

# SOCIALIST PRESS

FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE  
WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

No.15 \* 20th AUGUST 1975 \* 10p

## TUC's REACTIONARY DIVERSION

# IMPORT CONTROLS: DANGEROUS POLICY

TUC leaders, meeting last week, adopted two reactionary plans of policy to attempt to hold back their members from struggle to defend jobs and wages.

The first was the decision by the economic committee to recommend the TUC monitor wage settlements to ensure that they do not go beyond the government's state-imposed £6 limit. The collaboration of the TUC in this way covers up the vicious use of the law by the Wilson government to cut real wages, and violates every principle of trade unionism.

The second decision, taken at the same meeting, was to press the government for quick measures to restrict imports. The idea, as always with the TUC, was to throw a smoke-screen around their betrayals, but is completely different from the left talk of earlier periods.

### NATIONALIST

There must be no mistake. To call for import controls is a reactionary diversion from the struggle in every factory to defend all jobs and defend living standards. It suggests to workers that they should ally with "their" employer against foreign capitalists. In doing so, it seeks to whip up nationalist feelings which will be used to isolate and weaken British workers as sharper struggles emerge.

It leads away from the all-out struggle against the employers necessary to defend jobs.

This can be seen from the effect of the demand in recent working class struggles. In Imperial Typewriters in Hull, where workers occupied for nineteen weeks in defence of jobs, the demand for import controls, coupled with the nationalist slogan of "Yanks out" put forward by the local leadership was linked to utopian schemes for a cooperative. The struggle was defeated, with no political lessons learned.

### "DUMPING"

In the textile industry, where jobs are being lost faster than in almost any other industry, the trade union and Labour leaders have for a long period simply campaigned for embargoes and restrictions against alleged "dumping" of imports, rather than fight for nationalisation and work-sharing.

Now, in the struggle at Norton Villiers Triumph, three demands have been passed by Wolverhampton shop stewards: for nationalisation of the company; for no redundancies; and for import controls.

Ominously, the only demand being discussed by the T&GWU

fighting NVT management.

The danger is that this could be accepted by the shop stewards. As a spokesman for the occupation committee said in an interview with *Socialist Press*:

"The Japanese are importing bikes to such an extent they put the working people of this nation on the dole."

The opposite is the case. Jobs are being taken away by *British employers*, not "the Japanese". The fight must direct at the main enemy.

### LEFT-TALKERS

The import control policy is not restricted simply to right wing trade union leaders. Left talkers such as Clive Jenkins of ASTMS and 'left' MPs of the *Tribune* group have it as a centre-piece of their reformist policies. The latest economic document put forward to the NEC by the Labour 'lefts' centred on a strengthening of import controls.

Eric Heffer, talking of a "radical approach to Britain's problems", has called in the *New Statesman* for Wilson to "mobilise Britain's overseas assets", and to "include selective import controls" - followed by a call for what he calls "voluntary wage control". This shows that for Heffer, like the TUC, there is no separation between these policies.

In the call for import controls both 'lefts' and rights have the full support of the Communist Party. The *Morning Star* greeted the TUC's first adoption of the policy earlier this year, saying:

"Its call for the temporary imposition of import controls is also a measure which is long overdue, and is now a matter of urgency in view of the serious crisis shown by the huge deficit in the balance of payments..."

The word "temporary", like the current word "selective" used by the TUC, is a cover. What is here being applauded by the Stalinists is a fraudulent policy which attempts to avoid the struggle for jobs - at the expense of the jobs of workers in the countries hit by import restrictions.

### REJECTED

In fact, the treacherous nature of the whole campaign being whipped up (and noticeably spearheaded by right-winger Jack Jones, who has called for a total ban on Japanese imports of motorcycles in order to "help" not just on jobs, but in "stopping British currency going

So on the one hand we see reactionary union leaders clamour for the government to stop importing Japanese cars, so as to prop up British Leyland (where they are assisting the company to impose redundancies through the Ryder plan.) The latest of these is the leadership of the white-collar union APEX, which is launching a "Buy British Cars" campaign, and called for restrictions on Japanese and Continental cars.

On the other hand the *Sunday Times* Business News devoted a major article to exposing how small is the loss to British capitalism on trade with Japan, and how impractical import controls against Japan would be for other British car manufacturers. These union leaders know their policies are a fraud to cover their own betrayals.

The policy of restricting imports is doubly dangerous for the working class because it also ties workers to attempting to preserve a particular industry and leads away from the defence of jobs. It is in this way that it links with the TUC acceptance of speed-up and wage cutting, because only through such measures can the industry be maintained under capitalism.

### POLICY

A socialist policy to defend jobs must begin not from the imagined need to defend one capitalist against another, but from the real need of workers to preserve their right to a job. It must begin then to challenge the power and the 'rights' of the employer and to develop organs of workers' control - factory committees - to lead the fight.

Such factory committees must start out with one goal in view, the defence of the workforce: not one job lost, not one penny less. This is of course inseparable from the fight for work sharing on full pay to divide available work among the whole workforce. This in turn demands in the case of bankrupt firms their nationalisation, under committees of workers' management

Such socialist nationalisations - with a centralised economic plan of state contracts and a state monopoly of foreign trade - are the opposite of the "nationalism" carried out under capitalism. Capitalist nationalisations are aimed at equipping national capitalist states to compete better in the world market, and better exploit the working class. They are subject to the law of value and the drive for profits. For this reason workers in 'nationalised' industries are often among the first to be threatened with the sack.

Within every industry where jobs are threatened, workers must organise committees to lead resistance

## UNITE TO DEFEAT REACTIONARIES IN PORTUGAL!



Badly beaten Communist Party member protected from reactionary mob by soldiers

In every corner of the world all eyes are turned each day now on the unfolding drama of the Portuguese Revolution.

Every class conscious worker, every treacherous labour bureaucrat, every capitalist afraid for his position and every CIA agent labouring to preserve the system of imperialist exploitation, each in his own way sees Portugal as the fulcrum of the post-war break-up of capitalist boom under the hammer blows of the international offensive of the working class.

As the forces of counter-revolution have gathered in recent weeks to attack every gain that the revolution has made so far, the decisive factor has been and still remains the independent mobilisation of the power of the working class, not just in Portugal itself.

The book-burnings, the beatings and attacks on trade union offices, led or cheered on by nuns, priests and archbishops, have been splashed across the world press and tele-

newspaper editor, every friend of poverty and oppression have been behind these reactionary movements. Their initiators have been the reformists of the Portuguese Socialist Party, their cheer-leaders the rotten social democrats of Europe, with Harold Wilson at their head.

The leader of them all of course is US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger. Addressing the racist faithful on Wednesday last, 14th August, in Birmingham, Alabama, he expressed himself opposed to 'the efforts of a minority' aimed at 'subverting the revolution'.

As though such hypocrisy was not enough, he then went on to attack "the involvement of external powers" in Portugal, a form of activity in which one assumes he has expert knowledge. As President Ford put it in a *US News & World Report* interview, the US was being 'prevented from acting' by the recent 'bad press' obtained by the CIA.

Still, hope was at hand 'We know that the Western European

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## U.S. CRISIS LIVES ON

The much talked of economic "recovery" continues to under, before it even begins, the rocks of mounting inflation. Interest rates continue to rocket, major price increases have been announced recently by the big steel companies, and in all the whole price index shot up last month to an annual rate of 10 per cent.

Even though there are abundant supplies, raw material suppliers are competing for buyers, and there are wide open markets for firms that have survived the up all is not well. The existence of increasing inflation even in the early stages of "recovery" is clearly that the economic crisis has not yet run itself out. In the largest capitalist country in the world, even with an unemployment rate of 9% still more drastic measures are required before anything approaching the conditions for a restoration of profit-maximising capitalist production can be achieved.

## DEMOCRATS

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party is in the painful process of finding a presidential candidate for 1976. The campaign has begun within the party to stop the extreme right racist candidate George Wallace of Alabama being adopted.



Wallace on anti-union and racist ticket

Hoffa, former president of the teamsters union said recently, "if Wallace became President of the U.S.A. the first thing he would do would be to destroy the labour movement."

Hoffa has recently himself disappeared under mysterious circumstances. In the mean time the only answer the Democratic Party machine can produce to Wallace is the ageing Hubert Humphrey—who refuses to see himself, so far, as a candidate.

American workers have already shown what they think of Humphrey when they shouted him off the platform at the massive 300 000 strong anti-unemployment rally in Washington three months ago.

These political developments reveal sharply the need for a working class party independent of both Republican and Democratic Parties a Labour Party in the USA. At the same time they show the large scale support such a party could win amongst American workers in the class battles ahead.

## CAMBODIA KHMER ROUGE BEGINS TO REBUILD

Reports from Peking last week indicated that Prince Narodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's titular head of state, would not be welcomed back by the leadership of the Khmer Rouge liberation forces.

Sihanouk, presently in North Korea after spending the last five years in China, will not be allowed to bring his large retinue of hangers on back into Cambodia, but only his immediate family and one aide.

## "CHAOS"

Despite reports of massacres and chaos inside Cambodia which have been enthusiastically retailed by the capitalist press in the last few months the government set up by the Khmer Rouge appears able to act with increasing independence.

They have successfully negotiated the evacuation of the coastal islands occupied by the South Vietnamese liberation forces. To ease the acute food crisis in Cambodia the government is demanding that the Provisional Revolutionary Government in Saigon release the large stocks of American rice there, originally destined for the Lon Nol regime. The Phnom Penh government have also proposed the renewal of diplomatic relations with Thailand and the settlement of frontier arrangements on the long common border of the two countries.

The strengthening of the lib-

eration government in Cambodia and their ability to act independently of Sihanouk, does not only depend on the internal situation.

After five years of war and devastation, economic recovery, even the guaranteeing of basic rice supplies cannot be achieved overnight and in isolation from other economies. But the Cambodian government is strengthened by the revolutionary struggles in the other countries of South East Asia.

In Thailand, the Pramoj government faced a wave of demonstrations and strikes against the assassinations, now running into dozens, of peasant and trade union leaders.

And in the north of the country Communist liberation forces are regaining ground; ten days ago they took a heavily guarded police post in the province of Nakhan.

## THREAT

It is the threat posed by this internal situation that makes the Thai regime unable to encourage the rightist Cambodian exiles on their territory, some of whom would be eager, with the backing of US imperialism, to begin armed excursions into Thailand.

