party. The present task must be an armed uprising in Petrograd and Moscow (with its region), the seizing of power and the overthrow of the government".

DIFFERENCES

Pointing in his second letter to the essential differences between July and the present period, Lenin argued that while the objective conditions for seizing power did not exist in July, that was no longer the case in September.

The vanguard of the working class had now swung behind the Bolsheviks as demonstrated by their dominant position in the main Soviets; a revolutionary upsurge was developing throughout the countryside; the once united "Allies" were now wavering between a war to the victorious finish and a separate peace directed against Russia, while the petty-bourgeoisie, under the pressure of the masses had begun to vacillate.

Lenin ended his letter with a call to the Bolshevik faction in the Democratic Conference to present a declaration demanding the transfer of the power to the revolutionary proletariat.

The Bolshevik group should then leave the Conference and go to the factories and barracks, where, closer to the masses, they could then determine the right moment to start the insurrection.

PRE-PARLIAMENT

Meanwhile, the Democratic Conference agreed to set up an advisory parliament, the Council of the Republic, also known as the Pre-Parliament.

At the same time, the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets postponed the date of the next All Russian Congress of Soviets which they should have convened in September, three months after the first Congress.

The Central Executive Committee was still dominated by the compromisers, and having seen the most important Soviets in Russia pass into the hands of the Bolshevik

convene a Congress which was likely to give the Bolsheviks a majority.

If Lenin had had his doubts about the participation of the Bolsheviks in the Democratic Conference, he had no doubt but that they should completely boycott the Pre-Parliament.

It was one thing to participate in such gatherings when the revolution was in retreat and it was necessary to use all methods available to commence propaganda work among the masses.

TRAP

But in September 1917 the situation was quite the opposite. Such gatherings were nothing more than a trap which kept revolutionaries listening to speeches when the revolution was in danger and only the revolutionary actions of the working class could save it.

In this view, Lenin was supported by Trotsky. Now released from prison and once more elected the President of the Petrograd Soviet, but this time as a Bolshevik, Trotsky himself led the Bolshevik faction out of the Pre-Parliament amidst cries from the compromisers about German gold and the sealed train.

But the Cadet Miliukov observed:

"They (the Bolsheviks) spoke and acted like people feeling a power behind them, knowing that the morrow belonged to them".

Once the Bolsheviks had withdrawn, the Pre-Parliament settled down to discuss the question of the war, a discussion rendered all the more urgent as a result of the setbacks being daily inflicted on the Russian army and navy.

ARMY

The Cadets and the right-wing demanded that the army be compelled to fight; the left argued that it should be convinced of the need to fight.

When it came to a vote, neither side could obtain a majority.

"To reconvince the army was difficult", Trotsky points out, "but to compel it was impossible". Hence the deadlock.

The Baltic Fleet in the meantime sent a telegram to the Central Executive Committee effectively calling for the removal of Kerensky, and immediately began to hold up government freight.

When Kerensky threatened to arrest the Soviet commissars, the Regional Committee of the fleet accepted the challenge. Kerensky declined to make a move.

The situation in the Baltic Fleet was nothing short of insurrectionary. A similar state of affairs was also developing within the army where fraternisation, which had virtually ceased since July, once

most hated officers were frequently arrested or murdered.

The withdrawal of the Bolshevik Party from the Pre-Parliament marked a turning point in the revolutionary crisis gripping Russia. On all sides it was recognised that this move represented the first step on the road to armed insurrection.

For the decision to withdraw, Lenin was chiefly responsible. Constantly concerned at the refusal of the Central Committee to support his demand for armed insurrection, he continued to argue against any further delay and appealed to the party rank and file over the question of the Pre-Parliament.

Immediately the Bolsheviks stepped up their agitation throughout the country which resulted in the increasing Bolshevisation of the masses. Each and every one of the organisations of the working class was being confronted with the one question: which class is to rule?

Increasingly, workers in their factories decided that the best means of regulating their relations with the government was through the Soviet. As the task of seizing power grew closer, so workers turned their attention in a concrete way to the problems of industry.

CENTRE

Workers in the armaments factories established a special centre for the study of methods of transition from the manufacture of munitions to peaceful production; the Moscow conference of factory and shop committees declared that in future all strikes should be settled by a decree of the local Soviet, thus establishing Soviet power over the capitalists.

The All-Russian conference of factory committees meeting early in October passed a resolution stating that:

"The workers are more interested than the owners in the correct and uninterrupted operation of the plants. Workers control.....is in the interest of the whole country and ought to be supported by the revolutionary peasantry and the revolutionary army".

Day by day the government of the soviets grew, as capitalists began to sabotage the war effort in an attempt to discredit the revolution and the factory committees stepped in and took control of the factories.

IMPATIENT

The enormous growth of support for the Bolsheviks which was finally cemented in the struggle for the calling of the Congress of the Soviets, now set for October 20th, had made Lenin even more impatient for the start of the insurrection.

Trotsky argued that the insurrection should be timed to coincide with the start of the Congress of Soviets so that the power could

immediately be offered to the Soviets. But Lenin was not in favour of such formalities, especially since the date for the start of the Congress was being constantly put back.

LETTER

In a letter to the Central Committee dated 1st October, Lenin argued:

"The Bolsheviks have no right to wait for the Congress of Soviets, they must take power at once... Delay is criminal. To wait for the Congress of Soviets would be a childish game of formalities, a disgraceful game of formalities and a betrayal of the revolution".

For Trotsky, however, there was an alternative to the immediate seizure of power by the Bolshevik party, an alternative which in Trotsky's view would enable the Bolsheviks to advance to the point of insurrection under the cover of an institution of the Petrograd Soviet.

For the Provisional Government, the reorganisation of the Petrograd garrison was becoming a matter of the utmost urgency because it was quite clear that the forthcoming Congress of Soviets would decide one way or the other on the question of power and the Petrograd garrison was coming increasingly under the influence of the Bolsheviks.

An order for the reorganisation of the Petrograd units in preparation for an offensive was issued. The Soviet refused to fall into the trap of immediately rejecting it, waiting instead to see what the reaction of the workers and soldiers would be.

RESPONSE

The response was immediate. Ignoring the accusations of the capitalists that the soldiers in Petrograd had grown fat in idleness and were betraying the front, the workers insisted that the garrison remain intact.

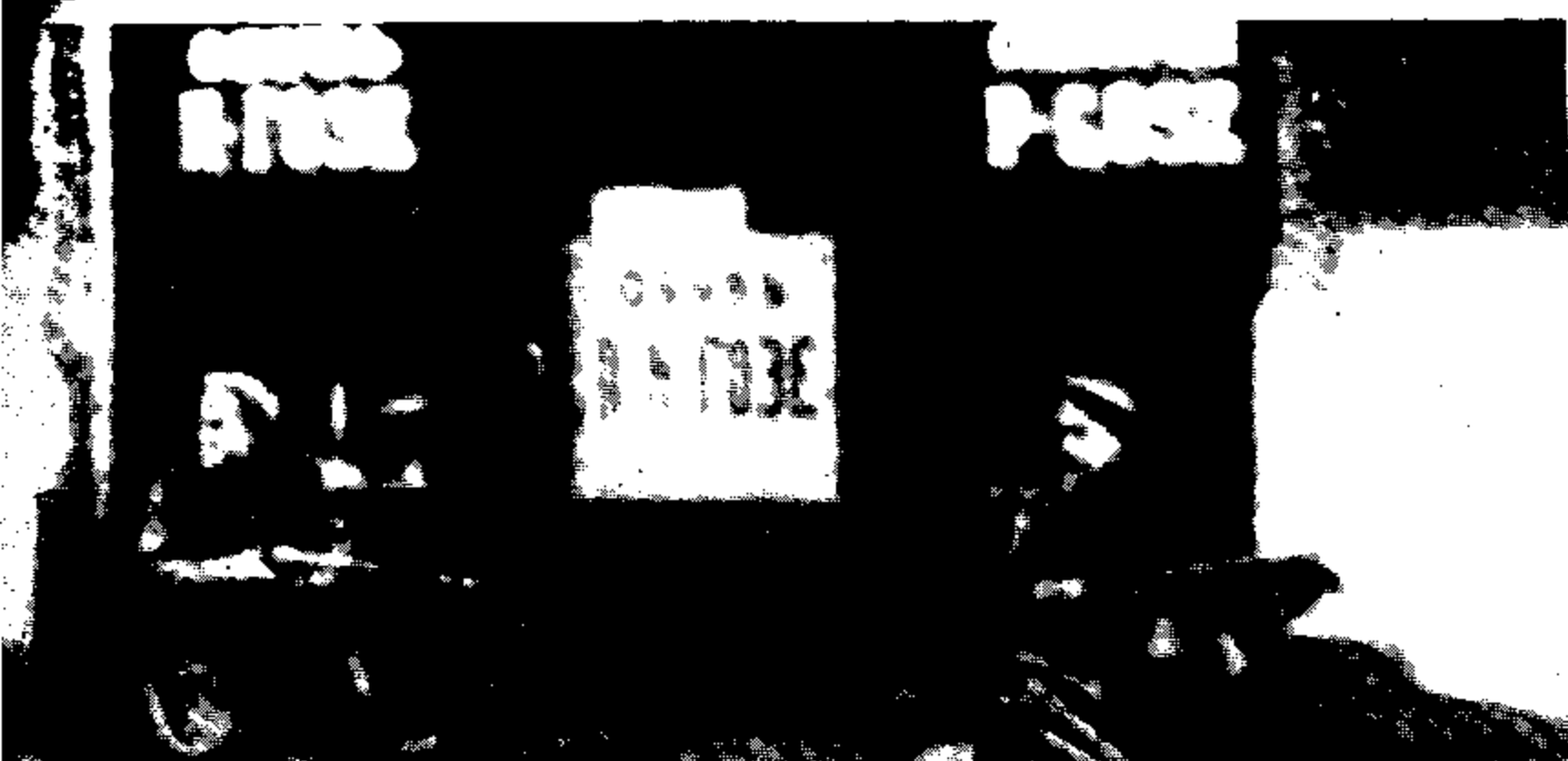
In return, the soldiers of the garrison stepped up their demand that the workers be armed.

