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As Liberals renew coalition WORKERS MUST BREAK IT NOW!



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Callaghan



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Heffer—he and other
lefts must fight or
stand aside

What made 2,200 anti-socialist members of Britain's second capitalist party—the Liberals—vote 3-1 last Saturday to support the Callaghan government?

It is the Liberals' conviction that such class collaboration can be fostered more easily under the disguise of a Labour government than through the return of a Tory government that has cemented the Lib-Lab coalition deal from the beginning.

The pact was signed on the basis of agreement on the need for a third round of rigid wage controls.

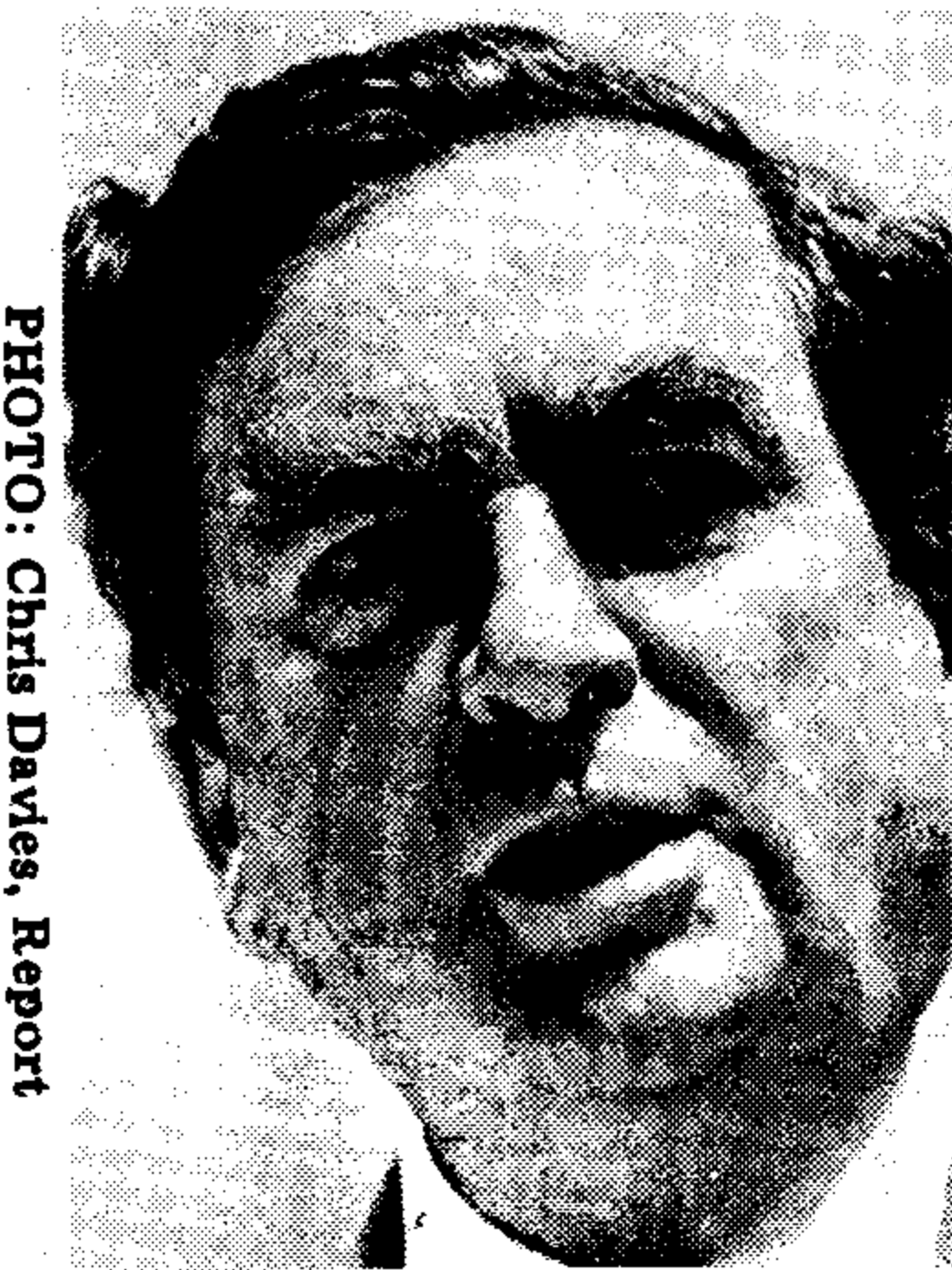


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Healey

Recognising that massive working class hostility to Phase 2—reflected in the Leyland toolroom strike—was on the point of breaking the grip of the TUC bureaucrats, Liberal and Labour leaders saw that Callaghan could only carry through such a policy by drawing on support outside of the labour movement.

Steel undertook to provide that support and in exchange Callaghan willingly agreed to drop even the vaguest pretense of socialist policies.

Mouthpiece

Since then this reactionary coalition has spearheaded attacks on wages, jobs and social services, with the Callaghan-Healey leadership functioning as no more than the mouthpiece of Liberal policies.

In all of these actions Callaghan has been slavishly supported in Parliament by the 'left' MPs of the Tribune group, and by TUC bureaucrats who have now become front-line defenders of Healey's arbitrary 10% pay limit.

The 3-1 vote at Saturday's Liberal Assembly was a clear vote of appreciation of Callaghan's efforts.

Consulted

But while Liberals have now been repeatedly consulted on the coalition deal, no such right of discussion has been given to the working class.

Callaghan did the deal with the Liberals without even consulting the Parliamentary Labour Party, and with complete contempt for the whole organised labour movement.

The Liberal leaders are now clearly privy to the most secret decisions on budget proposals; they are consulted on every aspect of government policy; and they exercise an effective power of veto over policies adopted by the Labour Party Conference.

Wage control

The Workers Socialist League has pointed this out continuously since the coalition deal was formed. We have campaigned continuously for the breaking of the Lib-Lab deal and for workers to take action to break its central policy of wage control.

The open talk of a Phase 4 of wage controls coupled with the political revelations of the last few days show the urgency of this fight.

Trade unionists and Labour Party members must put down motions demanding Labour MPs break from the Lib-Lab deal and campaign actively against it.

In particular those 'left' MPs that claim to oppose the policies of Callaghan and Healey must be called upon either to launch a campaign throughout the Labour and trade union movement for the breaking of the coalition and the removal of its supporters from the Labour leadership, or to stand aside for those who will.

Tanker drivers

Those sections of workers like the tanker drivers and power workers with outstand-

ing pay claims in excess of the 10% must press ahead with strike action to win them in full.

And sections yet to formulate pay claims must take up the fight to regain and defend their living standards through catching up on claims to cost of living raises to protect against inflation.

Socialist policies

Unemployed workers thrown on the scrapheap by the policies of this government must fight for admission to the trade unions and for action to force an

end to this coalition.

Only this can open the possibility of a fight for socialist policies of nationalisation of major industry and the programme of public works necessary to create new jobs.

In taking up this fight workers will soon expose the 'left' talkers within the labour movement who by their inaction serve to protect this reactionary coalition.

And they will see the need for a revolutionary leadership to fight for the independent interests of the working class.



Last year's Troops Out Movement march on Bloody Sunday

PHOTO: Mark Rutherford, IFL

Troops out now!

Two marches will be held this coming Sunday to commemorate the sixth anniversary of British imperialism's brutal slaughter of 14 unarmed Irish civilians in Derry on January 30 1972.

One will consist of the motley crew of talkers that describe themselves as the 'revolutionary left'.

The other will consist largely of forces mobilised by Sinn Fein,

which is the main force currently struggling against British imperialism in Ireland.

The Workers Socialist League has fundamental political disagreements with the political positions on Ireland put by the organisers of both marches.

We insist that the correct central demands are for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and for self-determination for the Irish people as well as the repeal of repressive legislation such as the

Prevention of Terrorism Act.

We reject the tendency of left groups to regard this fight as a "single issue" detached from a thoroughgoing struggle for a principled leadership in the British and Irish working class.