And it is equally the struggle in Thailand itself that forces the regime there to negotiate with the Cambodian government.

What the struggle of the Thai revolutionaries demonstrates is that only the extension of the revolution into the rest of South East Asia can, in the long run, protect the gains made in Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos.

## USA

Report from John Lister in New York.

Minutes away from the billion dollar banking houses in the skyscrapers of Manhattan stand the crumbling blocks of tenements and seedy shops and derelict buildings that make up much of New York.

The city, now sweating in the stifling summer heat and humidity is a glaring warning to the effects of long-term hard-core mass unemployment and the impact of the full weight of capitalist crisis on the working class.

## CUTS

While New York's mayor, Abraham Beame, imposes a pay freeze on city employees, slashes the number employed by a further 9,000, hacks \$32 million off a university budget already \$87 million short of the minimum needed and prepares to jack up bus and subway fares more than 42% one million workers, over an eighth of the city's population, is chronically unemployed, dependent on welfare payments.

Every cut-back on the city's pay roll adds to the unemployment problem, but also the decay of the city itself. Roads are scarred with huge unrepaired pot-holes and a key section of freeway between New York and New Jersey has collapsed, with no cash to restore it.

## RUBBISH

Piles of stinking, rotting rubbish, outcome of the cut-backs of sanitation workers, lie along the back streets, a centre of vermin and disease. Local residents are learning that the only way to get the rubbish collected is to throw it in the road where it blocks traffic!

Whole sections of the subway network are becoming dangerous through lack of maintenance. Gaping holes, dug to build a new subway line, lie unfilled, untouched in Brooklyn and Queens - the money ran out and the subway was not built. Buildings crumble for lack of maintenance and all the while a huge potential workforce is left with no future, simply existing from day to day in the ghettos smouldering with discontent.

## TENSIONS

The tensions in such a situation are reflected in the enormous figures for alcoholism (including child alcoholism), drug addiction,

## USSR: SOVIET THEORIST DISTORTS LENIN

The Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union have returned to the "interpretation" of Lenin's writings on the 1905 Russian Revolution to try and nip themselves with a line which reconciles 'Peaceful existence' with the advance of the revolution in Western Europe.

Konstantin Zaradov, a candidate member of the central committee of the CPSU and editor of the international review *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, has now published - clearly on behalf of the Soviet Politburo - an article on *Communist Strategy and Tactics of Revolutionary Struggle* (*Pravda*, August). It takes the form of commentary on Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (a polemic against the Mensheviks written during the early stages of the Russian Revolution of 1905).

## VERBAL SUPPORT

Zaradov's purpose however, is purely up to date. It is to give at verbal support to the policies of the Portuguese CP and to remind other Communist Parties in Western Europe - notably the Italians - who are overdoing their enthusiasm for parliamentary "democracy".

It marks an attempt to bend the rod of Stalinist policy in Western Europe slightly to the left of the "peaceful road".

For Trotskyists, the march of the European working class - led by the events in Portugal - make all the more urgent a careful study of the working class movement and its leading vanguard in this earlier time

writings throughout the period leading up to the taking of state power by the proletariat in October 1917, the rich lessons offered in party organisation, in tactics and strategy towards autocratic regimes and bourgeois democracy.

But Zaradov's intention in discussing *Two Tactics* is not the theoretical strengthening of the revolutionary movement. Rather, he is concerned to defend the bureaucratic course of the Portuguese Communist Party in recent weeks from the criticism of fellow W. European Stalinist Parties, especially in Italy and Spain.

This was well understood by the Italian CP, who responded defensively in *L'Unita*, accusing Zaradov of having "oversimplified Lenin" and of making a "false analogy" between the situation in Russia in 1905 and that of Europe today.

Even the loyal George Marchais head of the French CP, insisted that their policies are made in Paris, not Moscow - not because he

of the proletariat" on the path to socialist revolution:

'Lenin showed first of all that the hegemony of the proletariat transforms the revolution into an authentic people's revolution, for the working class intervenes on behalf of the whole people, at the head of the whole people. That is why it is inadmissible to underestimate the democratic forms of struggle. Lenin wrote, "Anyone who wishes to move towards socialism by a route other than political democracy arrives inevitably at stupid and reactionary conclusions"... These words are a crushing condemnation of those on the right who slander the communists by presenting them as "enemies of democracy" and those who are the grist to the mill of reaction by putting forward leftist slogans of "immediate socialism".'

What Zaradov clearly has in mind is the hegemony not of the proletariat but of the Communist Party. In Portugal it has acted to contain and control in close collaboration with the military - the independent struggles of the working class (formation of workers committees occupation of factories and strikes etc). The CP has consistently moved to impose a bureaucratic straightjacket on actions which could be a step forward for revolutionary democracy.

Zaradov however, had another reason for dipping into *Two Tactics*, already evident from the passage quoted above. Lenin, in 1905, sought to establish a correct relationship between bourgeois democratic tasks and socialist tasks, and to clarify the role of the proletariat in the accomplishment of both. In this he argues against the Menshevik theory of separate 'stages', and for the conception which shared a common kernel with Trotsky's

democratic revolution to completion, allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyse the bourgeoisie's instability. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population, so as to crush the bourgeoisie's resistance by force and paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie".

[Lenin *Collected Works* Volume 9 p 100]

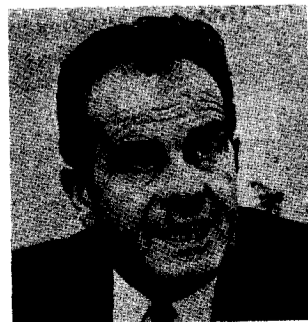
## DETENTE

Zaradov uses Lenin's stress on the necessity for the proletariat to struggle for democracy to underline the politics of detente (and perhaps also to warn the Portuguese CP against pursuing too aggressive a line).

He doubtless found some common characteristics of Russia 1905 and Portugal 1975 useful to his argument. In 1905 there had been a long history of autocratic rule, a large, poor peasantry and a larger area of capitalist development which was backward in relation to that in surrounding countries.

## DIFFERENCES

But the differences, even leaving out the general situation of the world working class are no less striking. Whereas the Tsar's iron hand still held Russia in its grasp in 1905 the Portuguese fascists today have been booted out. Whereas in 1905 Russia was still struggling for the freedom of capitalism to develop, today in Portugal - thanks to the pressure of the working class - nationalisation of the means of production are on the order of the day and in some cases have



George Marchais

meant it, but in order to sweeten relations with the French socialists which had been soured by Stalinist criticism of Mitterand's support for Soares.



# New York Shows Real Face of Crisis

violent crime, robbery and theft.

The conscious agitation by the press and right wing of racial tensions in the city, where such a large proportion of workers and unemployed are immigrants, comes on top of the material pressures on the white working class flowing directly from the crisis - high rents, rising prices, speed-up and job insecurity.

The racists are particularly mobilising, as in Boston, Philadelphia and other cities around the stormy question of 'bussing' - the desegregation of schooling by mixing together youth from different neighbourhoods.

In a city where education is already so deficient that now many High School youth leave unable even to read and write and further budget cuts continue with a proposal to cut 17,000 teaching jobs, emotions run high on this issue.

## CITY WORKERS

In the midst of this the strongly organised sections of city workers, whose resistance could provide a rallying point to working class struggle to change conditions are led by bureaucrats determined to prevent a fight to defend jobs and wages against attack, while Mayor Beame, a Democrat, speaks with the backing of the big city banks, pillars of world capitalism.

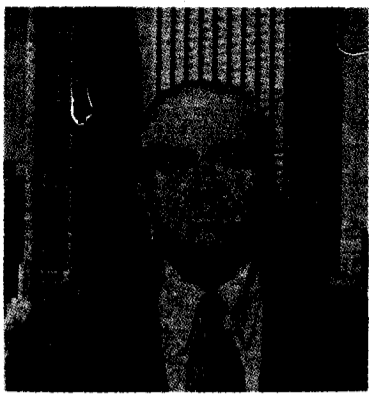
The city faces complete bankruptcy - yet at the same time is paying millions of dollars in interest on bonds issued by the so-called Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big MAC), and a drastic cut in city spending - hence the redundancies and cuts in services.

The cuts being carried out challenge the strength of the unions and attempt to destroy their bargaining power. This is only possible because union leaders such as Victor Gotbaum of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers, among many others refuse to call strike action and stop the city. New York in this sense is a test run for other cities and an all out onslaught against trade union organisation by US employers.

## CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT

Yet within the city itself the poverty and degradation of the chronic unemployed - youth who have never had the chance to work, workers with families dependent on the pittance of welfare payments - shows what lies ahead for the whole working class if the employers succeed in their attacks.

Politically the union leaders are tied hand and foot to the capitalist class through support for either



Mayor Beame

the Republican or Democratic Party. Gotbaum for instance supports Beame, saying "we should all feel sorry for him".

Following through this logic, Gotbaum has just "negotiated" away a 6% pay increase due to his members as of July 1st. The increase will not be paid, but the union bureaucrats claim it will still be the basis on which further "increases" are negotiated! On the basis of such imaginary money, the employers would undoubtedly concede any figure!

The rationalisation for not acting against this attack on wages (Beame was stating that if the unions did not accept he would impose it anyway), is based on complete acceptance of capitalist logic. Gotbaum explains:

"If they went for legislation and we went out [on strike] the bond market would collapse, default would take place, and there would be many payless days ahead. So we had a strong interest in an agreement that would restore confidence in the bond market, to keep the cash flow going."

For Democrat Gotbaum therefore, as the bankers coin in the cash, and hold the power of life or death over New York City's budget, the role of the unions is supposed to be to "restore confidence"!

## KEY QUESTIONS

The whole economic and social crisis in New York poses key political questions to the whole US working class - both the organised and the unorganised.

Whereas Mayor Beame is a Democrat, he is pressured by bankers and Republicans in carrying through these attacks. Both these parties represent the interests of US capitalism.

The necessity is to break the working class from these parties and build a Labour Party in the US, through which the questions of poverty, racial discrimination, unemployment, cuts in services and living standards can be taken up and fought in a way which develops the political independence of the working class.

# ZIMBABWE: A.N.C. DRIVEN TOWARDS ARMED STRUGGLE

Over the last two months there appears to have been some healing of the split in the African National Council between those elements led by Muzorewa, who place the main emphasis on a constitutional conference with Smith on the subject of "Black Majority Rule" and relegated the armed struggle to the category of 'If all else fails'; and the more militant elements such as ZANU who see the continuation of the guerrilla struggle as the vital priority.