Playing on the threat to Petrograd posed by the advancing German army, the compromisers proposed to the Soviet on October 9th a motion to set up a "Committee of Revolutionary Defence", in order to defend the capital.

To their surprise the Bolsheviks welcomed the setting up of such a committee. The Bolsheviks had often discussed the possibility of setting up a military committee of the Soviet to lead the insurrection and now the Mensheviks themselves were proposing the creation of a committee which, in the hands of the Bolsheviks, could fulfill that function.

On 10th October, the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks met.

Lenin in secrecy attended the



Provisional Government troops guarding the telephone exchange.



REVOLUTION

PART 11

OCTOBER

By Ian Swindale

meeting and moved a resolution calling on party organisations to begin to decide on the practical questions involved in the armed insurrection.

Only Kamenev and Zinoviev voted against the resolution.

This meeting of the Central Committee proved crucial. Lenin, who had to this point remained isolated on the question of the insurrection now had party legality on his side.

The opposition of the Central Committee to Lenin's call had proved to be only of momentary significance, and the party could now be directed to the task of revolution.

The meeting of the 10th provisionally set the date of the uprising as 15th October, but this proved to be impracticable.

TIMING

It was important that the insurrection take place before the Congress of Soviets so that the Bolsheviks could offer the power to the Soviets.

On 16th October, the Central Committee again met on Lenin's insistence and the differences which had already emerged at the meeting of the 10th again came to the fore.

Kamenev and Zinoviev spoke out against fixing any date for the insurrection. Krylenko, arguing the position of the Military Revolutionary Committee of which Trotsky was the head, argued that the setting of the date was still inexpedient.

"The question of the removal of the troops (from Petrograd to the front) is just that fighting issue upon which the struggle is taking place....The attack upon us is thus already a fact, and this we can make use of....It is not necessary to worry about who shall begin, for the thing is already begun".

Lenin, alarmed by any hint of delay, proposed a new resolution summoning:

"All organisations and all workers and soldiers to an all-sided and most vigorous preparation of armed insurrection".

This motion was adopted by 20 votes to 2, Zinoviev and Kamenev, with 3 abstentions.

POSTPONED

The next day, October 17th, the Central Executive Committee postponed the opening of the Congress from the 20th to the 25th October.

They had been encouraged to make this decision by the result of the election of delegates to the Congress from the Petrograd Soviet. The Bolsheviks got 443 votes, the Left Social Revolutionaries 101 and the Mensheviks 44.

The five days grace was of little use to the Central Executive Committee. The Provisional Government on the 17th announced that

But it gave the Bolsheviks five extra days to prepare the insurrection.

The same day, Zinoviev and Kamenev denounced the plans of the Bolsheviks to lead an insurrection, using the non-party press.

STRIKEBREAKERS

Lenin branded them strike-breakers of the revolution and demanded their expulsion from the Party. The Central Committee, however, was not prepared to go this far.

The order for the removal of the troops to the front had by now been communicated by Headquarters to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet.

A breach between Headquarters and the Soviet was clearly posed for there was no question of acquiescing to their demand.

The Military Revolutionary Committee, as the Committee of Revolutionary Defence had now been renamed, with a Left Social Revolutionary at its head in order to camouflage as far as possible its real purpose, thus set about organising departments of defence, supplies, communications and intelligence.

It first met in full session on October 20th, only five days before the insurrection.

Rumours of a "coming out" were already rife throughout the capital. Hardly a day passed without the authorities sending out loyal troops to look for possible signs of such a coming out.

But the outcome of the insurrection was already being decided in the barracks and the working class districts.

REGIMENTS

One regiment after another was placing itself under the command of the Military Revolutionary Committee, and refusing to go to the front except under the direction of the Soviet.

The period of dual power was giving way to the power of the Soviets as the Provisional Government found itself more and more isolated, with fewer and fewer loyal troops on which it could depend.

The Petrograd Soviet called for a peaceful review of its forces for the 22nd October, and on the 21st, the Garrison Conference pledged full support to the Military Revolutionary Committee and called on the All-Russian Congress of Soviets due to meet in four days time, to "take the power in its hands and guarantee to the people peace, land and bread".

The demonstration of 22nd October was an enormous success. Every large hall and theatre in Petrograd filled with workers and soldiers demanding that the

Kerensky! Down with war! All power to the Soviets!

The High Command were so alarmed that they immediately offered discussions with the Military Revolutionary Committee, an offer which was accepted solely with the purpose of reconnoitring the situation in the enemy's headquarters.

The Military Revolutionary Committee immediately issued a proclamation stating that:

"...the commissars, as representatives of the Soviet are inviolable. Opposition to the commissars is opposition to the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies".

As Trotsky later pointed out, that was the language of sovereignty.

"The Committee is crowding out the government with the pressure of the masses, with the weight of the garrison. It is taking all that it can without a battle. It is advancing its positions without firing...."

WINNING OVER

The one remaining task before the insurrection could begin was the winning over or neutralisation of those regiments which continued to waver in their loyalty between the Provisional Government and the Soviet.

Immediately Bolshevik agitators went to the various barracks, Trotsky himself tackling the troops in the Peter-Paul fortress.

The Petrograd bourgeoisie were hourly expecting the Bolsheviks to launch their insurrection but none of them were prepared to even consider the possibility of the Bolsheviks retaining power for more than a few days.

The time had now come when this question would be finally decided. The Provisional Government itself provided the pretext for the launching of the insurrection.

In the early hours of 24th October, troops loyal to the Provisional Government closed down the Bolsheviks' printing press and the phones to the Smolny Institute, headquarters of the Petrograd Soviet and the Bolshevik Party, were cut off.

The Military Revolutionary Committee took the decision to fortify Smolny and machine guns were placed at the entrance. Red Guards patrolled the streets in armoured vehicles. By the evening of the 24th, Smolny was a veritable fortress.

The Military Revolutionary Committee was by now putting the finishing touches to its preparations for the insurrection. In the early hours of the 25th October, Red Guard detachments occupied all the strategic points in the capital with hardly a shot being fired.

CUT OFF

At seven in the morning, the Telephone Exchange fell and the Winter Palace, where the Provisional Government was in permanent session was cut off irrevocably from the outside world.

The Second Congress of the All-Russian Soviet of Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies finally opened at 10.40 on the evening of the 25th October.

The insurrection had gone according to plan except in one detail. When the Congress of Soviets opened the Winter Palace still had not fallen. Consequently the

Congress opened amidst the utmost confusion, with the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary delegates denouncing the Bolsheviks and demanding that hostilities against the Winter Palace cease immediately.

ELECTION

The election of the Presidium, however, demonstrated the real relationship of forces within the Congress of Soviets.

The Bolsheviks won 14 seats, the Social Revolutionaries 7, the Mensheviks 3 and the Internationalists only one. Seeing that they were in a minority, the Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries and other compromisers denounced the Bolsheviks for seizing the power and walked out of the Soviet.

John Reed, the American journalist, sympathetic to the Bolsheviks describes Trotsky:

"...standing up with a pale, cruel face, letting out his rich voice in cool contempt, 'All these so-called Socialist compromisers, these frightened Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, Bund - let them go! They are just so much refuse which will be swept away into the garbage heap of history'.

Papers appeared on the streets carrying the proclamation of the Military Revolutionary Committee and the Petrograd Soviet.

TO THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA!