It is on this basis and to make the case for this position that a WSL contingent will be participating in the Sinn Fein march, which will assemble at 2.00 pm on Sunday at Speakers Corner, and depart for Whitehall at 2.30 pm.

Socialist Press readers are also urged to attend.



INTERNATIONAL

Behind Smith's amnesty fraud

There is no independent evidence to back up racist Premier Smith's claim that his offer of amnesty to what he calls the "terrorists" of the liberation armies has had some success.

It is clear why Smith now feels the need to make this claim.

He is on the point of signing a political agreement with the collaborationist black "leaders" Bishop Muzorewa, Rev. Sithole and Chief Chirau.

This agreement would be to establish a nominally black led government which would protect all the crucial material interests of the whites and of Rhodesian and international capital.

Censorship

There is one snag. The black "leaders" Smith is speaking of do not have the support of the militant sections of the black workers and peasants of Zimbabwe.

Smith's fear, shared by Muzorewa and Sithole, is that the announcement of an obviously pro-white settlement would lead to a new surge of support for the freedom fighters of ZAPU and ZANU who are not party to the present settlement.

In spite of the blanket censorship which the regime has imposed, it has become clear that the war has sharply increased its intensity since the talks began.

White civilians and members of the racist security forces have been reported killed in increasing numbers.

It is now the future position of the army which is the only outstanding item in the internal settlement talks.



A warning to Zimbabwe freedom fighters

Muzorewa and Sithole want some formula to "integrate" the guerrilla armies into the racists' present standing army, (dissolving the most hated units such as the Selous Scouts).

Dissolution

In this way they would hope to divide the freedom fighters from the ZAPU and ZANU leaders.

Smith, on the other hand, wants the formal dissolution of the guerrilla armies.

Any formal recognition of the terrorists might allow a white opposition to Smith to develop.

Smith's campaign to get the guerrillas to accept an amnesty (and probably a wad of money as extra incentive) follows directly, therefore, from his urgent need to defuse the strength of the guerrilla armies so that any paper agreement with Muzorewa and Sithole can be "accepted" nationally and internationally.

There would be no chance of such a settlement being imposed if clear, principled leadership were given to the struggle of the black masses against racism and imperialism.

But the reaction of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, the ZAPU and ZANU leaders, to the latest internal developments has been to run back into the arms of the imperialists in the hope of getting their own rival neo-colonial solution—some version of the British American plan.

Less favourable

The plan worked out last year by Owen and the Carter administration, is less favourable to Smith, Muzorewa and Sithole than the internal solution.

The British-American plan also involves the disarmament of the guerrillas, together with the establishment of a "temporary" military dictatorship under Field Marshall Lord Carver.

But, unlike the internal settlement, the Owen plan will give a privileged position to Nkomo and Mugabe in the interim government.

This is not because the British and American imperialists give any support to black liberation.

Sabotage

Quite the contrary, it is aimed to sabotage any real independence struggle by incorporating the present leaders of the guerrilla armies into an ignominious neo-colonial compromise.

This pernicious plan must be resisted throughout the labour movement in the imperialist countries, especially in Britain and by the black workers and peasants of Zimbabwe who are threatened with a historic betrayal.

Troops out of Cyprus!



Ecevit

The new right wing coalition government of Prime Minister Ecevit won the necessary vote of confidence in the Turkish Parliament on Tuesday 17 January. The voting was 229 to 218.

Ecevit has taken rapid decisions in the field of foreign policy in relation to the Cyprus question.

After a series of talks with Denktash, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, a plan was drawn up and presented to Greek Cypriot leader President Kyprianou at a meeting of all the parties at which UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was also present.

Revision

Ecevit also had a meeting with US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to discuss the revision of the \$1.36 million Defence Cooperation Agreement, signed in March 1976 but held up by the US Congress after the Cyprus invasion.

Ecevit's plan for reconvening the Cyprus talks included constitutional proposals for the island

Split in state union

The rift between the Tunisian state "trade union" the UGT and the ruling Destour Socialist Party is steadily widening despite the efforts of the union's leadership.

Secretary-general Habib Achour is still attempting to straddle both sides, but this position will soon become painfully impossible.

The bourgeoisie within the DSP is now working to split the union, and salvage its most reliable class-collaborators, as part of a general offensive against union rights.

Within the UGT itself, particularly the youth sections, the calls to break from the Bonapartist regime and build an independent workers' party are becoming more insistent.

Gandhi frozen

There has been a swift reaction from bourgeois politicians to the split engineered in the Congress Party by Gandhi.

The Janata coalition government has withdrawn from circulation all currency notes of the highest values. (This move is aimed at freezing the finances of the Gandhi Congress, which is believed to hold vast undeclared reserves in such notes).

Already sections of the Janata and the Chavan-Reddy Congress are discussing the formation of a new political alliance between their forces.

including the Presidency rotating between the two communities and a small government with an equal number of Ministers from each community as well as some concessions on occupied territory.

Legalise

However, the entire plan is aimed to legalise the partition of the island by the imperialist powers and aims to restore the credits from the United States in order to solve the acute economic crisis which the previous NF coalition in Turkey failed to do.

The plan offers nothing to the Turkish and Greek toilers of Cyprus.

The fight must be continued for the immediate withdrawal of troops from the island and for an independent Cyprus.

The right wing role of Ecevit's government became increasingly clear when, though it blamed fascists for political violence, it also took a series of measures against left wing organisations.

Fascist attacks

This has not decreased, but on the contrary, has increased fascist attacks on the left.

It is quite clear that workers cannot rely on the right wing government to stop these fascist attacks.

The government programme denies the democratic rights of political parties—a denial which Ecevit's election manifesto pledged to reverse.

Only armed workers' militia can fight against and defeat fascism.

Meanwhile secret talks have restarted between the metal workers union and the employers' confederation.

This strike is going to be the first target of Ecevit's government in its plan to head off the struggles of workers in defence of jobs, living standards and democratic rights.

Support

He has the absolute support of the trade union bureaucracy in his attacks on the working class that will help the fascists expand their base among disillusioned workers and the petty bourgeoisie.

The coming period will be decisive. Only the political break from Ecevit's government and the independent mobilisation of the working class can guarantee the rights of workers and stop the threat of a fascist take over in the near future.

The political parties of the working class and the trade unions must break from Ecevit's government and fight to form an alternative government based on the needs of the workers and peasants of Turkey.

GREECE

Greek unions have rejected the 15% rise in minimum wages offered by the Greek equivalent of the CBI. The unions' original claim was for a 25% rise on the present level of £4.50 per day for unskilled workers.

Portugal's new right wing coalition

Portugal's political crisis has been "resolved" by a sharp new turn to the right.

Socialist Party Premier Mario Soares has formed a coalition government with the right wing bourgeois party, the Democratic and Social Centre.

This party which is linked to the Christian Democratic Parties in Western Europe is well known for containing fascist elements.



Soares

The Democratic and Social Centre is the one major political party in Portugal which was excluded from every one of the six provisional governments which followed the over-

throw of the Caetano regime in April 1974.

It was then kept out of government because it was the organising centre for sections of the extreme right.

Yet Mario Soares, leader of a workers' party, has made an open coalition with it, though he coyly refers to the coalition as a government "with a socialist base and Christian Democratic personalities".

Collaboration

But no words can disguise what it really is—a regime of naked class collaboration through which Portuguese and international capital hope to impose new economic burdens on the working class.

The programme of the government leaves no doubt about this. It involves a 20% limit on wage increases (when inflation is currently around 30%), reductions in subsidies and increases in taxes along with other austerity measures.

From within the Socialist Party there have been signs of resistance to this extreme right wing turn by the already



Cunhal

right wing Soares leadership.

Soares managed to railroad the deal through the National Committee, though certainly at the cost of a deepening gulf between the right wing leaders and the working class rank and file of the party.

Soares is attempting to protect himself against this by making an additional bilateral pact between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

The Stalinists of the CP

have not yet decided how to react to this. Naturally they bear no principled ill-will against the new coalition.

Opportunity

The Stalinists have themselves long been proposing a "national government" in which they would participate with the Socialists and Christian Democrats.

But the Stalinist leaders now see an opportunity to seize some of the Socialists' following by appearing to oppose the new coalition.