Recent events on two fronts have been forging the right wing in the ANC reluctantly to the conclusion that indeed all else has failed and that there is now no alternative but to consolidate the armed struggle.

Firstly Smith has been openly stepping up repression, consciously exploiting the weakness in the nat-

ly announced military campaign to 'stamp out terrorism' the Rhodesian authorities have introduced general mobilisation of whites, including women.

The second factor responsible for Muzorewa's about turn on the guerrilla question has been the massive increase in the number of Africans crossing the border into Mozambique to join the guerrilla movement. 6,000 young Africans have recently fled to Mozambique and they continue to arrive at a rate of about 100 a day.

## NO LEADERSHIP

However Smith knows very well that Muzorewa is responding to events rather than giving any real new leadership to the liberation movement. When Muzorewa announced last month that "After reflection the ANC has decided to de-escalate talks with Smith and intensify the armed struggle", he was careful to add that he was

ence will take place in a railway carriage on the bridge over the Rhodesia/Zambia border at Victoria Falls.

However an examination of the mechanics of the conference is revealing. Dangling above the Zambezi river, Smith and Muzorewa will outline their differences and then in the words of the *Guardian* correspondent in Salisbury, "Mutually acceptable committees may produce compromise solutions".

Besides asking exactly what could constitute a sub-committee 'mutually acceptable' to both the racist settler regime of Smith on the one hand and the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe on the other, exactly what "compromise solutions" could be possible, it should also be noted that these sub-committees will meet inside Smith's territory which would effectively exclude participation by people under three of arrest such as N.Sithole, the leader of ZANU, the section of the liberation movement which has consistently argued the priority of the armed struggle.

## PREPARATION

It is quite true that the ANC has taken steps to prepare for military escalation. A new central logistics base has been set up in Mozambique with the co-operation of FRELIMO. The point is however that as long as the armed struggle is seen only as a measure to be adopted should talks fail and achieve the same goal as talks, African Majority Rule - then the stage remains set for sell outs like the one Smith is now attempting to arrange at Victoria Falls. There should be no mistake either that Smith while being under pressure from Vorster to come to a settlement, is receiving Vorster's expert advice in disguising victory for white supremacy as victory for national liberation.

## LAND

It must be made absolutely clear that there is in fact very little to talk about between Smith and the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe. Any 'national liberation' considered acceptable to Smith must avoid the land question. Without the repossession of all the settler land by the peasants 'Black Majority Rule' would be a farce.

Therefore the question of national liberation cannot start from the position of compromise solutions with Smith. The armed struggle against white settler colonialism must be the foremost aim of the liberation movement, based on an explicit programme of nationalisation of industry and the expropriation of settler land.



Iron Bridge over Victoria Falls where talks will take place.

ional liberation movement stemming from its divisions. Arrests of known nationalists continue at a high rate on a variety of trumped up charges, and it recently transpired that Edison Sithole, the ANC publicity officer, had been given poisoned coffee by the Rhodesian Army while at a military base in Salisbury waiting to be flown to Zambia. The intention was no doubt that he would die in Zambia and the incident could have been used to play up antagonisms between the ANC and the Zambian government.

Meanwhile Smith has been preparing for a renewed drive against the guerrilla movement. In an open-

giving Smith until October to come forward with some concrete proposals.

## VORSTER

Smith, under gentle but firm pressure from Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, obligingly came forward with just what was required - the offer of the long-awaited constitutional conference. He even went to considerable lengths to meet the ANC's demand that the conference be held outside Rhodesia. Accordingly the confer-

# WHAT IS THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE?

The Workers Socialist League was formed on December 22nd 1974 as part of the fight to carry forward the method and principles of Trotsky's Transitional Programme, the founding document of the Fourth International. The WSL now represents the continuity of the struggle for these principles in the workers' movement.

The formation of the League followed the expulsion of over 200 members from the Workers Revolutionary Party, carried out bureaucratically by the WRP leadership in order to prevent discussion of their own abandonment of the Programme both in theory and in practice. These mass expulsions showed that there could be no hope of correcting the WRP - an independent organisation had to be founded to maintain the fight for Trotskyism.

Such a split came out of particular conditions. The rapid development of the economic crisis of capitalism and the forward movement of the world working class, which has now overthrown imperialism in Vietnam and Cambodia, began to produce the conditions to build revolutionary parties internationally.

At such a point the importance of a fight for the method and principles of the Transitional Programme, against both sectarianism and opportunism is paramount in the preparation of revolutionary leadership. After a hard period of isolation from the mass movement, Trotskyism now emerges as the only tendency with a programme and a history of struggle to lead the working class in the taking of power.

The defence of jobs through the fight for work sharing on full pay, run by trade union committees; the defence of living standards through the fight for all wage agreements to include a sliding scale to compensate for all increases in the cost of living as determined by trade union prices committees; the challenging of the "rights" of the employer and the preparation of the struggle for power through the fight to open the books of industry, and to establish workers control in the fight for

nationalisation under workers' management: all these policies are now called for in this situation. As they are fought for and workers are mobilised to win these demands, they begin to form a bridge between the present level of political consciousness of workers and the need for the working class to take the power. Yet the WRP refused to take up a fight for this method.

For this reason the most important developments in our work have centred on a break from WRP sectarianism and propagandism, bringing important gains in trade union work and opening up completely new areas. We are beginning to recruit and train from the new forces through struggles in this period - not only trade unionists, but also professional workers, housewives, students and youth - in the fight to construct the party.

Our record shows that we continue to fight uncompromisingly to expose all those who attack and revise Marxism - not only the WRP but also the 'rank and file' policies of the IS group who refuse to defend the Soviet Union as a workers' state, and the IMG, who liquidate the revolutionary movement into unprincipled blocs and liaisons with anti-revolutionary tendencies, as well as against Stalinism and reformism.

Already it is clear that throughout the world the movement of the working class poses similar questions for those groups calling themselves Trotskyist, particularly sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, producing similar splits and offering a rich possibility of developing a truly international movement based on the Trotskyist programme. For this reason the WSL is now engaged in a process of internal discussion prior to a full founding conference, a vital part of which is to hammer out and adopt perspectives for the building of the Trotskyist Fourth International, and the development of revolutionary parties based on the Trotskyist programme in every country in the struggle to end capitalism.

## SOCIALIST PRESS SUBSCRIPTIONS

6 Issues . . . . . 93p  
12 Issues . . . . . £1.86p  
24 Issues . . . . . £3.72p

I would like to take out a subscription to SOCIALIST PRESS; I would like \_\_\_\_\_ issues, I enclose £.....

Name.....  
Address.....

Send to: 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

I would like information about the WSL.

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

Name.....  
Address.....

# TROTSKYISTS FOUGHT GREEK JUNTA

An interview with the Secretary of Workers Vanguard, a Greek Trotskyist group, by Tony Richardson in Athens.

The Workers Vanguard group have an extremely principled record of struggle. They were the only group of Trotskyists who maintained the majority of their members in Greece and fought underground during the dictatorship, enduring considerable persecution and maintaining an agitation and a clandestine Trotskyist press. We may not necessarily agree with every political position they put, but our respect for this record of struggle compels us to publish this interview with the secretary of Workers Vanguard who has himself a long and principled record.

The Workers Vanguard has fought as a Trotskyist organisation in Greece since the early 1920's. Their history is one of a fight against Stalinism and against Pablo's attempts to liquidate the Fourth International. They affiliated to the International Committee of the Fourth International in 1960. In 1967 they were expelled from the IC for questioning the political line of the leadership. They attempted to maintain themselves as part of the IC but this was made impossible by Gerry Healy (General Secretary of the British WRP who in reality operates as secretary of the IC), who formed an alternative Greek section. Workers Vanguard were then barred from the International Conference of the IC in 1972 with Healy recognising his new group - almost all of whom were in London during the dictatorship - as the official section.

Why did capitalism impose military rule in Greece?

In 1967 Greek capitalism was forced to take power in the form of the Army dictatorship in order to defeat the movement of the working class. Capitalism was faced with conflict between the bourgeois parties and the interests behind them.

Conflict between the two main classes was increased after the revolutionary events of July 1967 when the well-known left-wing student, Petroulas, was killed by the police.

The dictatorship was an international action of the ruling class. The emergence of dictatorship in this hot-point of the S.E. Mediterranean was connected with the antagonism between the big powers - European capitalism and the U.S.A. on the one hand and the Russian bureaucracy on the other. Capitalism fought to maintain and increase its military bases and the green light was given to NATO and the CIA to establish their own servants in power.

Did the Trotskyist movement fight to mobilise the working class before the dictatorship came?

The highest point of the mass movement of the working class was in 1965-66. This was headed off by the continuous betrayal by the Stalinists and by the betrayal of the general strike in 1965. In these events Workers Vanguard was in the front line, many comrades were persecuted both by the Stalinists and the capitalist state.

We must also mention the leadership given by the International Committee. Cliff Slaughter came to Greece as Secretary of the IC in 1966 (whilst we were still part of the official section) to discuss the situation. The situation was clearly close to dictatorship. Power did not rest in Parliament, strikes were illegal, demonstrations forbidden and trials everyday. In this situation Comrade Slaughter argued that everything was moving forward. This was the first difference between our group and the IC. A few months later the Papadopoulos dictatorship took power under conditions where the working class were paralysed by their leadership.

When did the split take place with the IC?

movement was split apart by the Healy tendency. They expelled all minority members of the CC and their supporters, they took all our equipment and expelled the majority of the youth movement. One month later the tanks came rolling in and the dictatorship was established; many were arrested. Two of the three leading supporters of Healy, who were CC members, signed police declarations that they were not communists and were allowed to go free. The main leader of the split, Shlanos, left the country and went to Clapham to work with Healy.

A few months after the start of the dictatorship, in January 1968, we held a national conference. It was the only conference any tendency held during the dictatorship. At this conference we had to establish a principled position and we expelled the three Healyites as declarationists and as deserters. They came back to Athens six years later, after the fall of the dictatorship, as the official section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

How did Workers Vanguard organise underground?

The political struggle against the capitalist dictatorship was carried out through our illegal papers *Workers Struggle* and *Salonica Students Struggle*. We grew particularly strong in the student movement in Salonica. We were leading a university trade union in Athens which worked semi-legally. (Trade unions were not abolished by the dictatorship, but their leaders were put in prison and leadership installed by the junta). This was a big struggle. We had members in the leadership of some of the trade unions before the dictatorship. The Tailor and Garment Workers Union in which we had the leadership was abolished.