The Provisional Government is deposed. The State Power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the Military Revolutionary Committee, which stands at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

The cause for which the people were fighting; immediate proposal of a democratic peace, abolition of landlord property rights over the land, labour control over production, creation of a Soviet government - that cause is securely achieved. **LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION OF WORKMEN, SOLDIERS AND PEASANTS!**

By the early hours of the 26th the Winter Palace had finally surrendered and the Ministers of the Provisional Government were placed under arrest. Kerensky was not among them. He had fled in order to bring 'loyal' troops to the

rescue of the compromisers. The question facing the Bolsheviks now was this: could they, having won state power, hold onto it?

Those like Zinoviev and Kamenev, who had opposed the insurrection constantly pointed to the troops supposedly massed around Petrograd who would be called on to put down an uprising.

WEAKNESS

Against this Lenin and Trotsky had argued that it was a typically petty-bourgeois weakness to over-estimate the strength of the enemy as a justification for avoiding the conflict. Regardless of the military support the Provisional Government claimed to have on paper, the real relationship of forces would be decided in the streets and in that, the uprising of the working class would count for a great deal.

At 8.40 on the evening of the 26th, the Presidium, headed by Lenin, entered the Congress of Soviets, to the thunderous cheering of the delegates.

Lenin mounted the rostrum and when the cheering had died down announced:

"We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!"

He went on to outline Soviet terms for peace, - no annexations, no indemnities and the right of self-determination of peoples.

He then read the Proclamation to the Peoples and Governments of all the Belligerent Nations, which was adopted unanimously by the Congress.

LAND

Next Lenin read the Decree on Land. All private ownership of land was abolished, all landowners' estates were transferred to Land Committees and Peasants' Soviets. The Land Decree was debated and passed with only one vote against and the peasant delegates were delirious with joy.

Next on the agenda came the announcement of the composition of the Soviet government. Lenin was to be President of the Council with Trotsky as Peoples Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

The other parties argued that no government comprised solely of Bolsheviks could remain in power for more than a few days. To avoid civil war, they argued, a broad government of all the left parties was needed. The Bolsheviks could be part of that government, provided that Lenin and Trotsky were excluded.

UNACCEPTABLE

This proposal was completely unacceptable to the Bolsheviks who nevertheless were prepared to share power with any socialist party which was prepared to accept the legitimate transfer of the power to the Soviets.

Only the Left Social Revolutionaries were prepared to join the government on this basis and the Bolsheviks welcomed them into the Council of People's Commissars.

The capital had been conquered. Now it had to be defended against whatever forces Kerensky could muster and the rest of Russia had to be won over to the Revolution and the transfer of power to the Soviets. Such was the enormous task facing the Bolsheviks on the third day of the revolution.



GOLD AND IMPERIALISM

History of Southern Africa by John Lea



Gold mining, 1887

From the first involvement of Europeans in Southern Africa there have been attempts to enslave and exploit the local African population. The first Europeans to settle - apart from the odd traveller - were the Dutch employees of the Netherlands East India Company in the 1650s.

They established a base at the Cape of Good Hope on the

Southern tip of Africa and took up farming and cattle rearing to supply the company's ships on the main route to India.

The settlers had various conflicts with the Company over lack of representative government in the colony.

In the 1770s the combination of the weakening of Dutch seapower in favour of the expanding British navy, coupled with the spread of democratic ideas from France and the American War of Independence, prompted the colonists to take up a

INDIANS FIGHT DICTATORSHIP

The right wing Gandhi dictatorship in India continues to repress and attack the Indian working class. The struggle for the restoration of democratic rights in India is therefore of great importance.

The dangerous confusion created by Maoism in the Indian working class was shown very clearly by speakers at a meeting in Oxford a week ago.

The Oxford Group Against Dictatorship in India held its first public meeting at the Buxton Hall, Ruskin College, and on the platform were Maoist speakers from their two major Indian parties, the Communist Party (Marxist) and the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).

Neither of these speakers could offer any perspective or assessment either on what is happening in India now or what needs to be done.

Starting from the concepts of a "fascist" CPI and an "imperialist" Soviet Union, the Maoists can only serve to disorientate and disarm the considerable base of support they hold within the Indian working class.

In reality, the Gandhi dictatorship is still swinging further to the right, and one of the first casualties of this is likely to be the CPI. Gandhi's son - a powerful figure in the regime - is already making open attacks on the CPI.

The experience of the national bourgeoisie in other such cases is that they use the Stalinists as a 'left' protection against the working class for as long as they feel necessary - and then they ditch them. This is the most likely course in India.

The meeting went on to consider a resolution which correctly dissociated the campaign on democratic rights from the "religious-revivalist parties like the Jan Sangh and Akali Dal".

This principled stand is a step forward because both the Maoist groups are in favour of cooperating in every way with these groups.

The resolution went on to call for the restoration of democratic rights in India including the right to strike and freedom of association. It called also for the:

"...ending of all forms of imperialist intervention in India including economic and military aid to the dictatorship".

An amendment to the resolution moved by WSL members called for the return to the Indian people of all property, factories and plantations owned by British capitalists, together with a cancellation of the debt on all outstanding loans - all without compensation to the British owners.

This was carried overwhelmingly despite the opposition of the CPM speaker.

The amendment was important because the resolution went on to call correctly on the left of the Labour Party, the trade union movement and the National Union of Students to fight for its demands.

Many of these leaderships would be willing to go along with a toothless protest - just as long as it missed out the basic support of the Gandhi dictatorship, which is world imperialism.

To highlight the direct involvement of British imperialism with the regime is an essential part of this important campaign.



Boer Commandos passing through Johannesburg.

struggle for independence.

As with America however the notions of independence and democratic government stopped at the colour line - slavery was maintained.

Independence was short lived however. In 1806 Holland gave over Cape Colony to Britain - it was immediately occupied by British naval and military forces - to prevent Napoleon getting his hands on it.

This occupation, and the incorporation of the colony into the British Empire, put paid to any ideas on an independent Republic of Dutch colonists.

British rule in the first part of the 19th Century brought in a number of measures, which, while beneficial to the rising bourgeoisie in Britain, undermined the settlers' way of life.

SLAVERY

The most important of these was the abolition of slavery following the Abolitionist Act of 1833 in Britain.

This, coupled with the lack of self government, provoked the Dutch - the Boers as they came to be called - to set off in 1836 on a great Trek northwards beyond the range of British Colonial Rule to set up two independent Boer republics: the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The 'Great Trek' occupies an important place in current South African racist mythology.

It is used to conjure up the myth of a sturdy independent people trekking off into the unknown in their ox-wagons to escape from bureaucracy and sin and armed with Bible and shotgun to establish a new clean go-fearing way of life - just like the "Wild West" of America, and at about the same time.

ROBBERY

What is generally not emphasised is of course that this sturdy frontiersmanship involved constant robbery of African lands, and the maintenance of slavery.

Apart from a few skirmishes and a couple of attempts at annexation, the British Colonial Administration at the Cape left the Boer Republics as they were for the time being.

In 1871 diamonds, and in 1890, gold, were discovered, of immense value, both of them inside the territories of the Republics.

The Boer farmers suddenly found themselves facing a massive influx of diggers and prospectors, mining engineers and the representatives of British companies formed to exploit the diggings.

The most important agent of British imperialism in this period was Cecil Rhodes.

RHODES

Rhodes virtually ran South Africa for the last 25 years of the nineteenth century through his combination of being both Prime Minister of the Cape government and one of the leading capitalists in the diamond and Gold mining industries.

Financed by money raised on the London Stock Exchange Rhodes and his friends were making profits by 1889 in excess of £1½ million a year out of the sweat of African labourers recruited - often by force - as mine labourers, and paid no more than a pittance.

By the late 1880s several things were worrying Rhodes and through

him the British government and the mining investors.

Firstly, the untold wealth in gold and diamonds was in the independent Boer republics. Was British Imperialism going to allow itself to be threatened by the growth of what would become powerful industrial rival capitalist states to the north of the Cape colony - a colony that was a vital part of British Imperialism's control of the sea routes to India?

LABOUR

Secondly, the profitability of the mines depended on cheap African labour - semi-slave labour. With the advent of the mining boom the 'liberal spirit' which back in the 1830s had blossomed at the Cape and had involved the abolition of slavery and forced labour went into convenient decline.

But - and this was the crucial point for the imperialists - as long as land was abundant and under the control of (outside the white colonies and republics) African nations, relatively few Africans could be induced to come and work in intolerable conditions in the mines. Especially as money played no part in the African tribal economy!

The third thing that worried British Imperialism was of course the other imperialist powers.

The 1880s was the period of the "scramble for Africa" in which all the major European Capitalist countries - France, Britain, Belgium and Germany - were searching frantically for new areas of profitable investment to offset the falling rate of profits in Europe.

The mines of Southern Africa, the rich cocoa area of West Africa - all these were up for grabs as far as imperialism was concerned.