They have already made some mild criticisms of it.

Yet at the same time Alvaro Cunhal and the other CP leaders stand ready, as they have done since 1974 to head off and betray any independent struggle of the working class.

Treacherous

The CP, therefore, can be expected to cover up its treacherous support of the coalition both inside and outside the parliament with occasional demagogic outbursts against it.



INTERNATIONAL

BRUTAL DICTATORS FAIL TO CRUSH WORKERS

The three northern Andean states of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are all ruled by military dictatorships which, despite differences in the shade of their rhetoric, have practiced similarly repressive anti-working class policies.

All three have nonetheless failed to crush the will of the working class to fight.

And all three have been attempting to divert growing popular resistance to the regimes by projecting a "return to democratic rule".

What they are planning is an almost completely cosmetic exercise which displays very few of the forms of bourgeois democracy and not a scrap of its content.

Last week the Ecuadorean military dictatorship staged a 'referendum' to select a new constitution.

There were two to choose from—the old 1943 constitution or a new one which would have a single parliamentary assembly and would give votes to illiterate peasants.

Unspecified

As the regime had planned it was the second of these which got a majority.

The present plan, however, is not to introduce it until an unspecified number of months after presidential elections which are supposed to take place in mid-July.

But since several of the potential presidential candidates were held under arrest for the duration of the referendum there is no assurance that the time-table for civilian rule will be followed.

Massacre

A regime which two months ago was responsible for a massacre of sugar workers in one of the most murderous events in the history of the class struggle in Ecuador cannot be expected to give up its power unless the rule of capitalists and landowners remains assured.

Democratic forms will be granted only if the regime feels certain they will not be used.

Mass action

Just the same attitude is being shown in Bolivia where dictator General Banzer has also scheduled presidential elections for this summer.

Banzer at present faces a more threatening wave of mass agitation than the generals in Ecuador.

A wave of public hunger strikes has taken place in which, by last week, about 1,500 students and workers were participating.

Attempts to break these demonstrations by force were met immediately with strikes in the factories and tin mines.

A number of the top civilians in Banzer's regime resigned in terror when faced with mobilisations.

In the middle of last week Banzer was forced into an apparent climb down.

He announced an amnesty for prisoners charged with political or trade union offences, and for political exiles and the reinstatement of workers sacked for striking.

The likely meaning of this amnesty, however, was pointed to by a comment made by Banzer that "the



Street fighting in Bolivia in 1971

the enemies of Bolivia unpunished."

Last year Banzer gave a sample of what he meant by "amnesty" when he invited political exiles back to Bolivia and then arrested those who took him at his word.

Latest information is that many of the hunger strikers have remembered this and are continuing their action.

'Democratic'

In neighbouring Peru where the military junta is also proposing a future return to 'democratic' rule, the working class continue to show that it regards such plans as a sham.

They have not diverted workers' hostility away from the vicious programme of austerity measures which the regime last week once again stepped up by raising the prices of a number of basic foods.

The Stalinist-led General Confederation of Labour (CGTP) has been forced to

call a two-day general strike against the regime's economic policy.

On the occasion of the previous such general strike last year the regime unleashed savage repressive measures which have continued ever since against other individual struggles.

At the end of December four participants in a land dispute were murdered and 20 injured by the police in the community of Huacataz.

And on January 5 police shot dead two demonstrators in Chimbote during a general strike in support of workers in the steel factory who have been on strike for nearly two months.

Elsewhere in Latin America dictatorships are also under fire.

The bloody rulers of Argentina, Chile and Brazil are among those who have had to face a growth of popular struggle in recent months.

Last week one of the most



Pinochet's soldiers recover the body of a victim

ITALIAN CP SEIZE ON U.S.

VETO

New bid to prop up Tories

L'Unita, the daily newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, complained last week that it was "certain sectors of the Christian Democracy" who had invited the United States' public attempt to veto CP participation in the government.

But it is the Stalinist leaders themselves who have immediately taken advantage of Carter's latest imperialist outburst.

The American statement has given the CP just what it was looking for—an opportunity to put up a smoke-screen of nationalist rhetoric behind which it can beat a retreat from its demands for seats in the Cabinet.

The CP leaders, though for a time they hoped to establish a "historic compromise" coalition government with Italy's Tories now see that this would itself provoke a new instability for capitalist rule in Italy.

Manoeuvres

That is exactly what the Stalinists are out to avoid. The whole reason behind their recent manoeuvres, which led Andreotti to resign as Premier, is their fear that without some formal change in their role in the government they would be unable to control the growing discontent of the working class.

In recent demonstrations this has shown itself in the spontaneous mass adoption of slogans on wages and jobs which plainly rejected the Stalinist shameful class collaboration.

Fascists

It shows itself too in the growth of independent working class defence against the growth of fascist violence.

This involves a rejection of the CP's reactionary policy of attacking "extremists of right and left" through strengthening the repressive state apparatus.

Despite a warning from the CP leadership last week that there was a majority in parliament without the Christian Democrats (they meant CP, Socialist Party and the smaller capitalist parties), they clearly have no other perspective than some new form of coalition formula with the Christian Democrats.

Once more it is Andreotti who has been charged by the capitalists with producing some governmental formula.



Berlingu

The one thing which included in advance Andreotti's mandate from party is the presence of ministers in the government.

He will be trying, however, to get the CP leader's collaboration in imposing a working class a reaction programme of austere measures designed to help recovery of crisis-torn capitalism.

The government will appear to agree but will appear to hesitate in the of securing a formula which can sell to its member supporters as an advance

The problem for unprincipled traitors of working class is that the of the working class showing itself less and willing to buy class collaboration at any price.

Crumbling

It looks unlikely, then, that any government formula satisfactory to capitalists exists within the current framework of parliamentary democracy.

The present government crisis looks certain to be and drawn out. None possible outcomes—a undeclared coalition ministers or parliamentary elections are capable of the most fleeting respite the crisis of bourgeois Italy.

Stalinists back national repressi

It is reported that since last November 26 Ethiopia has received gigantic supplies of Soviet arms via an "air bridge" in which 225 transport planes (12% of the whole Soviet air fleet) have taken part.

Eritrean liberation forces have claimed that they have been regularly bombed from the Red Sea by Soviet ships—a claim which the USSR has denied.

Notwithstanding overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the Ethiopian Derg (the ruling military junta) says that "the only Soviet and Cuban citizens in Ethiopia are diplomats and doctors and there are in total only 350 of them."

The imperialists have complained that the Soviet arms build up is "excessive" but the USA still gives aid to Ethiopia. Carter stands alongside the

reactionary Ethiopian ship and the Soviet burn against the Eritrean and Somali right to national determination.

Carter is worried not about the rise of Soviet strength in the Horn of Africa.

Though he has diplomatically refused to supply arms to which now claims a Soviet-backed Ethiopian is imminent, Carter has given a free hand to reactionary allies, the Saudi Arabia and the Persia to intervene on Somalia if necessary.

Then last week Ethiopia's rejection of a from Carter for negotiating American government support a meeting of the main countries to discuss the General Mengistu's reportedly unleashed a series of street executions of oppositionists mostly of

STARK SIGNS OF TRADE WAR

"So long as all goes well for the capitalists] Marx wrote in *Capital* competition effects a practical brotherhood of the capitalist class . . . so that each shares in the common loot in proportion to the magnitude of his share of investment. But as soon as it is no longer a question of sharing profits, but of sharing losses, everyone tries to reduce his own share to a minimum and lean as much as possible upon the shoulders of some other competitor. However, the class must inevitably lose . . . competition then transforms itself into a fight of hostile brothers".

It was to his hostile brothers that Japanese premier Fukuda was speaking last week when he gave the gravest warning against trade war yet uttered by a capitalist leader. The world economic situation, he said, reminded him

of the 1930s when after a war of protectionism between the capitalist countries "everyone marched down the road to the second world war".

Chaos in the world economy, he said, would lead to social and political chaos.

Fukuda as the guardian of Japanese capitalism has the strongest reason to express this concern.