Trade Union work under the dictatorship was very difficult. We worked illegally. The majority of the members of our organisation went to the cells of the notorious ASFALIA of Bouboulinas Street, the headquarters of police security - they were tortured and questioned. In the youth our struggle was carried forward illegally in the NC of the youth.

We took some heavy blows. Our section in Salonica was defeated by the police and this was the beginning of the worst attack on our organisation; it came at the end of 1968.

The secretary of the Salonica section brought a platform into our organisation, arguing that the Greek revolution was neither a proletarian nor a bourgeois revolution. Because our country was between Asia and Europe, then our revolution would be decided by this.

We split and they supported

Maoists - first remove the junta and see where we go from there. We opposed this replying to it in our papers in an article called "The Death Agony of an Ex-Trotskyist". During that period they had an alliance with the Maoists in Salonica. We warned them that it was a dangerous policy. They would not listen and they were all caught.

They were taken in front of the military courts of the junta. Four got life sentences others got 2 - 20 years. They were accused as Trotskyists. The police tried to connect Salonica with Athens, but they were not able to make the connection.

## MEMBERS

Many of our members including our secretary passed through Bouboulinas' cells. Many of the leaders of the Salonica group went over to Healy or the Pabloites when they were released. We were the only tendency in Greece to fight for a united front of students, peasants and workers to overthrow the capitalist dictatorship and establish a workers' and peasants' government - the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Pabloite tendency at first said that the front would probably not be clearly anti-capitalist but anti-dictatorship. This policy opened the door to the popular front. One Pabloite tendency broke from the United Secretariat and openly established democratic committees of resistance. They also supported terrorism. The Healy tendency argued that the only way to bring about progressive, transitional economic and political change was to call for government of the Greek Communist Party.

## STALINISTS

The Greek Stalinists were wracked with internal problems, the roots of which lay in the crisis of the bureaucracy - the differences between China and the USSR and over Czechoslovakia in 1968. The Healyites outside Greece openly called for the reunification of the Stalinist sections.

In the Papadopoulos referendum in 1973 the Healyites voted "no" along with everyone who opposed the junta, Papandreou and King Constantine. The referendum was "to give" the junta new powers with a corporatist constitution abolishing legal trade unions and levelled against the working class at all levels. Under these conditions a "NO" was a bourgeois liberal vote against Papadopoulos. We put forward a position rejecting all capitalist constitutions and called for a soviet constitution of socialist democracy.

One of the two Communist Parties - the interior one which supported the Italian Stalinists - openly called for the return of King Constantine. They put this



Prtakos, Papadopoulos and Makaresos, three leaders of the military coup.

What form did the class struggle take during the dictatorship?

The working class could not conduct mass strikes against the dictatorship, but despite the terrorism there were various kinds of strikes taking place.

There were also other forms of pressure. Taking advantage of the full employment workers moved from factory to factory en-mass to attempt to force up wages.

During this period the main demand of the Healyites was for a general strike to bring to power a CP government.

Where did Workers Vanguard stand on the Cyprus question?

We have done a lot of work on this question and we must of course start from a class position. Most sections of the ruling class are putting forward the nationalist position of Makarios - for an independent Cyprus. The ruling class also supported the 7 day Sampson dictatorship based on the suppression of the Turkish minority. Some bourgeois tendencies such as Grivas, favoured Enosis - or union with Greece.

Our 1974 policy statement stood out against all other tendencies. We were the only tendency in Greece who called for the self determination of the Cypriot people against US and British Imperialism and the Greek and Turkish dictatorships. We fought to show the working class the necessity of the unity of Greek and Turkish workers and peasants against Imperialism.

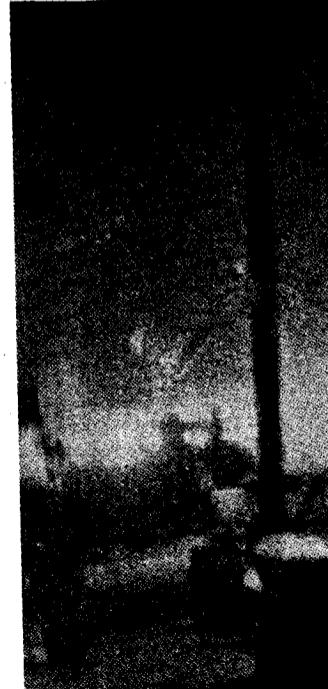
## SELF DETERMINATION

We stood for the right of self determination of the Turkish minority if they so wished. We fought for self determination with the method of the class struggle and we attacked all those tendencies who supported Makarios. We were for the soldiers in the front in the invasion to turn against their own capitalist government and to divert the war into the socialist revolution, for which there would be the necessity for Trotskyist parties in both countries.

We fought for self determination and against federation because federation represses minorities. The final question, for Cyprus was and still is the United Socialist Soviet States in Cyprus, as part of the Socialist Soviet States in the Middle

Where did other tendencies stand on Cyprus?

The Pabloites of the USFI had a leaflet with the same position as us at the beginning, but after they changed their minds, and during the invasion they supported the masses of Cyprus against the Turks. The Healyites before the invasion were calling on Makarios, and not the masses, to throw out Grivas from Cyprus. During the invasion, with all Stalinists and opportunists, the Healyites supported the bourgeois slogan - no division of the island. This meant to continue in the old way - Greeks under Turks and



Polytechnic student events

Turks under Greeks.

To explain: the Turkish bourgeoisie wanted the division of the island, the Greek bourgeoisie did not. We were for socialist revolution in Cyprus, with the right of self-determination of the Turkish minorities if they wanted it. Grivas and Sampson in 1955 and 1963 had slaughtered whole villages of Turks. All opportunists cried about the Turkish atrocities, but not about the Greek.

How was the Greek dictatorship brought down?

The November events were the result of the very deep crisis of capitalism and the high inflation of





Sotiris Petroulas:  
murdered by police, July 1965

The hatred of the masses developed during the seven years of the dictatorship. The movement started with the students, but this reflected only the deep crisis of capitalism and the problems of the working class. This was very clear when after two days' struggle thousands of workers and professional people gave full support to the students with money, food and medical supplies.

The movement went over the heads of the opportunists who were out of Greece. The movement had very deep revolutionary feeling. It wanted to take over not just the polytechnic and the university, but the whole of Athens and then went to take over the main ministries.

## SOCIALIST PATH

The capitalist class could only look on. The Trotskyists inside and outside the Polytechnic demanded openly that the movement must take a socialist path. The Stalinists wanted only the overthrow of the dictatorship and its replacement with a national unity government. The Healyites had the slogan of CP government, never making it clear which CP they were referring to. After our criticism they withdrew the slogan, but they never explained their previous position. The Pabloites did not see the significance of the movement and therefore did not put forward the demand for a general strike.

We put forward a socialist programme through the building of workers' councils as embryo future soviets. We advanced the slogan for a workers' and peasants' government - the dictatorship of the proletariat - and through this struggle fought to build a mass Trotskyist movement.

Pouliopoulos (leading Greek Trotskyist theoretician who was

The collapse of the dictatorship came out of the deepening crisis of world capitalism, the division between Europe and the USA and the strength and forward movement of the working class. The November events were the biggest factor in the collapse but the prospect of war between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus brought the dictatorship to a dilemma. They intended a general mobilisation over the Cyprus confrontation, but they could not put guns into the hands of the working class.

They collapsed because of the near certainty that war with Turkey would have led to a working class rebellion. This resulted in the Junta calling on the right wing Karamanlis who was in Paris, to form a national unity government of the right and centre. They did this in order to maintain as much as possible the power of the bourgeoisie.

## VICTORY

The collapse of the dictatorship was a victory for the working class, but the taking of power by Karamanlis was a defeat, because it headed off the movement towards workers' power. This was possible because it had the support of the Stalinists and the reformists who are opposed to social revolution.

The Healyites at first said the Karamanlis government was an open Junta, and then without explaining their previous position they called Karamanlis the same as Kerensky. Both are criminal mistakes. We say Kerenskyism is the last stage of bourgeois democracy with only a talking shop left for reforms, but it is well known that Karamanlis represents big capital and is a puppet of US imperialism. At the same time a distinction must be drawn between Karamanlis and the Military Junta which collapsed in front of the strength of the working class.

*How did the collapse of the Junta affect the work of Workers Vanguard in Greece?*

The semi-legal situation has given us the opportunity to use every possibility of mass work. We have been able to participate in the struggles of the working class and to fight to raise the consciousness of the working class to the highest level.

We fight, as a principle, against the so-called socialists of PASSOK who say the situation is not yet

ready for socialism. We fight at all levels against the notion that the state has been democratised by explaining that the present state apparatus was fully in support of the Junta.

We fought against the Karamanlis bourgeois constitution, reshaped from the previous Papadopoulos one. We support every democratic right of the masses and we set out to fight for these rights at the highest level through the Transitional Programme. We fight against the attacks by the Karamanlis government on the trade unions and the control of the students union by the state.

Above all we direct our work towards the crucial life and death question of the building of the

# THE RED ORCHESTRA

## A REVIEW

By A. Westoby

Espionage is the boom 'industry' of the post-war period. There is a story that shortly before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour that brought the United States into the Second World War, American intelligence officials succeeded in intercepting and deciphering Japanese messages giving exact details of the attack. But when they passed on the news to the high officers of the US Navy, they were told 'Gentlemen don't read each other's mail'. Whether or not the anecdote is true, there is no doubt that during and since the war spying and intelligence gathering has revolutionised itself, becoming a major, acknowledged, professionalised arm of state power.

A large portion of this activity stems from the continuous threat posed by capitalism to the property relations of the workers' states. And central to this is intelligence on the military capacities and plans of the rival powers.

The subject of the recent three-part television series 'The Red Orchestra', prepared in West Germany and transmitted by BBC2) has a double interest for the Trotskyist movement. In documentary form it describes the main Soviet intelligence network in Western Europe during the Second World War. And it centres on the work of a veteran Communist - Leopold Trepper - who has recently testified to the principled and correct struggle carried out by the Trotskyist movement against the Stalinists.

## DEFENCE

Within a year of its formation, in 1939, the Fourth International faced a major political battle within its own ranks. What was at stake was the unconditional defence of the USSR against imperialism. In his last major political struggle before he was assassinated (on Stalin's orders) Trotsky led the majority in the American party against a minority (the Burnham-Schachtman tendency) which sought to adapt to capitalist public opinion and relinquish the defence of the first workers' state.