Within twenty years the political map of Africa was transformed and the new boundaries were drawn in the blood of thousands of Africans who died in defence of their lands and families against the spread of European control.

On this score, Rhodes was especially concerned with the fact that the Portuguese might try and link up their two colonies - Angola in the West and Mozambique in the East - by driving across central Africa to form a Portuguese colonial 'belt' across Africa, threatening South Africa from the North.



Rhodes

The Kaiser was not far behind. He already had Tanganyika on the East and had moved into South West Africa on the Western borders of South Africa. He likewise might try and link up the two.

In the minds of the imperialists, Africa was a gigantic chess board. Rhodes dealt stealthily first with the Africans and then with the Boers.

From the 1880s on, the British government engineered the takeover by trickery and violence of virtually all the independent African kingdoms in the vicinity and they became incorporated as additions to the colonial territories.

The wars often went on for years and involved many British defeats at the hands of the better organised African armies, for example the Zulus. By 1900 the process was complete.

It was by this method that the colony of Rhodesia came to be established.

Rhodes was convinced that the African kingdoms of Mashonaland and Matabeleland lying to the north of the Transvaal Republic contained valuable gold deposits.

REASONS

He was mistaken, but nevertheless there were other important reasons for seizing the area as far as Imperialism was concerned.

It would defeat any attempts at a Portuguese or German 'belt', and it would enable the British government, as part of its strategy of annexing African territories bordering on the Boer Republics, to complete the encirclement of the Boers.

Already in 1887 the Transvaal Boers had signed a Treaty with Lobengula, the feudal monarch of Matabeleland, giving them the right to prospect for minerals.

Rhodes moved fast. In 1888 he sent Rudd to Lobengula's court to explain the advantages of allying with the British rather than the Boers.

CONCESSION

Lobengula thought he had signed a concession with Rudd allowing ten whites a year into his kingdom to dig for minerals.

Rhodes had other ideas. He formed the British South African Company with its own private army and marched into the Southern part of the Kingdom.

His swiftness and flagrant violation of the treaty incurred the displeasure of the British government in London who wished to maintain the facade of correct diplomacy. Not for long.

By 1891 Mashonaland was declared a British Protectorate and in 1893 with London's blessing Rhodes marched north to destroy, rape, and loot the Matabeleland stronghold of Lobengula's feudal kingdom.

Further repression followed the Matabele revolt of 1896.

HUT TAX

Once colonial control was consolidated Rhodes instituted the hut tax. This was the basic imperialist tactic - together with forced labour measures - to force the Africans to go and work in the mines.

A tax had to be paid in money on each hut. The only way to get money was to work in the mines for wage labour. The other part of the strategy was land robbery.

Africans were moved off the majority of the most fertile agricultural land and on to tribal reservations. Here the land was worse and the food output was less.

This, coupled with the greater concentration of population on the land, meant starvation unless some of the youth were sent off to work in the mines.

The other side of that coin was that mine wages were incredibly low - below the subsistence cost of

the labourer. Death was prevented only by food grown 'at home' by the rest of the community on the reservation.

This system was and is to this day the basis of the system of migrant labour in the gold mines of South Africa and the key to the massive profits of the mining companies.

It was instituted in all the African territories taken over by British colonialism in Southern Africa.

RHODESIA

In Rhodesia itself, the expected gold deposits did not materialise, though chrome and iron ore were found.

So, to cut its losses in the early 1900s Rhodes' BSAC - which controlled Rhodesia until 1932 - sold off the rich agricultural land stolen from Africans to immigrant white farmers. Thus were the origins of Ian Smith and his supporters.

Having dealt with the Africans Rhodes turned to deal with the Boers.

The Boers had looked on helplessly as Mining capitalism and a massive influx of technicians, company staff and skilled mineworkers had flooded into the republics from Britain.

Land prices shot up as prospectors bought tracts of land. This began to divide the Boers into a few rich landowners and a mass of landless or small peasants.

TYRANNY

Slavery was threatened as Africans escaped to work in the mines swapping the tyranny of the Boers for the tyranny of British Capital.

Kruger, the president of the Transvaal, attempted to get some of the mining profits into the Transvaal treasury by keeping up the Dynamite price through a state monopoly, and tariffs on the import of mining materials and the export of gold and diamonds.

Between 1883 and 1895 the income of the Transvaal State rose twentyfive fold from these measures and various land licences, stamp duties, etc., - much to the annoyance of the mining companies.

Though a farmer, Kruger had a shrewd understanding of the class conflicts between capital and labour. The vast majority of immigrant miners were English skilled workers.

In South Africa they were overseers, engine drivers, technicians and blasters. They were a labour aristocracy.

In the South African context the feeling of superiority of the traditional skilled craftsman towards the unskilled labourer turned into a virulent racism - the unskilled were Africans.

TRADE UNIONISM

One of the earliest attempts at trade unionism among the white miners in the 1890s - the 'Knights of Labour' - pledged itself to fight not only the company but "cheap labour competition of any inferior race".

Kruger therefore enacted a number of laws benefitting the miners against the company in 1893, including state enforced safety regulations and (a portent of things to come) a colour bar banning Africans from all jobs involving the use of dynamite.

The miners were not ungrateful to Kruger for this and they resented that his office the disadvantages of being denied the vote - since there were by 1895 300,000 (British) as every 3 Africans (Boers) this was essential to maintain Boer political power.

Thus when in 1896 Rhodes with the collusion of Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, attempted to foment an uprising in Johannesburg in the Transvaal, as a pretext for the entry of British forces from the Cape, the plan fell flat. The notorious Jameson Raid was defeated by the Transvaal police.

The next in this series of four articles on the history of Southern Africa will appear in 'Socialist Press' No. 37, in four weeks time.

17th CENTURY COMMUNISTS

A Review of the Film "Winstanley" directed by Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo

On May 14th 1649, at Burford, north of Oxford, Cromwell's army, having emerged victorious from six years of civil war against monarchism, defeated also the more radical wing of his own side now in revolt against him.

These were the Levellers, a nationally organised movement especially strong in the army.

The political programme of the Levellers does not perhaps look very progressive today. One of their most radical demands was for universal male suffrage and many leading Levellers had by 1649 abandoned even this in favour of a franchise based on property qualifications.

DEMANDS

Even so, the Levellers' democratic demands went far beyond the rest of the Parliamentary side in the war and they had to wait a further 180 years to be introduced.

Six weeks before the Levellers' defeat a group of about 30 "common people" had established a commune in order "to dig up, manure and sow corn upon George Hill in Surrey".

Disillusioned with the compromises of the Leveller leaders, these Surrey communists led by Gerald Winstanley and William Everard, called themselves the True Levellers or more commonly the Diggers.

The Diggers, unlike the Levellers were a proletarian movement - not merely in their membership but more importantly in their political ideas.

Though widely read by contemporaries, Winstanley's writings soon disappeared, to remain unknown until the late 19th century when Kautsky and Bernstein introduced them to the socialist movement.

"All laws that are not grounded upon equity and reason, not giving a universal freedom to all but respecting persons, ought....to be cut off with the King's head".

Marx and Engels, had they known of Winstanley's work, would have seen it as a major pioneering presentation of some of the ideas of scientific socialism.

Winstanley, for instance, saw that the spiritual and material problems of the common people arose not from the absence of



Phil Oliver as William Everard

bourgeois parliamentary democracy but from the existence of property and wage labour.

The origins of wealth, he saw clearly, was exploitation. In 1652, almost 200 years before the *Communist Manifesto*, Winstanley wrote in his major pamphlet *The Law of Freedom* that:

"...all rich men live at ease, feeding and clothing themselves by the labours of other men, not by their own; which is their shame and not their nobility; for it is a more blessed thing to give than to receive. But rich men receive all they have from the labourer's hand, and what they give, they give away other men's labours and not their own. Therefore they are not righteous actors in the earth".

He advocated refusing to work for wages, a primitive form of general strike action. Through mass action such as this he hoped to establish a 'universal community' in which 'universal liberty' would flourish because private property would be abolished.

and 20th century 'lefts'

The 327th anniversary of Cromwell's defeat of the Levellers gave Tony Benn an opportunity to address a commemorative meeting in Burford church on May 15th.

Speaking in tones appropriate to the pulpit in which he stood, Benn gave a remarkable sermon on the importance of the Christian roots of the 'British socialist tradition'.

These were to be found, he said, as far back as the Old Testament prophets Amos and Micah, not to mention Jesus Christ and radical movements like the Levellers and Diggers who took the bible as their basic text.

All this was a distortion of the politics of the Leveller and Digger (possibly even of Amos and Micah too!), let alone an astonishing version of the history of socialism (Marx received no mention).