Disruption

During the last few years of disruption of world trade, Japan is the major industrialised capitalist country to have succeeded most in keeping up its exports and keeping down its imports.

Japan's massive trade balance surplus has had its counterpart in big deficits in Europe and above all in the last year in the United States.

Both the EEC and the US have been trying to force Japan (as well as many other countries) to reduce its own high levels of protection to let in more imports from Europe and the USA, and to

WAR

"voluntarily" curb its own exports to the European and American markets.

Last month Japanese officials were pushed into a general agreement to this effect with the US Trade negotiator Strauss.

Fukuda "welcomed" this deal but he well knows that it is protectionism against Japanese capital but by a nicer name.

Fukuda knows that he has to accept this "agreed" protection to avoid the imposition of an even more savage enforced protectionism.

Uncontrollable

And that kind of competitive tariff war could easily become uncontrollable, leading as it did in the 1930s to a sudden and catastrophic collapse of world trade and the growth of mass

unemployment beside which even today's massive dole



Fukuda

queues would look short.

In pointing to this as a possibility Fukuda is plaintively echoing, from the special interests of Japanese capital, a whole number of doom-laden warnings about a full-scale trade war.

These have come from the head of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Victims

But is it not the warnings of such international functionaries which can stop a war whose victims as in the 1930s will be the world's working class.

It is not only the capitalists who are demanding these measures: the reformist betrayers of the working class are clamouring with at least as much fervour as their capitalist masters for nationalist and chauvinist policies.

These policies are totally unprincipled. By trying to protect the jobs of the workers of one capitalist

country against "foreign" workers, the chauvinist trade union and labour leaders show themselves to be implacable enemies of the international working class.

But this is the policy of the fake 'lefts' of the Tribune Group and numerous left-talking union leaders like Clive Jenkins of ASTMS.

And in the USA it is the policy of most of the leaders of the main trade union federation, the AFL-CIO.

A truly internationalist policy for the working class in the face of the capitalist crisis must include principled opposition to all nationalist policies which pit one worker against another, and which try to tie the working class to the interests of 'their own' national capitalists.

In inter-capitalist economic war, as in military war, the only principled policy for the working class is to fight its own capitalist class—class against class internationally.

School students' union fights fascist menace

As capitalism goes into deeper crisis we see once again the rise of fascism.

The complete refusal of the Lib-Lab coalition government and the trade union bureaucracy to defend the workers' living standards and the right to a job has left sections of workers easy targets for National Front recruitment.

School students have also seen their standard of living fall, not just because their parents have had their wages cut by inflation; but also because the quality of their education has deteriorated.

Force

Realising this the National Front has decided to make schools their next targets.

250,000 leaflets entitled "How to Spot a Red Teacher" are being printed and some schools have already received this piece of fascist propaganda.

The aim of the NF is to divide black and white school students and to have a force which will prevent the independent organising of school students.

The reply of the bureaucracy of the National Union of Teachers and the National Association of Headteachers is predictable.

Condemnation

There has been a condemnation of the NF leafletting schools and the NAHT has told its members that they should throw NF leaflets off school premises and confiscate their literature if it is circulating in schools.

But this directive applies to "other extremist political organisations" and presumably to the National Union of School Students.

However, a clear alternative to this sort of "opposition" has been shown in High Wycombe.

Beaten up

High Wycombe has a high immigrant population. It has



Youth in counter-march against National Front youth

recently seen a growing fascist threat with the offices of the Council for Community Relations attacked; black people beaten up and the public threat that the schools would be leafleted by the NF.

Aylesbury Area NUSS and High Wycombe Students Union decided that they would carry out a campaign to build NUSS branches in High Wycombe schools and that a defence squad would be established to stop fascists leafletting schools.

Leaflets

Anti-fascist leaflets were distributed outside schools in High Wycombe and received a good reception from the majority of people who took them.

The clear hostility of school students to the NF was shown when a meeting called by NUSS was attended by about 30 people, few of

whom had any doubts about the need to deny fascists the right to spread their poisonous propaganda.

Defence squad

NUSS branches are now being set up in some High Wycombe schools and a defence squad will be established as soon as possible.

The fascist threat to school students is not something which can be fought by individuals however much they may hate the NF.

Nor can it be countered by groups such as the 'Reading Schools Against the Nazis' who limit themselves purely to propaganda and the occasional picket or demonstration.

Living standards

Fascists can only be defeated by an organised working class.

CP HAS NO ANSWER TO FRONT

If the Young National Front is stamped out in schools it will be no thanks to the Communist Party and the 'Morning Star'.

The paper on January 21 devoted its front page story to the NF drive to recruit in schools which abandoned any attempt at a class solution to the young Nazis.

Bourgeois law

The headline—Your Children in Danger—Keep the hate peddlers out of the classrooms—could have come from the *Daily Mirror*. Most of the text could have been written by Patience Strong.

Its opening reduces the crimes of the Front to breaches of bourgeois law.

"The government must now be compelled to act against the persistent violations of the Race Relations Act by the National Front".

Powell

The Communist Party says that a smear campaign is being waged against "any teacher left of Enoch Powell".

But the class traitors of the *Morning Star* cast their net wide enough to embrace Enoch Powell, Churchill and the most vicious right wingers in the Tory Party.

"Did our people fight a bloody war against this fascist doctrine just to see it poison the minds of our children once again only 30 years after that terrible conflict?"

"The issue is not whether politics should be discussed in schools. Of course it should. But racism is, not politics. The Race Relations Act rightly puts it outside the realm of political debate."

"Politics is about life. Racism is about death . . ."

Wail for help

The Communist Party see only 'our children', 'our people', 'our schools', 'our country' and even 'our world' (as in "our world is a multi-racial world").

Their policies? Thank your teachers . . . tell your councillors . . . bombard your MP with demands for prosecution.

Such youth who are still around the CP and want to strike a blow against the fascists must break from the organisation that will do nothing but wail for help.

STILL AVAILABLE

"How we Fight Youth Unemployment"

Price 10p plus 7p p&p

Available from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NWS 1HR



Bradford University students and Grunwick strikers picketing the house of Judge Stucley. The judge had turned down an appeal by Christopher Roys, a Bradford student, against a £50 fine for threatening behaviour at Grunwick, only to sentence him to 21 days in Pentonville Prison.



HEFFER 'SICK' OF COALITION

"To hell with the Government. I'm sick of it!" proclaimed 'left' windbag Eric Heffer in Parliament last Thursday.

Was he denouncing the plans for a Phase 4 of wage controls? Posing a socialist answer to mass unemployment? Or calling for an immediate break with the Liberal Party?

Was Heffer—by saying what workers have long been thinking—giving a lead to the fight to oust the Callaghan/Healey leadership?

No. The 'fight' wasn't on any of these key issues, but on the timetable for legislation of direct elections to the European Parliament!

Heffer went so far as to suggest that if the Government went ahead with its attempts to force this legislation through under the guillotine, he would "reconsider" his support for some of its other legislation.

Failure

As he spluttered, Callaghan burst out laughing. After years of loyal

support for every other reactionary policy of the Labour leadership; after a complete failure to put forward the principled demand for British withdrawal from the Common Market and the dismantling of the EEC by the European workers' movement; and after nearly a year of slavish backing for the Lib-Lab Coalition, Heffer was going through the motions of polishing his 'left' image on a piece of Parliamentary irrelevance.

If Heffer was seriously going to fight the EEC he

would have to begin by splitting the Callaghan/Steel Coalition. And he would have to mobilise the ranks of the Labour and trade union movement to oust the class collaborating pro-Marketeer from the Party leadership.

The chances of Heffer or any other 'left' taking up such a fight are so remote that the whole affair is seen as a joke.

Meanwhile a Tory MP did more to expose the anti-socialist nature of the Coalition with one question than the Tribunes have since last March.

Tory Tim Renton simply asked what socialist measure the Government had in mind to introduce if the direct elections business was out of the way.

One-time 'left' Michael Foot floundered and replied "I don't think that question helps anyone".

Nor of course does the reactionary Lib-Lab deal.

It must be broken. And those that stand in the way of such a fight must be removed along with its open defenders.