By June 1941 this basic principle was put to the test in the whole of the international labour movement, as Hitler's divisions drove eastwards into the heartlands of Russia. The attack came as a disaster for Stalin's whole foreign policy. Only a week beforehand he had denounced the British Ambassador in Moscow for provocation in spreading rumours of 'an impending Russo-German war'. And for months he had been similarly denouncing the reports of an imminent German attack on Russia from his own intelligence networks, particularly Trepper's groups in occupied France and Belgium, Czech agents reporting massive German troop movements in central Europe, and Richard Sorge reporting from the German embassy in Tokyo.

## STRUGGLE

But despite Stalin's hamstringing of the defence of the Soviet Union, the men and women of Trepper's organisation (nicknamed the 'Red Orchestra' by Nazi counter-espionage) can claim the credit for an enormous contribution to the military struggle against Hitler. Many of them paid with their lives at the hands of the Gestapo and their executioners.

Poland from the 1920's. Driven out by the Pilsudski dictatorship in 1926, he went to Palestine and in 1930 arrived in France, where he acted as a minor agent for Soviet intelligence soon distinguishing himself by unravelling a complicated case of treachery which led to the arrest of most of the members of his 'circuit'. But the Stalinist purges were soon to put much greater responsibilities on his shoulders. In 1937 and 1938 the GPU executioners 'liquidated' a majority of the senior officers in the Red Army, including many veterans of the revolution and the wars of intervention, such as Marshall Tukhachevsky. The blood-letting followed hard on the heels of the Moscow purge trials whose aim was above all to consolidate Stalin's grip by slandering and destroying the Trotskyist movement.

The purges also decimated the Soviet intelligence services in West-



Leopold Trepper

ern Europe. Hundreds of secret service men were ordered back to Moscow, most of them to be shot. A number tried to escape to the West; some (such as Ignace Reiss) drew the political conclusions from Stalinist policy and made contact with the Trotskyist organisations in Europe. These the GPU hunted down with double determination.

In this situation with the Soviet networks in Europe needing rebuilding almost from scratch, Trepper was sent to Belgium early in 1939 to take over all command in Germany, France and the Low Countries. By the time of the German attack on Russia, just over two years later, he had effective espionage coverage in Berlin, Belgium and France, with sources of information reaching right into the top levels of the German state and military apparatus. After the occupation of Belgium and France in 1940 the whole system had to operate under the noses of the Gestapo, and all communication with Moscow was by enciphered messages. (The slang for a clandestine radio operator was a 'pianist' - hence the nickname 'Red Orchestra'.)

## ANTI-FASCISM

What distinguished Trepper's networks from the traditional spy-rings of capitalist powers was that they were almost entirely composed of men and women acting from conviction. Not all were Communists, some would have described themselves just as 'anti-fascists'. But, in one form or another, their willingness to work and risk their lives testified to the inspiration of the October Revolution and the knowledge that - despite the crimes and blunders of Stalinism - the struggle against fascism was inseparable from the defence of the Soviet Union. In Berlin itself a large group headed by Harro Schulze-Boysen collected and relayed information from officials in several ministries and many sections of the military command. In Paris Trepper ran a commercial firm specialising in the supply of black-market materials to the German military authorities which also ser-

vice in Brussels had a similar function.

The West German TV series concentrates on the way that German counter-espionage managed to break the 'Red Orchestra'. The weak link was communications; the few radio sets were overloaded with traffic and transmitted for hours on end from the same place. This made them vulnerable to radio direction-finding equipment. In December 1941 one of the Belgian groups, with its transmitter, was taken, and from there the trail led to the Berlin group, most of whom were arrested in the Summer of 1942.

## BROKEN UP

The French organisation was largely broken up in the autumn. Nonetheless, in that crucial first period of the war, the 'Red Orchestra' transmitted a huge amount of information on German military and economic supplies, new types of equipment, and some of their intended military strategy.

In the last few years the 'Red Orchestra' has become a target for the extreme right-wing and the anti-communism of the police services in France and Germany. The main source for the TV series, a book by the bourgeois journalist Heinz Hohne, tries to argue that the Berlin group - 46 of whom were executed - were guilty of treason. And the French counter-espionage service (the DST) has accused Trepper of collaborating (after his capture in November 1942) up to the hilt in order to save his neck. In fact Trepper pretended to cooperate but only in order to warn his superiors and regain some of the ground lost. In September 1943 he escaped and stayed free in France until the end of the war. But when he returned to the Soviet Union he disappeared into prison for years. Only in 1973 as an old man, did the Stalinists allow him to leave Poland for medical treatment and to revisit his family.

## PERSECUTION

Trepper recently gave an interview to the French Trotskyist weekly paper *Informations Ouvrières*. In it he reassesses, from the point of view of a communist the persecution of the Trotskyists in the 1930's:

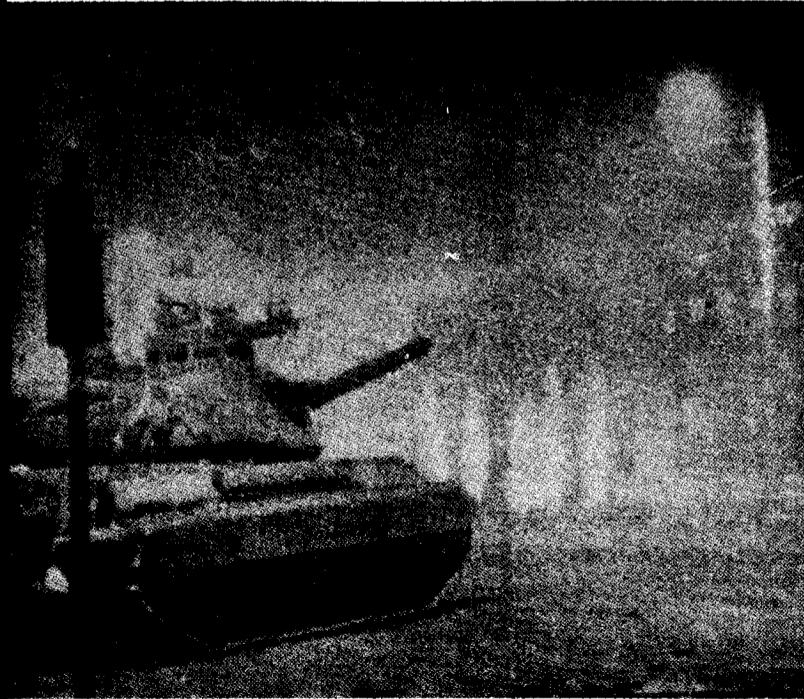
'I was never a Trotskyist, but the Trotskyists who were accused in the trials were of an exceptional courage . . . Why was this? It is possible to understand: because of all the factions within the party, only the Trotskyist faction (one may or may not agree) understood much more deeply what had happened to the October revolution, its degeneration, what the Stalinist regime was.' ( . . . )

And he accepts the Trotskyist analysis of the class character of the Soviet Union.

'At the time when Trotsky analysed what was happening in the USSR, many militants did not believe in it. But later, it is not necessary to be a Trotskyist to understand that it is so, that it has developed as he foresaw. It is enough to live for a couple of years in a socialist country, not as a delegate from a fraternal party (in that case, one can know nothing) but to live one, two or three years in any one of these countries. And . . . there is such a (bureaucratic) caste. One can call it caste, class as you wish . . . It is not a class, that is my opinion'.

(*Informations Ouvrières*, 9th July, 1975)

Trepper's comments spring from fifty years as a communist, and almost a quarter of a century as a scapegoat of Stalinism. The television producers and journalists who now glamourise his career do not, of course, refer to them. But they testify to the fact that only on the basis of a principled defence of the record of the Trotskyist opposition can the best elements



shot by the Nazis) over 30 years ago called for the overthrow of the capitalist dictatorship of Metaxas and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through Trotsky's Transitional Programme. The Healyites betrayed both Pouliopoulos and Trotsky's programme by their policy. The main resolution of the IC of the FI ignored these demands as they ignored the Transitional Programme in the 1968 events in France.

*How do you see the Karamanlis government?*

We said, and still say, that the government of Karamanlis is a semi-

# LESSONS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

## PART TWO

### POPULAR FRONT SHACKLES FIGHT AGAINST FRANCO

In our first article we discussed some of the developments and the balance of class forces which forced Franco's fascist rebellion against the bourgeois democratic government in Spain on July 17th 1936.

We showed how the mass movements of the working class, going beyond their reformist, Stalinist and anarchist leaders made impossible coexistence any longer between capital and an independently organised workers movement.

The initial reaction to Franco's rebellion meant that some 'democratic' sections of the bourgeoisie first opposed his onslaught, and appeared, to those who set aside the Marxist method of analysis, to have a common ground of struggle with the workers movement which of course faced annihilation if Franco were to conquer.

#### "LIBERALS"

This was one of the reasons why the conception of a 'Popular Front', bringing together reformists, Stalinists, anarchists and centrists from the working class parties and unions with "liberal" sections of the bourgeoisie became established as the basis of the resistance to Franco.

But of course the participation within such a 'Popular Front' of the Communist Party reflected also a marked change in the foreign policy of the Kremlin under the direction of Stalin. After the disastrous defeat of the German working class by Hitler in 1933 had been brought about by the criminal ultra-left sectarian policies of the CP, which had denounced social democrats as "social fascists" and split the working class in the face of fascism Stalin had moved towards seeking an accommodation with Hitler and with the reactionary heads of state throughout Europe, in the pursuit of "socialism in one country" which of course meant in real terms capitalism in every other country.

As a part of Stalin's move to the right therefore the Spanish working class had to be held back from revolution, and the whole of the energies of the wholly Stalinised Spanish Communist Party, which was built rapidly almost from nothing for the very purpose, were diverted towards tying the working class to the bourgeois parties and subordinating it to the bourgeois state.

#### WORKERS' CONTROL

As the civil war began, as we showed in the last article effective dual power was established throughout Spain, with local workers organisations seizing control of factories, transport, army barracks and all the resources needed to defend against the fascist armies.

But on a national level the leadership was paralysed. The bourgeois democratic government of Azana had suppressed all news of the coming rebellion and continuously attacked the working class. The question posed to these ministers was - what is more important, democracy or capitalism? Democracy could only be defended by the revolutionary mobilisation of the working class, which would sweep away the power of the bourgeoisie.