But the speech gave Benn the chance to 'adapt' the (fortunately silent) ghosts of the Levellers in support of his own ten-point political "programme" of equality and democratic control over big business, bureaucracy and the mass

"Wheresoever there is a people....united by common community of livelihood into oneness, it will become the strongest land in the world; for then they will be as one man to defend their inheritance.....Whereas on the other side, pleading for property and single interest divides the people of a land and the whole world into parties, and is the cause of all wars and contention and bloodshed everywhere....But when once the earth becomes a common treasury again, as it must,then this enmity of all lands will cease, and none shall dare to seek dominion over others, neither shall any dare to kill another, nor desire more of the earth than another".

This would lead to the end of the state which, Winstanley correctly saw, existed only because of the necessary conflict between property and freedom.

Winstanley's style in expressing these ideas, is often very biblical. This may create a false impression, for he was not in any recognisable way a Christian.

REASON

'God' to him meant 'reason' and 'righteousness' was the rule of reason as opposed to that of property. 'Heaven' was the 'universal community', which could exist only on earth and would have to be built through political action.

It is one of the few faults of the recent film 'Winstanley' (directed by Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo) that the words spoken by Winstanley himself tend to over-emphasise his religious language and underemphasise his materialist ideas.

In general, however, the film is an absorbing, exciting and convincing account of the 12 months during which the Diggers maintained their commune of St. George's Hill.

The film begins with a rapid summary of the events of the revolution and civil war up to 1649 (in the style of *Movietone News*) and of a major civil war battle (in the style of Eisenstein).

COMPELLING

Thereafter, the style is that of Brownlow and Mollo and it is extremely compelling. Winstanley's own words are almost directly taken from his writings. The result of this is not to make the film stilted and didactic, as could so easily have happened, but to make it seem more genuine and compelling.

The conviction is strengthened by brilliant but unobtrusive camera-work and editing which create a vividly realistic impression of the hostile physical environment and climate.

This, along with the astonishing attention to historical detail, counteracts the inevitable slight formalism of the dialogue and creates a sense of close involvement with the story of the commune its internal development, the constant assaults on it by the ruling class through violence and the courts, and its eventual collapse.

The collapse was inevitable. The Diggers were attempting to create a communist society when capitalism was still in its infancy and had not passed through the progressive phase in which, at the cost of gigantic suffering, it created the material preconditions for a communist society.

MARX


Marx showed what Winstanley had failed to realise - that:

"...if we did not find concealed in society as it is the material conditions of production and the corresponding relations of exchange prerequisite for a classless society, then all attempts to explode it would be quixotic".

In 1649 St. George's Hill was occupied by a class which was not yet ripe to lead a revolution.

Today it is mostly occupied by a class which is historically rotten and whose overthrow only waits on the kind of uncompromising and courageous fight which was waged then by the Diggers.

by Bob Sutcliffe



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

AUEW: CP KILLS PAY FIGHT

Government pay policy and the proposed amalgamation of the AUEW's four constituent sections - the Foundry workers', construction workers', the Technical and Supervisory section and the predominant Engineering section - were the main topics under discussion at the conference of the Engineering section last week.

Leading the right wing in support of the wage cutting TUC pay plan was former "left" union president Hugh Scanlon, who threatened to withdraw from the TUC negotiating team if the deal was not supported.

But the key role in knifing any real fight was played by the Stalinists before the vote was even taken on a resolution opposing the deal.

Communist Party members James Airie and George Anthony successfully moved an amendment removing a clause which would have pledged support for those workers who went into action against the policy.

WORDS

This meant that even if the resolution itself had been passed it would only have been a form of words.

It would have had the same impact as the union's verbal oppos-

ition to the pay laws last year which meant only that delegates at the TUC voted against the measures - while no official actions were called to fight the £6 limit.

In the end, Bill Rowlands, delegate from the North West (Div 15) voted against the resolution - even though his area's resolution was part of the final composite. In the same way the two delegates from Kent (Div 24), J. Lambourn and J. Simpson, both voted against their Divisional Committee mandate. Another right winger, from Birmingham, W. Jordan, voted against the resolution, even though both Birmingham East and Birmingham West Shop Stewards quarterlies have voted against the 4½% pay deal.



Scanlon

own new-found majority on the AEU National Committee could be submerged in the amalgamated union.

The Stalinists, by attempting to preserve their bureaucratic base in TASS have thus given the right wing an excuse to block amalgamation.

The resolution eventually passed at the AEU conference was to allow even less representation of the smaller unions and for all officers in TASS to be elected. This the right wing hoped would torpedo the amalgamation.

be binding on the National Executive Council of the Union and also on the Sections".

(Rule 13(a) emphasis added) The Construction section delegates correctly pointed out that under this rule the National Committee of the Engineering section never had any right to change their position and accept the £6 pay limit - since opposition was decided at an amalgamated conference.

Nor did Scanlon and the AUEW Executive have constitutional authority to take action against the striking Leyland toolroom workers.

The scorn of the right-wing for democratic procedures and constitutions is clearly exposed in this struggle.

The WSL is in favour of TASS and the CEU leading a fight against the pay policy - and refusing to accept this week's vote.

Clearly the vote itself must be retaken, this time according to the rules of the full union, but before this takes place there must be a full discussion throughout the union and a genuine mandate obtained from the membership.

The Jones-Healey pay policy must be rejected and any section of workers fighting it must be given full official backing.

In campaigning for a re-vote the WSL will fight also for the policy of seeking a sliding scale of wages clause in all agreements, and an explicit defence of free collective bargaining.

COWLEY SETBACK FOR RIGHT WING

Alan Thornett was last week elected chairman of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee of the British Leyland Cowley Assembly Plant.

His election, at a meeting attended by nearly 100 of the plant's shop stewards, followed six months of bureaucratic manoeuvres by the right wing of the T&GWU, who were determined to prevent it.

Thornett had been chairman of the committee up to his victimisation by Leyland in 1974. After this the T&GWU bureaucracy terminated all offices, held re-elections under conditions of a national witch-hunt, and split up the powerful 5/55 Branch of which Thornett was Chairman.

The bureaucracy followed this by ruling that the chairman of the newly formed 5/293 Branch would automatically take the office of chairman of the JSSC.

This ruling caused them problems when, last December, Thornett was elected chairman of the 5/293 Branch.

As demands grew from the stewards that he assume the position of JSSC chairman under the previous ruling, the bureaucracy quickly changed their position, and declared that the matter would have to be decided by the T&GWU stewards (traditionally the AUEW provide the JSSC secretary and the

T&GWU, the chairman).

This new angle of the officials also contained a further problem - Thornett was likely to be elected by the stewards. So they refused to convene a stewards meeting!

A meeting of stewards was then called under the authority of the two T&GWU branches in the factory, and Alan Thornett was elected the T&GWU nominee for endorsement at a full JSSC meeting on May 24th.

Again the T&GWU officials switched position - this time announcing, that they no longer recognised the JSSC and that in their opinion it should not exist.

They followed this up by approaching management and asking them to withdraw the use of the works canteen for the May 24th meeting. Management were only too eager to oblige.

The successful fight to restore these facilities to the committee, together with the election of Thornett, were both blows to the bureaucracy, who are now redoubling their efforts to establish dictatorial control in other directions.

In general terms their strategy is to break up any committee, branch, Trades Council or any other body not controlled by them. Their failure so far to destroy the Cowley JSSC shows they have a long way still to go.

RIGHT WING SABOTAGE MERGER

On amalgamation the right-wing at the AEU Conference were able successfully to defeat the Executive's proposals because they contained a clause which would allow TASS officials - who are at present unelected - to remain in office unelected for life.

This would of course preserve the jobs of these bureaucrats who are mainly Stalinists and their supporters, but would mean that only new officials would be elected.

It would for instance mean that TASS General Secretary, Stalinist Ken Gill, could retain his present position but with no risk stand for election as President of the Amal-



Gill

gamated Union!

The right wing of course are not in the least concerned for the democratic rights of the membership. They are opposed to amalgamation because they fear that their

CONFERENCE SPLIT ON RULES

The same issues - pay and amalgamation - dominated the full joint conference of the AUEW this week, with the amalgamation issue splitting the union from top to bottom.

We must make our position clear. The Workers Socialist League is in favour of amalgamation and for as much united action of the trade union movement as is possible both at local level and nationally.

But the principle of defence of free collective bargaining and the complete independence of the unions should stand above the amalgamation issue and not be prejudiced by it.

Unfortunately, when the TUC's wage-cutting policy came before the joint conference the majority of delegates (35) abstained, leaving it carried by 34 votes to nil.

RULING

The reason for the abstentions was the ruling by Scanlon that the Engineering section delegates were to be elected by their section's

TUC DISOWNS TRADES COUNCIL

After 89 years affiliated to the TUC, the Oxford and District Trades Council has been removed from the TUC's list of recognised Trades Councils by the right wing bureaucracy led by Jones and Murray.

This move was not unexpected. Since the local bureaucrats and Stalinists, organised by extreme right-wing T&GWU District Secretary David Buckle, walked out of the Trades Council AGM in February, the TUC has been seeking ways of restoring the dominance lost by the right wing and their Stalinist allies over the last two years.