Labour's anti-fascist

fraud MIKARDO HEADS OFF REAL FIGHT

In a bid to put on a mask of anti-fascist activism the Labour Party leadership have produced a Labour Weekly 'Race Special'.

Bearing the stark headline **Unite Against Nazis** this handout might seem to the unwary observer to indicate a full-scale political mobilisation against the National Front and similar racist scum.

Could this mean a reversal in the Coalition policies of wage cuts, social service cuts, mass unemployment and anti-immigrant legislation that have provided fertile ground for fascist agitation?

Bankrupt

A quick look at the front page article by veteran Labour 'left' Ian Mikardo shows this is not the case. The same old bankrupt policies remain intact—with Mikardo's blessing:

"Do not be misled. You may be fed up to the teeth with waiting too long for a job, or a home, or a hospital bed, or a supplementary benefit or a bus service. But do not imagine for a



single moment that supporting the National Front will get you any of these things one minute more quickly than you otherwise would".

Mikardo knows that while the Lib-Lab Coalition deal remains intact there is no chance of any of these problems being resolved.

And he knows that, along with the rest of the 'left' talkers in the Tribune Group of MPs, he has no intention of fighting to break that Coalition deal.

Ruled out

So the only real answer to the fascist propaganda-socialist policies to end unemployment and improve social services and housing—is ruled out of court, while reformist politicians debate with the fascists on how long workers should wait for a job.

The same position is reflected in the inside page article by Labour Party Chairman Joan Lester who limply announces "New jobs

and new homes are the tools to use", while offering no clue as to how Callaghan's Coalition cabinet of axemen could provide either.

Defender

UPW leader Tom Jackson—a diehard defender of social service cuts and wage control—also dons an anti-fascist face—only to call on the courts to take action against the National Front.

Yet Jackson's own union only a few months ago fell foul of a court injunction which placed a legal question mark over postmen's right to strike.

There can be no confusion on the fact that the courts as a part of the state machine are the tool of the capitalist class—the class which in its determination to weaken and divide the working class is now increasingly providing

the cash to boost the National Front and its activities.

And the example of last year's events at Tameside—where all meetings and demonstrations on racialism were outlawed, whether called by fascists or anti-fascists—shows that bans and prosecutions endanger the workers' movement.

This highlights the dangers of the supplementary feature on the front page which restates the policy of last year's Labour Party Conference.

"Marches by bully-boy groups through mixed areas must be BANNED"

Delegates said that the Home Secretary must have the power to make a political decision to rule out provocative marches and so stop rightwing parties forcing confrontation on the streets...

(Our emphasis)

LIMP

LAPRAG

Having unanimously passed a motion of censure of Judge McKinnon, Constituency delegates to the last Labour Party Race Relations Action Group were shocked to hear a blunt refusal from its Chairperson, Alan Lyons MP, to represent this motion in the House of Commons.

"It was a misguided attempt to protect free speech", asserted Tribunal Lyons, no doubt anxious to protect his position with the legal profession from cantankerous issues principle.

However, there is continuity in this; at a meeting of LPRAG (Laprag as is rightly known) early last year, the Group's leading light, Merlyn Rees, staunchly defended the Tory Immigration Laws.

'No Platform'

"The Patrial Clause is too complex to go into now," he had blustered to an angry delegate demanding the immediate repeal.

The last meeting held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square on Saturday January rejected a "no platform for fascists" position advanced among others in motion from a YS branch.

Contributions from the floor calling for a turn towards the mobilisation of the Labour movement met with a similar fate.

The Group decided to pursue its function as a ginger group within the Labour Party "to avoid the duplication of roles of other anti-racist groups".

That this meeting could only attract half of its early attendance is sorry proof of the transparent inadequacy of reformism to be able to grant the most minimal protection from the effects of capitalism, of which racism and fascism are but symptoms.

The 'inaction' Group has dug itself a hole and remains only to be buried. Otherwise its function can only be a positive barrier to a necessary fight for a principled leadership through the Labour Movement.

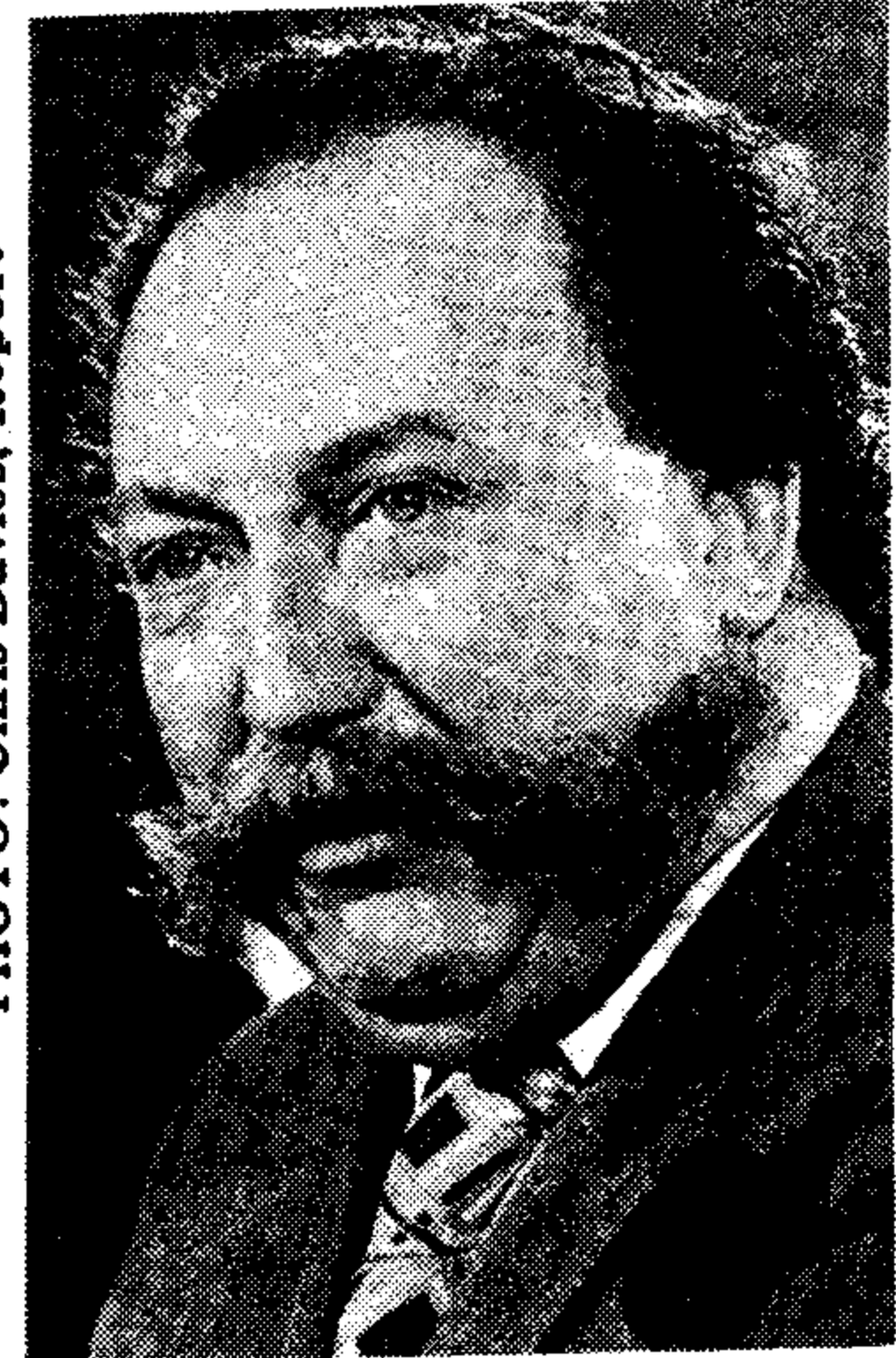


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Jackson

for everything they buy... many things require a fistful of roubles which are better kept in a bank than under a bed.

"In a capitalist economy national savings are of crucial importance. How the Soviet economy uses all this money is not so clear".

Quite how banks are made to work in the west was dramatically underlined on page 2 of the same paper.