#### BREAK

Only the Trotskyists were able consistently to show that in such a situation the defence of the working class must be through a break of workers parties from the prog-

peasants of Spain on a socialist programme.

In Spain in 1936, as in every period of dual power, the bourgeois government was only able to continue through the entry into it of representatives of the reformist workers organisations who thereby became the main prop for the bourgeoisie. For seven weeks however the socialist leaders dared not enter the government.

#### SCATTERED

Despite this, the workers' state remained embryonic, scattered in the various committees which were not brought together into national Workers Councils.

It was the failure of the workers parties to carry this through that led the socialists, the anarchists and the centrists of the POUM to eventually join in governmental collaboration with the bourgeois republicans. To refuse to build soviets in the middle of civil war means to recognise the right of the liberal bourgeoisie to govern the struggle, i.e. to dictate its social and political limits.

Only through the creation of independent class organs could the working class have determined the social and political content of the fight against fascism.

Once the bourgeoisie were conceded the right to govern the struggle they set about ending the situation of dual power. This was, however, no easy task. Central to carrying this out was the role of former 'left' Largo Caballero, who not only joined the Popular Front along with two 'lefts' three right wing reformists, two Stalinists and five bourgeois ministers, but took the leading role as Prime Minister. He summed up his betrayal this way:

"The government was constituted, all those forming it previously renouncing the defence of our principles and particular tendencies, [except the bourgeois ministers!] in order to remain united on one sole aspiration: to defend Spain in her struggle against fascism".  
[October 1st, 1936]

All the 'left' talk, based on no



Carillo: present CP leader, played treacherous role.

alternative programme for the working class had resulted only in Caballero's capitulation to the fraudulent defence of bourgeois democracy.

Caballero's government refused to nationalise the land, only giving to the peasants the land of known fascists. The peasants who feared that the land might be taken back at a future date wanted the land nationalised for all time.

When the government failed to do this the one chance of sowing the seeds of the

the factories. Caballero put government directors into the factories who limited the workers committees to routine work. Among the strongest opponents of dual power and the independent organisations of the working class were the Stalinists.

The struggle of the liberal bourgeoisie to end dual power in Catalonia could not proceed at the same speed as it had done in other parts of Spain. In the aftermath of the fascist uprising the Catalans had set up their own government headed by the bourgeois republican, Companys.

While the workers organisations were just as prepared to enter this government as they had been to enter the bourgeois government in Madrid, the Catalan workers were not so ready to give up workers' control of the militias and the factories and the collectivisation of the land. Indeed Barcelona, the Catalan capital had led the first armed struggle against the fascists.

Although the Catalan government refused to arm the workers against the rebellion, CNT (anarchist) and POUM workers raided sporting goods stores for rifles, construction sites for dynamite, fascist homes for concealed weapons, and brought out their few guns remaining from the 1934 struggles.

#### POLITICAL WEAPONS

As the fascists began to lead soldiers out of the barracks they met the workers barricades. As Felix Morrow describes in his *Revolution and Counter Revolution in Spain*:

"... here political weapons more than made up for the superior armament of the fascists. Heroic workers stepped forward from the lines to call upon the soldiers to learn why they were shooting down their fellow toilers. They fell under rifle and machine gun fire, but others took their place. Here and there a soldier began shooting wide. Soon bolder ones turned on their officers. Some nameless military genius - perhaps he died then - seized the moment and the mass of workers abandoned their prone positions and surged forward. The first barracks were taken. General Goded was captured that afternoon. With arms from the arsenals the workers cleaned up Barcelona. Within a few days, all Catalonia was in their hands."

These heroic struggles took place throughout the industrial cities of Spain. The Asturian miners outfitted a column of five thousand dynamiters who marched to Madrid and took up guard duty in the streets. The working class fought fascism while its leaders sought only to fuse with the "liberal" bourgeoisie.

The POUM began to talk of organising the workers committees on a national scale but then proceeded to do nothing about it. By October, the first great advance of the counter revolution in Catalonia was marked by the decree dissolving all the workers committees, whatever their names.

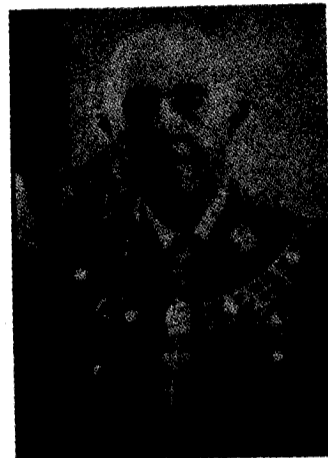
A few days later a further decree ordered the disarming of the workers. The socialists, the anarchists, and the POUM voted for both these decrees and continued to sit in the government.

In an attempt to confuse workers as to their real intentions the coalition introduced "workers' control" of the banks, in effect, the guarding of the banks by the workers to prevent money being distributed to fascist sympathisers, until the promised nationalisation of the banks, an event which of course never took place.

The early months of 1937 saw the further whittling away of working class control over the economy. Eventually, through its control of

Madrid government and then the Catalan government in Barcelona were able to end workers control of the factories by refusing to extend or threatening to withdraw credits to factories run by workers committees.

The Stalinists took over the Ministry of Supply and dissolved the workers committees of supply which had kept the industrial



Franco

population fed while they produced arms for the fight against the fascists.

An important aspect of the destruction of the independent class organisations by the coalition government was the introduction of censorship. The CNT-POUM press and radio suffered the worst with their papers frequently not appearing for days on end or "getting lost" between the cities and the front.

Ultimately though, a stable bourgeois regime could only be established if the organisation of the armed struggle against the fascists was taken out of the hands of the unions and workers parties. The Stalinists very quickly handed their militias over to government control but the masses organised in the CNT were not prepared to follow suit.

#### SUPPORTED

The CNT and POUM representatives in the government nevertheless voted for decrees setting up the first regular regiments ruled by the old military code rather than by elected committees.

The real issue was not as the Stalinists argued the advantages of 'centralised command' over loosely organised militias but, over who was to control the army, the working class or the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie won on this question because the UGT-POUM-CNT made the error of seeking a proletarian controlled army within a bourgeois state.

Bourgeois control of the armed force could only have been prevented by bringing the soldiers into daily political life through a national council of soldiers delegates and workers control of the army. It was precisely this method that had enabled the 9,000 strong POUM militia to lead the social conquest of Aragon. But because the POUM and the anarchists had no concrete slogan of workers committees nor any programme for replacing the bourgeois state, their opposition to bourgeois domination of the army collapsed.

The struggle of the bourgeoisie against the POUM and the anarchists was enthusiastically supported by the Stalinists. Not content with sticking to 'legal methods' they set up a number of 'preventorium's'. These were nothing less than the Stalinists' own private prisons and torture chambers in which untold thousands of anarchists and socialists were tortured and murdered.

In this context we find a fami-

time in the history books. Felix Morrow tells us:

"Rodriguez, CNT member and Special Commissioner of Prisons, in April formally charged Jose Cazorla, Stalinist Central Committee member and Chief of Police under the Madrid Junta, and Santiago Carillo, another Central Committee member, of illegally seizing workers arrested by Cazorla but acquitted by the popular tribunals and "taking said acquitted parties to secret jails or sending them into communist militia battalions in advanced positions to be used as 'fortifications'". [Morrow, pp129 - 30]

#### PROVEN STALINIST

Carillo, who later replaced Cazorla as Chief of Police, is now the General Secretary of the illegal Spanish Communist Party. This is how he politically "proved himself" as a Stalinist leader, and made his "contribution" to the fight against fascism.

The anarchists, because they had always rejected the idea of the state were by now completely disorientated. Failing to distinguish between a workers state and a bourgeois state they had, now that their opposition to the state was dropped, joined a bourgeois government which was forcing them more and more to the right.

#### ANARCHIST SPLIT

This was leading to a split between the CNT leadership and their mass following. The POUM could have stepped into the breach and fought for the leadership of the CNT masses. Instead it continued to proclaim that the Stalinists were leading the counter-revolution whilst remaining in the government alongside them. Whereas POUM did call for a congress of union, peasant and combatant delegates, the congress in itself could not solve the basic political task of the POUM: to wrest from the Stalinists and anarchists the political leadership of a majority of the working class. By demanding that the government call the conference instead of starting to elect delegates itself, the whole idea was still born. From these centrist positions it was but a short step to the renunciation of Leninism. The POUM left wing were expelled and a section constituted themselves as the Spanish Trotskyist movement, but they were too small to win the leadership of large sections of the working class.

#### CENTRISM

The betrayals which resulted from these centrist positions of the POUM leadership are illustrated by Morrow:

"The POUM had a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate the efficacy of this method [for working class control of the army]. On the Aragon front it had for eight months direct organisational control over some 9,000 militiamen. It had an unparalleled opportunity to educate them politically, to elect soldiers' committees among them as an example to the rest of the militias, then to demand amalgamation in which its trained forces would have been a powerful leaven. Nothing was done..."

The simple, concrete slogan of elected soldiers' committees was the only road for securing proletarian control of the army. This slogan, moreover, could only be a transitional step. For a worker-controlled army could not exist indefinitely side by side with the bourgeois state. If the bourgeois state continued to exist, it would inevitably destroy workers' control of the army".

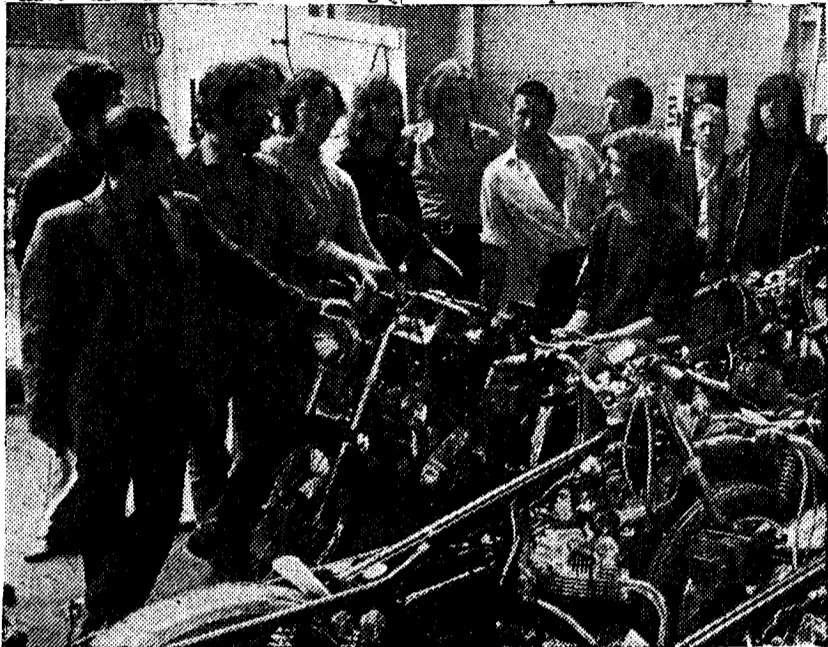
[*Revolution and Counter Revolution in Spain*, pp 127 - 128]



# OPEN THE BOOKS AT NORTON VILLERS

As we go to press, workers in Norton Villiers Triumph at Wolverhampton are determined to carry through the almost unanimous decision of their mass meeting to occupy in defence of jobs while workers at NVT Small Heath have yet to decide what action to take against being put on a three-day week.