With breath-taking bureaucratic arrogance Murray declares - in a letter distributed to delegates - that the Trades Council Joint Consultative Committee (TCJCC):

"reached its decision only after very careful consideration of the information available about the functioning of Oxford and District Trades Council".

NO EVIDENCE

This "careful consideration" took the form of a mock "inquiry" which sought evidence and views from none of the Trades Council majority delegates and not a single one of the officers elected at the April AGM.

The only evidence it heard was from the extreme right wing-CP alliance which broke up the February AGM by calling an unconstitutional meeting of selected delegates 30 minutes before normal starting time and changing the standing orders of the Council.

Despite a subsequent TUC declaration that this secret meeting was in fact unconstitutional and its results "null and void", the "inquiry" has come out fully in favour of that minority, accepting every charge and demand it has made.

Murray bases his "case" on three charges.

Firstly, that the Trades Council held its reconvened AGM on April 22nd instead of June 11th as

proposed by the TUC. This, Murray ludicrously concludes, "excluded" those branches who had decided not to attend (entirely of their own free will!)

Secondly, Murray accuses the Trades Council of upholding the right "to criticise the policies of individual unions". He connects this with a reference to the so-called "campaign" against the cuts by the Oxford Health Service unions, which the Trades Council Health Service sub-committee correctly criticised as a sham fight.

Thirdly Murray charges the Council with not being a "representative" body. He means not representative of the right-wing bureaucrats. The charge is one very familiar in Oxford where the T&GWU bureaucrats are now even proposing to disband the District Automative Committee on the basis that it is "unrepresentative" - levelling the same charge against the 5/293 T&GWU branch and the BL Cowley Assembly Plant Joint Shop Stewards Committee. In fact against any trade union body not slavishly subservient to the officials and their policies.

In an attempt to complete the manoeuvre the TUC has called a meeting to "reconstitute" the Trades Council on July 14th. This means that for the next month they will be working overtime to bureaucratically limit and change the delegations from branches to that meeting.

Their aim is a Trades Council controlled top to bottom by the local officials with Standing Orders redrafted for this purpose and full use of the "gag rule" - the new Rule 14.

But their manoeuvres arise from weakness not from strength. The officials know they have no real popular support in the local labour movement.

And in attempting to hamstring those workers determined to fight in defence of the working class they only educate new layers of workers in the methods and nature of the bureaucracy itself - both its right wing and Stalinist departments.

'WITCH-HUNT'! WAILS RIGHT-WINGER

Always eager to protect its own, the Tory press in Yorkshire has been falling over itself to support extreme right winger Bill O'Brien.

He was suspended for two years as NUM branch secretary at Glasshoughton Colliery Castleford, by the Yorkshire Area Council following his divulging a voluntary statement and internal union documents to solicitors acting for the Sheffield Star.

The information was used as part of their defence against a successful libel action brought by Yorkshire NUM President, Arthur Scargill.

The suspension of O'Brien, together with another right-winger, former branch secretary, Tom Roebuck of Manvers Main Colliery, was on the charge of "acting against the interests of the National Union of Mineworkers". Scargill maintains that the documents were the property of the NUM.

PRESS

O'Brien, as all right-wingers when in trouble, made straight for the press claiming that he was being "witch-hunted" and launching into a full-scale attack on the Yorkshire

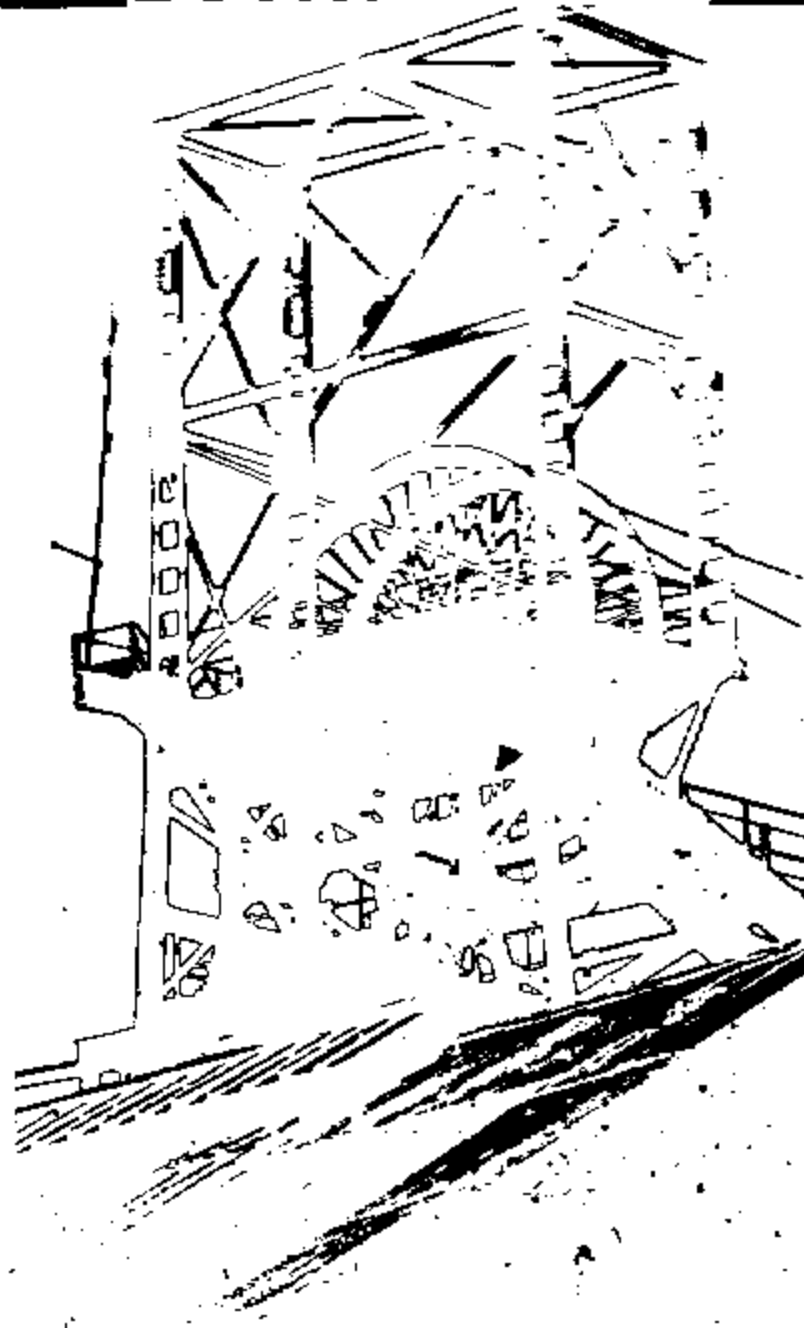
area leadership. In a statement to the Yorkshire Evening Post he referred indirectly to Scargill's principled fight against the 4½% pay cuts advocated by the TUC and by a majority of the NUM executive:

"I support decisions taken democratically by the national executive and what I do abhor is people who come back after an executive decision and work to oppose it".

O'Brien wisely kept silent on the role of Joe Gormley, NUM President, who as an individual defeated in a democratic vote, launched a national press witch-hunt to seek to reverse the recent executive decision for an overtime ban in defence of jobs at Langwith Colliery.

These tactics are deemed fit and proper when the right wing carry them out, while left wingers like Scargill are supposed to be constrained by executive decisions from campaigning within the union to reverse wrong positions.

O'Brien is clearly putting himself forward as the focal point of right-wing opposition to Scargill and all those who support Labour government and TUC policies of attacking the working class.



In this, with the backing of the press he may well win a measure of support in a few sectors in Yorkshire.

But for any miner who sees defence of the living standards of the working class as paramount, this right-wing campaign must be contemptuously rejected.

Instead, all possible support must be rallied behind a 'No' vote in the ballot on the TUC pay cuts plan.

*FOOTNOTE

The coordinated efforts of the Tory press, television and radio are daily at the beck and call of the right wing. But the move by the Yorkshire area NUM to put adverts in Nottinghamshire papers urging opposition to the TUC wage-cuts plan has provoked wails of protest from right-wing Notts President, Len Clarke.

He described the Yorkshire action as a "diabolical liberty". Presumably the only voice allowed free access to Notts miners through the press must be Clarke himself. So this is what "freedom of the press" is all about.

VOTE "NO" TO WAGE CUTS

The NUM ballot of membership on acceptance or rejection of the wage-cutting Jones-Healey pay plan is now in its last few days in many areas. A rejection of the plan would provide a crucial platform from which to launch action to defeat the reactionary policies of this Labour government which threaten not only miners but the whole working class.

A "No" vote must be followed by active preparation for a national strike in support of the £100 claim already backed by several key areas in the North, linked to a sliding scale of wages to protect this increase against inflation. This would provide regular increases to match the rise in prices as monitored by elected trade union committees.