A report of the trial of six men at the Central Criminal Court, was said to be one of the biggest conspiracy trials ever to come before the courts.

Allegations of forged bank drafts stepped straight from the pages of James Bond.

The prosecution said: "It was a fraud, the Crown say, which really knew no limit. If it had not been checked, and if it had gone on, there can be little doubt it would have undermined the banking system of virtually the whole civilised world".

It sounds as if the "entire civilised world" would do better to borrow that abacus from the deformed workers' state than to mock their banking system.

Already the Germans have their own meticulously engineered Zocial Kontract ready to outstrip the British model, which is long in the tooth and in need of revamping.

Be warned. After Das Kapital, Der Pact.

Michael Binyon, the new correspondent for the Times in the Soviet Union, returning to Moscow after a ten year gap, made an early visit to his bank.

He had deposited 100 roubles, worth £40, in 1968 which he discovered was now worth £75, mainly due to devaluation of sterling.

Ubiquitous

Times readers were treated on the front page to a light hearted look at the Soviet savings bank.

"Some details have changed... All entries were previously made by hand, in that ubiquitous purple ink Soviet officialdom uses. But an abacus stood on the counter just in case.

"Millions of Russians have savings accounts. For one thing, they have to pay cash

bourgeois party—the Free Democrats.

Saturday's Express—bitter at this plot to prevent the Tories taking their 'rightful' place—headlined its front page **Der Pact!**—The amazing German connection that kept Callaghan in power.

Protests

The paper went to say: "This is bound to lead to Tory protests about German interference in British politics and give the pact a 'Made in Germany' tag. Tory leaders suspect that Herr Genscher's purpose [Genscher is the Free Democrat who contacted Steel] was to keep Mr Callaghan in power because Chancellor Schmidt prefers a Labour government".

The pact was doubtless sent across from Germany in the same sealed train used to unleash 'German spy' Lenin on Russia.

Already Labour Minister Denis Healey has leaked budget secrets to the Liberals. Undoubtedly he has also allowed these treasured British budget secrets to fall into German hands.

PRESS GANG Jim Bond?

Since 1913 the Second International has been biding its time—waiting patiently for an opportunity to seize control on behalf of the working class.

From time to time faint hearts and Trotskyists have expressed the ridiculous notion that the Second International is more interested in managing capitalism than in world revolution.

For tactical reasons, organisations such as the British Labour Party and West Germany's Social Democrats have encouraged unemployment and drastic wage controls.

But these are short term policies to be operated for barely a couple of dozen decades before these organisations throw off the cloak of respectability and reveal the red terror beneath.

The Daily Express—the Voice of Britain—has not been fooled. It has uncovered the fact that the British coalition between the Liberals and Labour was inspired by West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, who also is in coalition with a

CHINA 1927:

Fruits of Stalin's

Popular Frontism

By Godfrey Parker

Fifty years ago, on December 13, 1927, communist workers in Canton made their last stand in defence of the Canton Commune, itself the last bloody catastrophe in the tragic story of the 1925-1927 revolution in China.

Only a year earlier an estimated 30 million peasants were organised in peasant associations, land seizure was widespread, half of China had fallen to a supposedly revolutionary army, and China's largest city Shanghai was on the verge of a workers' insurrection.

General strike

It was only two and a half years since the workers of Shanghai and Canton had begun the revolution by a general strike against the murder of twelve students by British soldiers.

There are two reasons why it is very important to understand the failure of this revolution, and the policies that led to it.

Firstly the defeat of the revolution in China led to the consolidation of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. To justify our rejection of the theory of 'socialism in one country' put forward by the Stalinists it is necessary to show that the defeat in China was not inevitable.

Real alternative

We must show that the path of world revolution was not a pious dream, but a real and necessary alternative to fascism, the second world war and the consequent death of 100 million people.

Secondly the theory of the 'bloc of four classes' in backward countries which was the cornerstone of the disastrous policy of the Comintern is still alive and kicking.

A million workers and peasants murdered in Indonesia are among its more recent victims, and a similar fate could well await the workers of Southern Africa if their present leadership is not overthrown.

This theory says that workers, peasants, petit-bourgeois elements, and the national bourgeoisie have a common interest in defeating imperialism.

Theory of stages

It originates from a theory of stages: that the working class should support the struggle for a national government based on private property ownership; and that only later will the working class independently lead the oppressed classes against its own bourgeoisie.

Of course this theory is nothing new to students of the Russian Revolution. It is precisely the theory put forward by the Mensheviks

to justify their collaboration with the bourgeois Cadet Party.

Independence

If it had not been for the principled struggle of Lenin and Trotsky for the complete independence of the working class, and against a theory of stages, there is no doubt that the Russian revolution would have suffered the same fate as the Chinese.

The lessons of the Russian revolution for other backward countries were put forward clearly at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1922:

'There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow further and further apart from each other. One is the bourgeois nationalist movement with a programme of political

tion of communist parties which will organise the peasants and workers and lead them to revolution and to the establishment of soviet republics.

Thus the masses in the backward countries may reach communism not through capitalist development, but led by the class conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries'.

The Chinese Communist Party had to decide its attitude to the weak but growing nationalist party the Kuomintang.

Students

This party had its basis of support in the students and Chinese intelligentsia, although it had already gained some support both from the working class and the national bourgeoisie.

This had been shown by

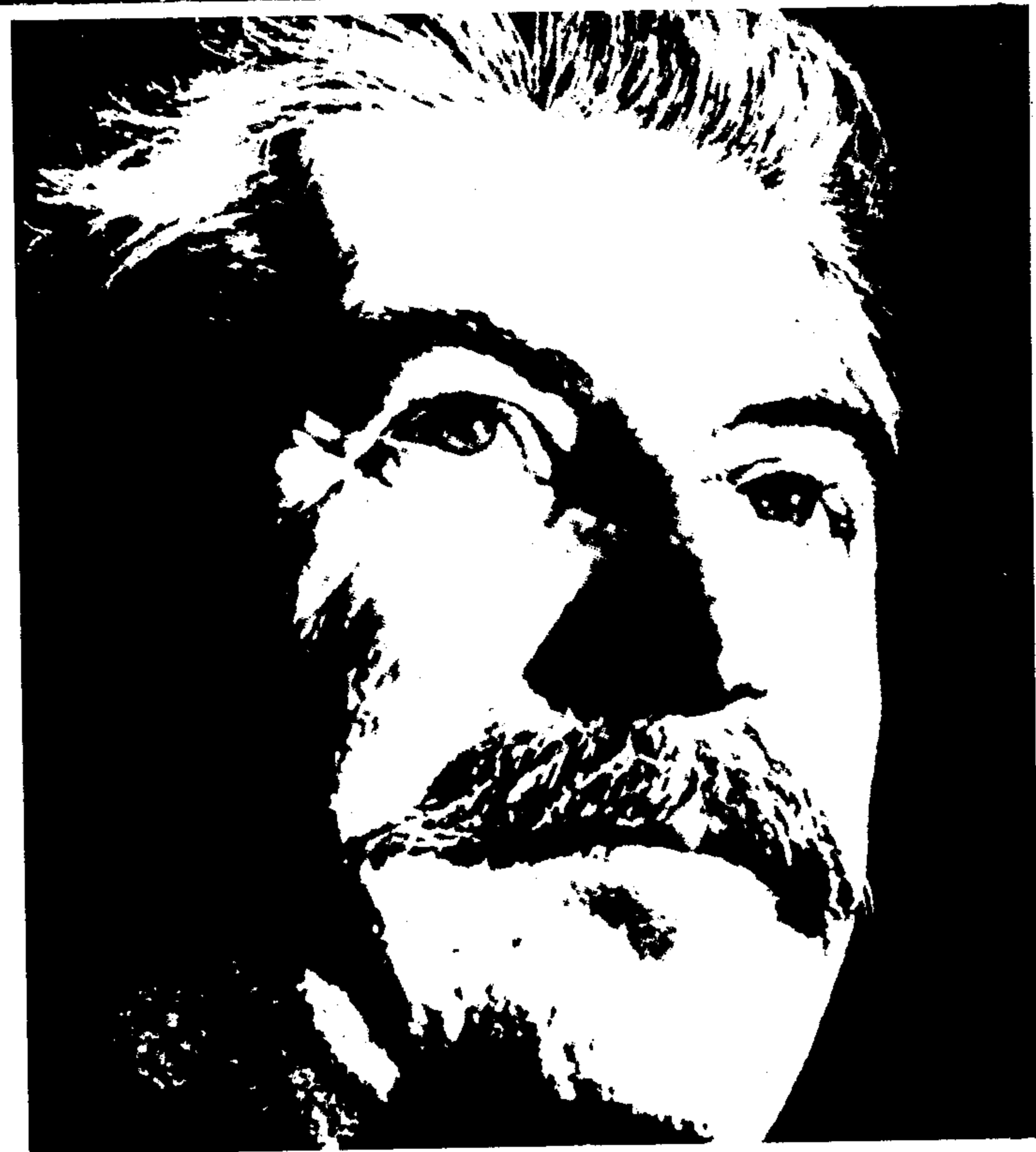
This was a fundamental error because the Kuomintang depended for gaining power on a mass movement of workers and peasants which went far beyond its bourgeois programme