The workers at Norton Villiers have the determination to fight



and are bitterly disillusioned by the betrayals of the Labour Government and in Benn's promises.

But the outcome of this struggle will depend on what strategy is adopted to answer the Labour Government's attack on jobs. Whether a leadership can be built to put the defence of jobs before the creation of a "viable" capitalist industry.

The closure is a direct result of the Labour Government adopting the Tory policy of withholding grants from NVT and other "lame ducks". The government has now made a clear stand that unviable industries will be neither nationalised nor any longer propped up by government grants.

## JOBS DESTROYED

This means that the jobs of thousands of workers in firms which are no longer competitive on the international market will be destroyed by the Labour Government in the hope that through

speed up and rationalisation British capitalism as a whole will survive.

As socialists, we are not concerned whether this or that industry is viable or not. The principle is to ensure that the working class do not bear the brunt of the capitalists' problems. Those who accept that jobs can only be defended by making the industry profitable pave the way for wage cutting and speed up.

The result of linking the defence of jobs with the defence of the industry's viability is clear from utopian workers' cooperative

those leaders who are carrying out the attacks on the working class.

Not only did they offer no programme to fight on, but speakers from their platform condemned the Labour government for refusing to give them "the machinery to fight the Japs". Militant capitulated to these reactionary, nationalist illusions, themselves arguing that British capitalists have "refused to invest" and have "squandered their profits".

They further maintained absolute silence on the argument on import controls.

## NATIONALISATION

Despite the evasions and opportunism of the Militant group the only strategy to save the jobs is to fight for the nationalisation of the whole industry without compensation under workers' management. As part of the campaign for nationalisation the real state of affairs must be exposed.

The government holds 50.1% of the shares of NVT, but has allowed Poore, the managing director, to systematically close down parts of the motor cycle empire while transferring funds elsewhere.

Poore claims that Wolverhampton has £2 million debts - yet most of this is owed to the holding company NVT. What financial fiddles have gone on to transfer funds elsewhere? What has happened to the £18 million given in government loans and grants? According to NVT workers six months ago Poore's auditors were sacked for asking to see the books of Manganese Bronze holdings as well as NVT itself. The books of both Manganese Bronze and NVT must be opened for inspection by trade union committees.

## STATE CONTRACTS

On the basis of such information a plan can be drawn up to maintain jobs after nationalisation through state contracts and the provision of alternative work. If less work than previously is available, the policy of work-sharing on full pay must be implemented by trade union committees until production can be expanded.

The union leaders and the Labour 'lefts' who mouth their concern to avoid unemployment must take up this programme or stand exposed.

# Leadership Vital in Swindon Jobs Fight

For eight months Swindon has awaited the town meeting proposed by the No.9 District Committee of the Confederation of Ship-Building and Engineering Unions.

The meeting was originally instigated following an occupation by Plessey Interconnect workers in defence of their jobs, but was quickly linked to the general unemployment hitting the area. The meeting was finally called on Wednesday 13th August after over 500 registered unemployed youth swelled the dole queues to well over 5,000. But it was restricted to branch officers, trades council delegates and shop stewards.

The meeting arises out of a long crisis of programme in the fight for jobs in Swindon. In 1974 the Plessey Interconnect workers backed a call for nationalisation which first arose from the Blunsdon factories where the first wave of redundancies had started.

Following this abstract demand which was separated from any call to occupy and force nationalisation Benn and Heffer became involved through Swindon's Labour MP, David Stoddart. Discussions proceeded between Government ministers and trade union officials which resulted in a call by Stoddart for the Plessey combine to be placed on a 'priority list' for nationalisation.

## ISOLATION

The factory throughout this period became isolated while the question of an "independent" workers' cooperative was looked into. How this would answer the problems of Interconnect (especially when the recession in electronics had already necessitated the rationalisation of Plessey Interconnect to Northampton since it was economically more viable than Swindon) was never answered. Neither, of course, was it ever seriously proposed as a policy.

The isolation of a workforce willing to occupy in defence of its jobs from a realisable programme broke down any real attempt to answer the fundamental question of defending the right to work.

The occupation when it took place was under that slogan beloved by the sectarian Workers Revolutionary Party "Nationalise the economy without compensation under workers' control" and got the Plessey Interconnect workers precisely nowhere.

However, the expulsion of several Swindon WRP members at the end of 1974, began their fight (now as WSL members) for a correct programme of transitional demands.

The demands for a fight to open the books of firms pleading bankruptcy, to expose the real state of affairs; for work-sharing on full pay to defend jobs, and nationalisation with state contracts of threatened factories, were passed at a local branch which urged the AUEW district committee to accept them as the only programme for defending working conditions in the town. But although the policies were passed, the district committee would take no action.

As there were delegates at the town meeting who were WSL members, conditions at last seemed extremely favourable to change the position. When Confederation Secretary Danny Lee, told the long-awaited meeting that what Swindon needed to combat redundancies was "a programme to fight on."

However, conditions quickly changed when the platform refused to accept any resolution from the floor, yet did not offer a shred of programme itself. The chairman of the meeting, Bert Harbour, considered it necessary to have "another meeting where more

date. Why more people should attend to discuss abstract questions on unemployment while the leadership takes up no fight in the factories to test policy or programme, remains a mystery.

## NO FIGHT

Much more mysterious, however, is *Workers Press* dated August 15th 1975 where apparently a worker 'put forward a programme of socialist policies - namely "Basic industries should be nationalised under workers control and without compensation" - and demanded "the Labour Government should be forced to resign."

According to *Workers Press* the WSL then rushed in to defend the Labour and trade union bureaucracy.

In fact, the WSL had rushed to the defence of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme*, demands from which the WRP member in Swindon had actually moved and not the maximum programme reported in *Workers Press*.

The WSL correctly criticised the sectarian ultra-left demand "force the Labour Government to resign" which had been tagged on to the end of the programme, since it isolated the only realisable programme which can defend jobs and living standards from the meeting by including a wrong attitude towards the Labour government.

This in fact assisted the right wing to stifle discussion on a correct programme.

The WSL, while rejecting the demand to force the Labour government to resign, fights to expose the left talkers in the LP by demanding they fight for the removal of Wilson and the right wing. This does not mean workers should hold back in struggle even if that struggle threatens the existence of the Labour government.

After much discussion throughout the meeting, which included an Interconnect worker linking the occupation defeat with a lack of leadership as well as a programme, the platform reported their desire to have local Labour MP David Stoddart at the next meeting.

However, the WSL will, as before, pressure the trade union bodies for another town meeting and hopefully it will not take another eight months.

## PROTECT JOBS

We maintain that the only way to fight unemployment is to protect jobs by dividing the work available amongst the whole work force without of course any loss of pay. To counter inflationary erosion of wages sliding scale clauses must be negotiated where regular adjustments can be made to wages automatically under the control of elected committees of trade unionists and workers' wives capable of assessing the real drop in value of wages.

Any employers who cannot guarantee decent working conditions and rates of pay but hide instead behind a blanket of figures must be forced to open the books to an elected committee of trade unionists whereupon the real position can be assessed. If the firm is going broke then the case for nationalisation must be drawn up and fought for through factory occupation. Nationalisation, of course, must be under the control of an elected workers' management with no compensation to the old owners.

The struggle must be centred around the demand for a programme of useful public works bringing factories closer to a genuine planned economy.

Central to the fight for this programme in Swindon is the insistence that resolutions be accepted for a programme against unemployment these to be swindoned fully by the workers of Swindon at the

# BUCKS FIREMEN CENSURE UNION

The settlement of the firemen's claim on August 13th was a complete sell-out by the leadership of the union. The joint statement with the employers said:

"We will enter into agreement for a settlement payable in November 1975 within the maximum allowable in the terms of the Government's White Paper."

## ENQUIRY ON CLAIM

This means that the Union's claim for £6 a week rise would be met but the claim for a forty hour week, which would have taken the settlement over the maximum allowable, is going to be the subject of a Government enquiry and the "retained firemen" system is going to be discussed further.

The union leadership prepared the sell-out by first watering down the money claim and then expelling as an example to the others, the Strathclyde District Committee who were balloting their members about this.

The leaders then backed down



Firemen's leaders leaving Glasgow meeting

police doing firemen's work and the threat of troops.

With the calling off of the work-to-rule it is clear that the employers will now try to press their advantage by attempting to introduce speed-up.

Firemen must oppose the settlement and demand the reinstatement of the Strathclyde Committee as part of the struggle to build a new leadership in the F.B.U.

The Buckinghamshire Fire

August 13th:

The Brigade committee censures the Executive Council's action aimed at Strathclyde Union officials and demands the threat or act of withdrawing union members' credentials or membership shall not be used by the Executive Council against members exercising their functions. This Brigade Committee remind the Executive Council that it is not their job to police F.B.U. members

# FORCED 'PARTICIPATION' AT BLMC

After 'rejecting' the Ryder report a month ago and demanding improvements in Ryder's workers' participation proposals, a full meeting of convenors on Wednesday August 6th accepted it in full, following management's contemptuous rejection of their proposals. It is becoming increasingly clear that Ryder, commissioned by Wedgwood Benn, has two main elements - with so-called workers' participation committees as the main thrust to force this

Under these conditions the decision of the convenor's meeting means that the crucial struggle now opens in Leyland against these committees, with the right wing fighting to foist them on to workers as instruments of management.

Lord Ryder, as head of the National Enterprise Board, will have ultimate control over British Leyland policy. He intends to act through the participation committees at all levels and has

made it clear that the job of the committees is to implement the recommendations of his report and establish the viability of the company - an argument universally accepted by the trade union leaderships.