The lead given by miners in rejecting the plan would be the best support for rank and file militants in other unions fighting the treachery of their leaders in accepting the wage cuts.

While McGahey Prepares Escape

As support got under way for a massive "No" vote in the NUM ballot, the left talkers of the Communist Party were already beginning to look for an escape from the possibility of strike action.

This emerged clearly from the statement of Mick McGahey, Scottish miners' President that "we shouldn't go it alone".

REJECT

The only possible meaning of this is that if the miners vote to reject the 4½% wage cutting plan, while the bureaucrats at the TUC Congress on June 16th vote to accept, that Stalinists like McGahey will advise against strike action in the name of "unity".

No argument could be more reactionary. It was not the bureaucrats represented at the TUC who backed the miners in 1972 and

1974 and paved the way to their victory - it was the rank and file membership in the T&GWU and other unions.

These rank and file members have been excluded from any democratic voice on the 4½% pay plan. And of course there would be a mass of support, as before under the Tories, for any section of workers in struggle against wage-cutting.

For McGahey however, the only people who matter in the labour movement are the full time union bureaucrats.

CP members in the NUM must watch out for a new depth of betrayal now being carefully prepared by their leadership.

Miners must be ready to lead the struggle on behalf of those workers denied a voice on policy. They will not be left isolated.



Miners leaving Glasshoughton Colliery

SACKINGS AT MONKBRIDGE FORGE

Redundancy notices were issued last Friday to 355 workers at Monkbridge Forge in Leeds, a part of the Daniels Doncasters combine. The sackings will come into effect on 20th August - one week after the summer holidays.

Management blame workers for the situation claiming that the redundancies are because of a run-down in trade, over-pricing and poor quality of production.

They go on to state the grounds on which they will decide who joins the list of redundancies - which include assessments of each worker's quality and quantity of work, time-keeping and absenteeism and disciplinary record.

FIRST OUT

In other words, militants and those who resist speed up will be first out of the gate if management get their way.

The factory, which makes turbine blades for Rolls Royce and Concorde is affected by the run down of the aircraft industry, and suffering from the unplanned development it has undergone.

It now consists of a large number of expensive white elephant machines bought by government money and rented back to the firm.

The stewards must organise the fight back now. These redundancies are only the first wave as the firm can only become less and less viable

under capitalist management and face eventual closure.

The fight must begin by forcing the employers to open the account books to an elected trade union committee, to prove the case for the nationalisation of Monkbridge Forge, and at the same time rejecting all redundancies and demanding work-sharing on full pay.

CHRYSLER: MORE JOBS FOR AXE

Workers at Chrysler's Maidstone plant will not be among those whose jobs have been temporarily saved following recent orders for components from Iran.

The Maidstone factory is due to close this month with the loss of some 600 jobs.

Plans for something like 1,000 sackings at the Coventry plants are being shelved but there is no room for complacency among the Chrysler workforce.

As we have pointed out in past Socialist Press articles, any talk of Chrysler's survival depends very much on speed-up and 'flexible' working arrangements - in other words a "disciplined" workforce.

According to management the threat of redundancies can be removed only if the unions agree to

Recent articles in 'The Miner', official journal of the National Union of Mineworkers are preparing the way for "workers' participation" in the coal industry, with the full backing of the NUM executive.

In the latest issue of *The Miner* the proposals of the Economic Sub-Committee of the NUM are outlined. They plan twelve-man "colliery management" teams for each pit to be elected by secret ballot of employees.

Through these teams, the present consultative committees at which management and unions sit across the table from each other will be abolished.

hundreds of workers changing jobs, mostly moving from Ryton to the Stoke and Canterbury St. plants. A company spokesman has said that: "No general voluntary redundancy programme is planned. However, if difficulties are experienced in effecting redeployment, then consideration will be given to limited voluntary redundancy..."

Although some overtime is being worked at Stoke, especially in the foundry, production of the Arrow engine is being reduced from 29 to 12 an hour.

Workers should not take management's word on their future - the fight must begin to open the company books, for no redundancies at Maidstone, and instead for work sharing on full pay.

"PARTICIPATION" - THE SCARGILL WAY

For years any attempt by the National Coal Board to introduce "participation" has been met with constant opposition from militant workers. From this article it is clear that the NUM bureaucracy are preparing to do the job for them.

So strong has been rank and file opposition to having anything to do with management that local NUM branches have refused to distribute the Board's journal *Coal News*.

COMPLAINTS

The NUM's Economic Sub-Committee now complains about this attitude, by saying, "The existing colliery consultative committees had degenerated into little more than complaints committees".

The article tries to skirt round the fact that all final decisions will still rest with the National Board composed of management, but hopes that "the occasions on which the Board or its Area Directors might directly intervene in the decisions of a colliery management team would be few".

In other words they hope that by placing miners on "management teams" they can force through productivity deals and closures.

The greatest danger to miners now is that "lefts" such as Scargill have now come out in favour of such proposals despite all their previous talk of opposing "participation" under any circumstances.

STEP

Scargill presents these proposals as if they were nothing to do with participation, but a step towards workers' management of the pits.

In a previous issue of *Socialist Press* (no 19) we quoted an interview with Scargill where he said:

"I'm totally opposed to workers' control.....I believe once you start talking about workers' control under capitalism what you are saying is that we open the books and we take charge of 51% of the

Board and all this sort of thing. That's not workers' power. Workers' power is to take into the hands of the working people all the means of producing wealth, distribution and exchange".

We pointed out then that "by refusing to acknowledge the difference between a fully fledged socialist economy and the concrete struggle for workers' control now [which is both the only solution to the problems facing the working class and the concrete way of posing the necessity of a socialist planned economy] Scargill was maintaining the purity of his socialist rhetoric...but doing nothing to carry forward the struggle to defend jobs, wages and the democratic rights of the trade union movement".

OPPOSITE

Now Scargill has come down openly on the side of "participation", the opposite of workers' control. And talk of 'electing' managers is simply a smokescreen to conceal the unchanged faces in the NCB itself.

The case of Alan Grimshaw, dismissed by the NCB after exposing huge overcharging by sub-contractors for spare parts for power-supports, just scrapes the surface of the links between management and private capitalists and highlights the importance of a struggle to expose deals like these by fighting for opening the books of the Board to elected workers' committees.

Only in this way, not by sitting on 'management teams' responsible to Coal Board management, can a real struggle for workers' management of the industry begin.

This attempt to deal a body-blow to the independence of the miners' union will only be defeated by a consistent struggle against its advocates, right and 'left' in the NUM.

NALGO N.E.C. DEFENDS PAY CUTS



The NALGO NEC left face has been support for the national coordinating Committee against the Cuts in the NHS. Their Conference policy statement shows they regard this as just words.

The NALGO leadership are opposing or asking for the withdrawal of every motion calling for action - even those which simply call for publicity campaigns for a halt to cuts, unemployment and wage cutting at their National Conference at Eastbourne this week.

The discontent of the NALGO membership is reflected in many of the motions from branches. There are many on individual problems such as opposition to cuts in the rail services, the call for more money for the National Bus Company, and opposition to health service cuts. Other motions attempt to mobilise NALGO against the cuts in general.

NALGO General Secretary, Geoffrey Drain, argues that all future policy measures are covered by an emergency motion to be put to conference by the NEC.

This motion will be seen by many delegates as the ultimate in cuddling up to the anti-working class bureaucrats within the TUC and the Labour government. The motion states that the NALGO leadership:

"considers it essential that the continuing development of the mutually acceptable economic policy now proposed between the trades unions and the government must be the cornerstone of our purpose".

Of course the economic policy now proposed is in no way "mutually accepted" by the membership - who have been given no voice on the issue of whether to accept the TUC's wage-cutting 4 1/2% limit.

The NEC follow this with a

shopping list of things the unions and the government must take note of, carefully avoiding the potential power in action of the NALGO membership to force such demands through.

"APATHY"

The NALGO leadership will of course claim that any motions which entail activity designed to mobilise this strength are not feasible because of the claimed "apathy" of the membership.

Yet at the same time they are opposing the motion from the Hackney branch which suggests four branch meetings a year (!) instead of the present one or two. Clearly Drain feels that such apathy as there is in NALGO must be carefully protected by creating the impression of a completely dormant union.

This shows clearly the link between so-called "apathy" and leadership. So does the very different example of the West Midlands County Council branch pre-conference meeting, where 60 members voted by an overwhelming majority to instruct conference delegates to throw out the NEC motion.

DIRECTED

Instead they were directed to support motions directed towards specific actions which could defeat the Labour government's attack on working class living standards.

A determined struggle for leadership within NALGO is the prerequisite for the defence of jobs and living standards. This must take firm steps forward at the Eastbourne conference.