Illusions

If the Communists had clearly drawn the class lines between themselves and the right-wing programme of the Kuomintang there is no doubt which the mass movement would have chosen.

As it was, enormous illusions were sown in the masses about the first Kuomintang government which they thrust into power in Canton in 1924.

But the programme of the Kuomintang was entirely bourgeois. It stood for the unification of China which was split up between count-



Stalin

possessed peasants who flocked to the Chinese cities.

In contrast the peasant movement around Canton quickly moved beyond demands for rent reductions to the seizure of lands and refusal to pay rents, interest, and taxes.

The spread of commercial agriculture into South and Central China over the previous fifty years had totally ruined the bulk of the peasants.

Unable to compete with more efficient and highly capitalised methods the peasants had been forced to sell their land and move further and further into debt to landlords and money-lenders.

By the 1920s over half the peasants were entirely landless while about 10% of the population owned 80% of the land. There could be no solution to these problems as long as land and capital remained in private hands.

This in itself made a stable bourgeois regime in China impossible, and provided a constant driving force for the revolutionary movement.

But it was among the workers that organisation and political activity grew most rapidly.

Demonstrations

There were 15 million workers in China of whom about 3 million were true industrial workers. These were concentrated in the sea and riverside cities penetrated by foreign capital.

By 1924 a million workers were organised by trade unions and a series of economic and political strikes shut down both foreign and native owned industries.

The culmination was the strikes arising out of the murder by British soldiers of twelve students on a worker-student solidarity march on May 30th, 1925. Half a million workers throughout China went on strike.

On June 11th a strikers' demonstration in Hankow was attacked by British sailors killing another eight people. Finally British and French troops in Canton fired on a demonstration killing 52 people.

The result was a general strike in Hongkong and Shameen, the foreign concession in Canton, which lasted fifteen months. The strikers elected the first Soviet in China.

Boycott

The Soviet took over control of the streets in Canton and operated a complete boycott of Hongkong and Shameen.

Two thousand pickets enforced the strike and boycott, and offenders were brought before a workers' court.

The demands of the strike included an eight hour day, no child labour, the right to

free speech and press and the right to vote.

This state of affairs was of course unacceptable not only to the foreign powers, but also to the native bourgeoisie.

The Kuomintang was brought to power by the mass movement but its leaders immediately began to negotiate a 'return to normality' with the British authorities.

At the same time as preparing for the Northern expedition to unify China the bourgeois leadership prepared a decisive blow to crush the mass movement in Canton



Students at Canton University hold nationalist rally on July 28, 1926

independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all types of exploitation.

The former attempt to control the latter and often succeed to a certain extent, but the Communist International must struggle against such control and help develop the class consciousness of the working masses.

For the overthrow of the foreign overlords which is the first step towards revolution in the colonies the co-operation of the bourgeois nationalist revolutionary elements is useful.

But the foremost and necessary task is the forma-

the strike wave which accompanied student demonstrations against an imperialist carve-up of China in 1919.

Military academy

The Communists after Comintern advice decided to enter the Kuomintang in 1922. They worked to transform the Kuomintang into an effective mass organisation.

With Soviet help they established a military academy which trained an officer corps for the future Kuomintang army. But very soon they began to back away from conflicts with the right-wing leadership and programme of the Kuomintang, for fear of provoking an open split.

less warlords with their own private armies.

It stood for bourgeois democracy where an 'enlightened' government would rule in the interests of the people's livelihood, and would ensure that peasants had a fair deal from landlords.

In other words it accepted the whole system of land ownership which was completely unequal and dominated by absentee landlords.

Land seizure

And it accepted the right of capitalists to employ labour on whatever terms it could enforce on the impoverished and dis-



and curb communist influence.

On the other hand the Communists were completely blinded by the positions now being put forward by Stalin and the Comintern. The Stalinists were fast abandoning the perspective of world revolution.

They considered that their interests in China would best be served not by a struggle for working class leadership but by a strong nationalist movement to upset the Western powers.

They therefore began to redefine the nature of the Kuomintang to justify the Chinese Communist Party's subservience to it.

Rather than a bourgeois-nationalist party with which the Communists had a temporary alliance, the



Sun Yat-sen and Li Ta-chao leaving the First Congress of the KMT side by side

Kuomintang was now a revolutionary bloc of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and urban democracy on the basis of a community of class interests of these strata in the struggle against the imperialists and the whole militarist-feudal order.

"Reliable ally"

Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the young bourgeois officers in the Kuomintang, was described as "the most reliable ally" of the Communists.

They could not criticise the Kuomintang programme. They had to hand over a list of their members. They could not serve as the head of any departments. All instructions from the CP's Central Committee had to be submitted to a joint committee of the two parties for approval.

Many members of the Communist Party were convinced by this practical confirmation of the class nature of the Kuomintang.

But Borodin, the Comintern representative persuaded

November 1926 most of Central China had been occupied.

As the nationalist government occupied each successive area, they immediately began to take action against the mass movement.

This was true in the more Western provinces occupied by the 'Left' Kuomintang.

But the ferocity of Chiang Kai-shek's attacks on the masses in the more Eastern provinces actually held up his advance for several months.

This gave the Communist Party the opportunity to use the mass movement in Central China to build an alternative power centre to Chiang Kai-shek. But Comintern policy prevented this being done.

The Kuomintang had now been admitted as a sympathising section of the Comintern, against Trotsky's sole dissenting vote!

In October 1926, Stalin telegraphed the Chinese Communists to keep the peasant movement from going too far to avoid alienating the Kuomintang generals.

Uprising

Even Mao Tse-tung who was always a firm supporter of the bloc of four classes theory had harsh words to say about the 'don't go too far' policy:

'A revolution is an uprising, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. A rural revolution is a revolution by which the peasantry overthrows the authority of the feudal landlord class. If the peasants do not use the maximum of their strength they can never overthrow the authority of the landlords which has been deeply rooted for thousands of years. All the actions labelled as "going too far" had a revolutionary significance in this period. To put it bluntly, it was necessary to create a brief reign of terror in every rural area; otherwise one could never suppress the activities of the counter-revolution or overthrow the authority of the gentry.'

Unfortunately the Communists had allied themselves precisely with a section of this gentry. In March 1927 the Communists were given the ministries of Labour and Agriculture in the new National Government, which was set up in Wuhan in Central China.

Financial centre

As the Kuomintang newspaper put it:

'The Communist Party will have to fulfill its obligations to enable the party (the Kuomintang) and the government to exercise full control over the mass movement.'

Chiang Kai-shek was meanwhile aiming all his strength at the capture of China's financial centre Shanghai, where he would be able to do a deal with the imperialists.

The major obstacle that faced him was the working class movement in Shanghai.

Huge demonstrations in support of the Northern expedition were held in Shanghai in November and December 1926, in spite of repressive measures by the local warlord and British authorities.

On February 17 Kuomintang troops reached to within twenty five miles of the city. The Communist-led General Labour Union called a general strike under the slogan "Hail Chiang Kai-shek". But they made no plans for an insurrection, assuming Kuomintang troops would shortly enter the city.