One of the sections of the Ryder report kept secret concerned reductions in manning levels. It is understood that this section contains a series of targets for manning reductions - detailed factory by factory.

## REDUNDANCIES

The scale of this can be seen by the reply to the Commons Select Committee and the motor industry, which has criticised Ryder for not publishing exact redundancy figures and dates. A British Leyland spokesman said "We have been slimming at the rate of 1,000 employees per month and we will continue to do so".

Already the worldwide labour force of British Leyland has been reduced from 211,000 to 185,000 since 1973. Management say the

labour force in Britain is now 160,000 and is to be reduced to 120,000 by this time next year. Another Commons committee - on expenditure - recently said that 'realistic' manning levels would require a labour force of 120,000.

Manning reductions of this scale implemented through Ryder means that the battles which will emerge this winter in Leyland over jobs, manning agreements and speed-up, will not be fought against management but against the 'workers' participation' committees of the Ryder report.

It is essential therefore that the battle is fought now factory by factory for shop stewards and workers to refuse to participate in these bodies and adopt policies for the defence of their wages, conditions and jobs against these committees.

The question which must be asked of those who are proposing to cooperate with the Ryder committees is *whose side will you be on?* Will you be on the side of the workers fighting to defend their jobs or the side of the employers and the state fighting to take them away in order to 'solve' the crisis of the capitalist system?

In the Cowley Assembly Plant the right wing failed to get the report accepted when an overwhelming majority of T&GWU shop stewards voted to further examine and discuss the report and to meet again to make a decision.

Already trade union officials are declaring their position by readily agreeing to manning reductions and speed-up as soon as they become involved, quoting Ryder and arguing that the company must be made viable.

Whilst the trade union leaders push participation in management for all they are worth, they are fighting equally strongly against workers' participation in any of the decisions being made by the trade unions.

## BULLDOZED

Workers are being bulldozed into participation without a single vote by the threat that their jobs depend on it - that if Ryder is not accepted Leyland will collapse.

This is the argument of capitalism through state participation designed to increase the exploitation of workers. Job security can only be provided through the socialist nationalisation of Leyland under workers' management. Participation precisely *threatens* jobs.

The case against these committees is clear. Their terms of reference are the more efficient production of motor cars. Management have an absolute right to make the final decisions. The Chrysler corporation recently paid £100 lump sum bonus to every worker employed - a total of £2,700,000 - on the acceptance of 'worker participation' - they didn't do that for

the benefit of the labour force.

Despite what Ryder and the TU leaders say now, they intend that the set-up will have a role in the future on wages. This is likely to start with the joint committees making recommendations for acceptance of wage deals and end up with the Ryder committees forming the basis of corporate wage bargaining, once they have completed their immediate task of forcing in the full effects of Measured Day Work - speed-ups and redundancy.

The nature of these committees and the role they will play makes it a matter of principle that they are rejected by class-conscious workers and the fight started for a programme to defend wages, jobs and conditions.

The demand must be put for a sliding scale of wages to protect against inflation and for work-sharing on full pay to defend jobs.

## T U COMMITTEES

Committees must be set up to demand that the books of Leyland and component firms are opened and the case established for nationalisation under workers' management with state contracts to ensure that the factories remain in production.

It is only in this way, and not by unprincipled participation in management, that jobs can be defended.

Continued from front page  
demand that the books be opened, elected trade union committees, and the fight for nationalisation. Only in this way can jobs be defended. The peddlers of import controls are desperate to avoid a fight.

The fight back against their policies must begin now. It is the responsibility of every militant to oppose the reactionary drive towards import controls and nationalisation at every level in the trade union and Labour movement. They must demand their delegates at the TUC conference throw out collaboration with Wilson's state pay laws and begin the fight to defend jobs and living standards against the onslaught of British capitalism.

They must demand in addition that the left take up the fight to move Wilson and the right wing from the Labour leadership at the coming Labour Party conference.

## WSL PUBLIC MEETINGS

### LIVERPOOL

Sunday 24th August, 7.30 pm  
The Mitre, Dale St.  
"The Fight Against Unemployment"

### NUNEATON

Tuesday, 9th September, 7.30.  
Public Library, Church St.  
"A Programme to fight Inflation and Unemployment."

£500 monthly development fund

From the first edition of *Socialist Press*, where we analysed Benn's Industry Bill, under the headline 'Foil For Opening the Books?', our paper has exposed the betrayals of the reformists, while fighting in practice in the workers' movement for the demands and principles of the *Transitional Programme*.

Our paper is already winning a very favourable response from many new readers. To improve it and move towards weekly publication we need your support.

Send donations to our £500 per month development fund to:

## Fight Press Sackings

The deepening world economic crisis is drastically hitting newspaper circulation. Hence all the attempts by the gutter press to boost circulation, such as the revival of the gossip columns and the change by various popular newspapers to a tabloid formula. These attempts have been accompanied by various cuts in manning levels, union organisation and also sackings.

The dismissal of more than 200 journalists in Birmingham working for the *Post*, *Mail*, *Sunday Mercury* and *Sports Argus* was manoeuvred after they had to turn down a derisory pay offer of £1 a week.

After more than nine months negotiations since then, 10 journalists, all members of the NUJ, on a picket line outside the *Birmingham Post & Mail*, have been arrested after attempting to prevent a lorry carrying blacked newspapers from leaving its premises. Police and plain-clothes members of the serious crime squad assaulted the pickets and several journalists were roughed up.

The determination of the newspaper employers to force through large-scale redundancies has also been highlighted at *The Observer* where they have attempted to sack a third of the printers. As in the *Post & Mail* dispute in Birmingham workers have resisted strongly. As we go to press, however, printing union officials have agreed to a large number of voluntary redundancies - in the region of 200. Any such agreement must be fought.

## TUC LOBBY

We call on all our members and supporters to support the lobby of the TUC called on September 2nd, and organised by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

The lobby is demanding a rejection of wage restraint and a fight against unemployment.

We support this lobby even though the record of the LCDTU has always been to come to the defence of the trade union bureaucracy.

We consider it necessary to pose our alternative demands to the TUC and express those of the Communist

## PORTUGAL

Continued from front page

social democratic friends in Portugal'. There is nothing like getting somebody else to do your own dirty work!

In Portugal itself, the 'moderates' are now lined up in defence of 'democracy' and 'revolution' against the interests of the Portuguese working class.

## VIOLENCE

The reactionary campaign of violence and intimidation initiated by the Socialist Party leader Soares has extended in many small towns in Portugal to the beating of Communist Party members, burning down the offices of left-wing parties, and attacks on every workers' organisation.

In the Northern cathedral town of Braga, the archbishop, a former close friend of fascist Salazar, expressed himself opposed to 'dictatorship', and called for the 'forces of love' to triumph. This they did by attempting unsuccessfully to burn down the offices of the local CP with most of its officials in it.

After contenting themselves with giving severe beatings to the Stalinists and razing their offices to the ground, the mob went on to burn down the local trade union offices.

From this campaign of extreme reaction the Socialist Party leadership has now been forced to hold back somewhat. Soares has attacked the 'excesses' of the counter-revolution and spoken of his opposition to 'Stalinism' and 'dictatorship'. He has even borrowed one of the tiredest of phrases from the Stalinists' own phrase book by calling the CP 'social fascist'.

## NO WORKERS

Socialist Party flags were still to be seen mingled with those of the extreme right in the physical attacks on CP leader Cunhal in Alcobaca (north of Lisbon) on 16th August. There is no sign of significant support, however, from workers' organisations for such actions, nor will there be.

The advance of the Portuguese Revolution has naturally provoked a crisis within the ranks of the Stalinists themselves. Speaking in an American delegation within hours of Kissinger's warning (appropriately enough at Yalta where Stalin arranged the post-second world war division of Europe with his imper-

nal affairs. A workers' revolution would be the worst thing that could happen for the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Meanwhile, other sections of the Soviet Communist Party have been issuing statements (see this page) calling on Stalinist forces throughout the world to avoid alliance with the most reactionary forces.

Leaders of the Communist Parties of Western Europe, looking nervously over their shoulders at the advance of the workers in Portugal, do not agree.

In Italy, Stalinist leader, Enrico Berlinguer, issued a joint statement with social democrat, Martino, on 15th August, expressing 'deep concern' with the developing situation, and calling for an alliance of CP, SP and Armed Forces Movement.

## STALINISTS

In Portugal itself, the Stalinists, who are the butt of every form of reactionary violence, propose only solutions that can play into the hands of reaction. Their desperate efforts to make themselves part of the capitalist state machine have been in part responsible for the hostility against them in the north of the country.

To save themselves now, they



Cunhal

call for support from the Armed Forces Movement, the so-called 'democratic forces', indeed from anywhere that does not involve the independent mobilisation of the working class.

Within the Armed Forces Movement, the deepening crisis reflects

ing class to the darkest face of reaction.

The petty bourgeois leadership of the AFM attempts to balance between these competing elements. The 'moderate' faction led by Melo Antunes who planned the original coup with Spínola, long for a return to the situation where the masses are not an active force.

Meanwhile COPCON commander Carvalho, constantly portrayed as the most left of the ruling military troika, talks of 'popular assemblies' and the 'Cuban model', which aim to tie the working class to the bourgeois regime. Vasco Goncalves, against whom particular reactionary fury has been directed, looks desperately to his allies in the Communist Party.

## LEADERSHIP

As the class forces in Portugal line up each day, the need of the hour is for the development of a revolutionary leadership in the Portuguese working class. In Lisbon on August 15th, when the Stalinists and social democrats were running rival demonstrations elsewhere in the city, a sizeable demonstration of LCI Pabloites together with Maoists and other groups came together, apparently simply called in opposition to 'US intervention'. This is hardly the crucial issue in this situation, but for a Pabloite 'mass vanguard' separate from the working class and its organisations, it provided the only basis for unity.

## PROGRAMME

The need for a programme to defend the Portuguese Revolution is urgent. Armed defence guards must be set up through the trade unions to defend all workers' organisations against the attacks of reaction.

Joint committees of workers and soldiers must prepare the defence of their revolution without reference to the Armed Forces Movement.

Unity between CP and Socialist Party workers must be established through joint struggles for workers' committees in every factory and town, and national meetings of their representatives planned. There must be a campaign for a workers' and small farmers' government based on their organisations. A Portuguese section of a