NUS LEADERS SOUND THE RETREAT

Petrified by the national growth of militancy among students as shown by the spate of occupations by student teachers, the leaders of the National Union of Students have already begun to beat the retreat.

Meeting at the weekend, the 25 strong Executive decided not to widen the action to all colleges and universities.

Instead they will leave those students already in occupation to become isolated and demoralised while the reformists of the NUS embark on an orgy of protest and "pressure" campaigns on teachers'

unions, parent-teacher associations, MPs, councillors and trade unionists to "persuade" them to "pressure" the government to employ more teachers!

This proposal, which would be laughable if it were not for the gravity of the situation facing students, is quite obviously bankrupt.

IMPLEMENTING

All MPs 'left' and right have played their part in implementing the spending cuts. The handful of 'lefts' who abstained on the cuts White Paper collapsed next

day and voted in favour of the government's economic policies.

And with the prospect of further "emergency" cuts being prepared by Healey to "save the pound" it is certain no amount of verbal persuasion will change the situation. The only way the cuts can be fought is by resolute action calling on the full support of the labour movement in all-out strike action to defend the social services and education.

The decision of the NUS leadership to restrict the occupations to student teachers is for this reason sheer treachery. Every step must be taken to reverse it and widen the existing actions.

£600 FUND

We have had an encouraging response to the increased £600 Monthly Development Fund this month. With money still on its way to us the total so far has reached £529.82.

The following amounts have been received. BLMC Cowley Assembly Plant £30.00; BLMC Cowley Body Plant £32.00; Birmingham £10.00; Islington £50.00; Oxford Health Service £50.00; Leamington £2.35; South Yorkshire £21.30; J.W. £30.00; South London £40.00; Coventry £22.00; Liverpool £20.00; Hull £22.50; Central London £40.00; Nuneaton £10.00; Oxford General £40.00; Aylesbury £10.00; Banbury £5.27; East London £47.50; Oxford Bookshop £25.00; Leeds £15.00; Collections £6.70.

Let's make an early start with the June fund so that we make the target in good time.

BENN'S HAND OUT

Still more subsidies for private industry through the National Enterprise Board and a more widespread extension of the "worker participation" schemes already cutting jobs in British Leyland and Chrysler are embodied in a new plan from the National Executive of the Labour Party.

These reactionary proposals to preserve and give a "respectable" face to capitalism are combined with utopian and ludicrous plans for another £1,000 million on public sector house building, £2,700 million more on increased pensions and £1,500 million more on social service priorities - all without a single proposal for nationalisation.

While the 'left' on the Labour NEC content themselves with these grandiose daydreams, Energy Secretary Wedgewood Benn has been getting down to the serious business of handing

over millions to the oil companies.

To the amazement of the oil barons, Benn is offering them cash simply to look for North Sea oil - regardless of whether they find any!

This unbelievable generosity exposes the real face of the left talkers on the NEC!

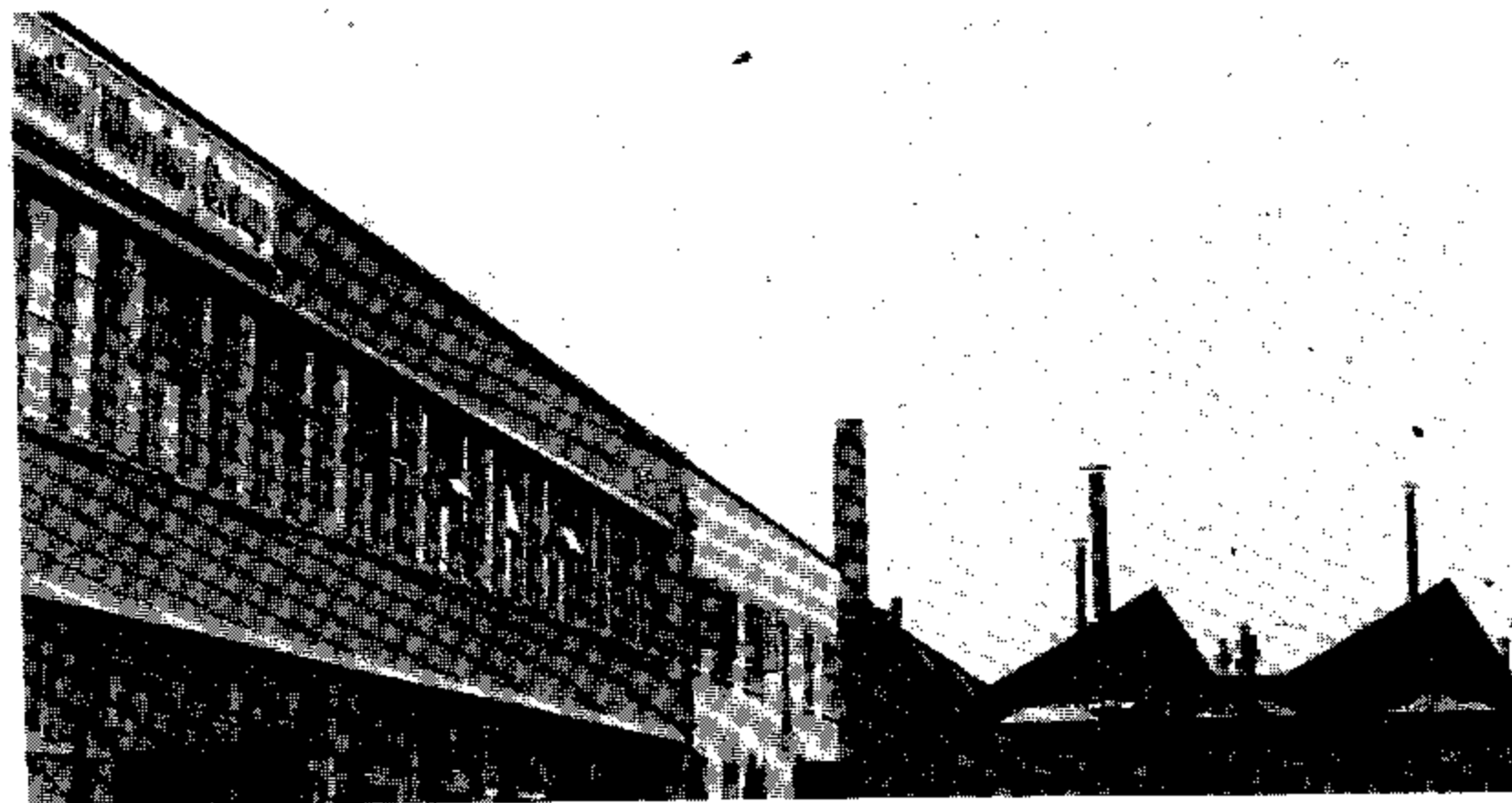
MORE DETAILS

I would like more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

Address.....

POST TO: WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



BLMC Cowley Assembly Plant.

Racism, cont'd from front page.

and housing - against any bureaucrat who seeks to hold back the working class.

This was shown in the much publicised strike over a black worker in British Leyland, Cowley. The right-wing senior shop stewards correctly sided with the worker going back on his job - but it is precisely because of the long standing collaboration between Reg Parsons, T&GWU Convener, and BL management, together with his conscious fostering of extreme right wing reaction in the plant that racialism found food in workers' frustration.

It was left to the committee of the 5/293 Branch of the T&GWU to intervene, correctly producing a statement on this case and circulating it to members. This attacked racialism by pointing to its roots, showing that workers' problems are "not caused by immigrants but by the government".

There is no doubt that if the miners do reject the 4 1/2% TUC wage-cuts plan and decide on strike action, giving a lead to the working class, it would strike the biggest possible blow against racialism. In struggle against the main enemy - the employer - the working class can break down sectional divisions.

Greece cont'd.

Orthodox Metropolitan (Bishop) of the island, who had welcomed the captain of the aircraft carrier.

Last week's fighting underlines the fact that Karamanlis is the political heir of the Colonels and that struggles for even the most elementary democratic rights must become a challenge to his regime.

WEAKNESS

The relative weakness of trade unionism in Greece (only about 20% of workers are organised in unions) goes back many years.

The General Confederation of Labour itself, was set up with a nominated leadership by the Monarcho-fascist government immediately after the war, while the British Labour government poured in hundreds of millions of pounds to support their puppets' anti-Communist civil war.

Stalin, having agreed to divide Europe with the imperialist powers, stood aside while thousands of Greek Communists were murdered.

The policies of today's pro-Moscow Greek Stalinists offer no way forward against the government.

They disclaimed responsibility for the Athens demonstrations and attempted to link the revolutionary left with fascism in a statement which blamed "fascist and anarchist elements" for the violence.

They went on to call for "the defence of democracy".

In reality, the struggle for the rights of the working class in Greece now urgently requires the building of a revolutionary, Trotskyist party firmly based on the advanced sections of workers such as those who faced the police truncheons in Athens.