Reign of terror

Chiang Kai-shek however, had no such sense of solidarity with the striking workers.

He ordered his troops to cease their advance while a reign of terror was unleashed on the workers in Shanghai.

Spontaneously an uprising began to develop, but without plans or discipline this was crushed with great slaughter.

But the movement began to press forward again after only a few days.

Fearing an attack on their concessions, the imperialists rushed 10,000 troops and a fleet to Shanghai.

The Shanghai workers this time made plans for a simultaneous general strike and insurrection on March 21.

Workers' militia

A workers' militia of 5,000 was set up, and plans were made for the capture of police stations and post and telephone offices.

The militia had only 150 firearms to begin with, so that attacks were mainly made with clubs, axes, and knives until sufficient arms had been captured.

800,000 workers answered the strike call and within twenty four hours, the picket had eliminated the last resistance to the revolution.

The same day, Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers entered the city, having disobeyed orders to remain where they were.

The division which marched in was the most class conscious in the army and the one Chiang Kai-shek would have least wished to have in the city.

Chiang himself arrived on March 20 and at once started discussion with the Chinese bourgeoisie and the imperialists on a counter-revolution.

Central Committee

Chiang gave orders for the 3000 pro-communist troops to leave the city. Their commandant responded by personally meeting the Central Committee of the CCP and offering to arrest Chiang to forestall a coup.

But publicly the Communists following instructions from Moscow were still denying the possibility of a betrayal by Chiang in the face of his obvious preparations for a coup.

Privately the Comintern was instructing the Communists to hide or bury their arms to avoid a military conflict with Chiang.

The Comintern representatives in Shanghai urgently contacted Moscow criticising the whole policy of subordination to the national bourgeoisie and demanding a bold policy to prevent a coup.

But their letter was disregarded. The sympathetic soldiers were told to accept their order to leave the city.

Underworld thugs

Shanghai workers were thus deprived not only of all foreknowledge of Chiang Kai-shek's intentions, but also of the means to resist.

Chiang brought in loyal

troops and strengthened them with underworld thugs recruited by the secret societies.

Before dawn on April 12 they fell upon the unprepared worker pickets defending the headquarters of the General Labour Union, and other working class organisations and massacred them.

(One of the few pickets to escape was Chou-En-lai the future Prime Minister).

The General Labour Union then foolishly called a protest demonstration which resulted in 300 being machine-gunned.

This was the start of a reign of terror in Shanghai in which many thousands lost their lives.

The General Labour Union was dissolved and a state controlled "Workers Trade Alliance" set up in its place.

The Comintern was now forced to admit Chiang's treachery. But it still refused to admit that its policy of a bloc with the Chinese bourgeoisie was wrong.

In Stalin's eyes, the events in Shanghai confirmed that a revolution led by the working class was not on the cards and that a sympathetic bourgeois China was the best that the Soviet Union could hope for.

He therefore instructed the CP to form an alliance with the left KMT.

Only the left opposition was still insisting on the possibility and necessity of a socialist revolution.

To this end the CP agreed to the disarmament of worker pickets in Wuhan.



Students and workers protest against imperialist domination

To prove their case they pointed to the development of the peasant and workers' movement in West Central China.

This area was still controlled by the left Kuomintang, and the Communists themselves were struggling to hold back the mass movement.

If they had adopted an independent socialist policy even at this late hour, there was a possibility they could have turned back the tide of reaction that was about to overwhelm them.

The left KMT were caught between fear of the mass movement and fear of Chiang Kai-shek. Their response was to try a series of deals with various Northern Chinese warlords.

When these warlords deserted them for their natural ally Chiang, these 'lefts' had to make their final choice.

And there was really no choice for them. They came from the propertied classes, and the mass movement challenged the right of property. Within two months of the Shanghai coup the left KMT had decided to expel the Communists and destroy the labour movement in Wahan.

In a further month they accepted formally the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek.

Meanwhile the mass movement had been left leaderless as the Communists counselled moderation and compromise in the face of the terror campaign that was unleashed by the bourgeoisie.

Only then, when the whole of Central China was under reactionary control did the Communists plan a series

of ultra-left uprisings.

All of these ended in bloody defeats.

The last and bloodiest defeat was at Canton. As has been described above, Canton was subjected to a military dictatorship after Chiang's coup there in March 1926.

The workers' organisations had been all but destroyed there. Without the support of the mass of the workers, the Communists now organised an uprising of 3,000 supporters in the city and proclaimed a socialist commune.

Retaken

Within two days, the city was retaken by the Kuomintang with 6,000 killed.

Summing up the events of 1925 to 1927, it is clear that the possibilities of establishing a working class leadership in the struggle against imperialism existed.

Given a bold independent leadership and programme, the tens of millions of peasants and workers brought into action during the revolution would have made the establishment of a bourgeois regime impossible and would have gone on to confront the task of establishing a socialist state.

As it was, the social tension in the Chinese countryside over the land question was so intense that the Kuomintang's rule was always unstable.

It would only be maintained by constant terror and support from imperialism.



The execution of communists after the Canton uprising of 1927

The Communists were told to try and hold back the peasants from land seizure because this would undermine the unity of the Kuomintang.

Chiang Kai-shek had no illusions of unity. On March 20 1926 he arrested all Soviet advisors and Communists holding important positions.

Disarmed

He occupied the headquarters of the Canton-Hongkong strike committee and disarmed the pickets. He then called a conference of the Kuomintang to recognise his victory.

The Communists were told they could remain in the Kuomintang only if they accepted certain conditions.

them that it would be wrong to leave the Kuomintang. He argued that the conflict could be put off until the Northern expedition had brought new masses into action.

So the Comintern proceeded to cover up all news of the coup for over a year.

Nevertheless Trotsky and the opposition had considered the situation and were now recommending withdrawal from the Kuomintang.

Canton was placed under a military dictatorship which eventually ended the strike with no concessions from the British. Meanwhile the Northern expedition went from one triumph to another.

The combination of a disciplined army and the mass mobilisation of workers and peasants was irresistible. By

But the defeat of the working class in 1927 left an imprint on China and on the Chinese Communist Party which lasts to this day.

In April 1927, the CCP had 60,000 members of whom 30,000 were workers. A year later half the members had been killed, and there were only 3,000 workers left in the party and not a single functioning industrial cell.

The first signs of a return of political activity in the working class were in 1961 during the 'Cultural Revolution' and these were quickly crushed.

This retreat from an active part in the overthrow of imperialism enabled the Stalinist leadership of the CCP to pursue a policy of strengthening their own state at the expense of international revolution and of their own working class.

Crushing blow

On the international scale the defeat in China dealt a crushing blow to the hopes of spreading the Russian revolution.

It thereby weakened Trotsky and the left opposition, although their analysis had been correct if somewhat belated, it strengthened Stalin and made more certain the triumph of fascism in Germany.

It inaugurated a period of two decades of the most crushing defeats ever suffered by the international working class.

Such are the penalties for wrong alliances and wrong policies in a period of revolution.

IN REVIEW

KOLLONTAI: LOVE AND MARRIAGE

PRU CHAMBERLAYNE reviews 'Love of Worker Bees' by Alexandra Kollontai, republished in a new edition by Virago Books.

Kollontai wrote these three stories in 1920-23. Her aim was to propagandise in simple terms her ideas on the dilemmas facing women revolutionaries in love and marriage.

She hoped to strengthen women in their struggle for emancipation and in their forging of a 'new morality'.

The rallying cry at the end of *Vasilisa Malygina*, the longest story is

'We must live! . . . Live and work, work and fight, live and love life . . .'

It is only by throwing over the shackles of her marriage that Vasilisa can rediscover her revolutionary spirit and zest for activity.

Castigated

Even when it was published in 1923 *Love of Worker Bees* was regarded dubiously as being pre-occupied with sexual matters.

By the 1930s it was positively castigated as 'petty bourgeois decadence'.

It was undoubtedly not simply that the stories revolve around delightful, passionate and tortured love relationships that came to bother the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Rather it is the fact that the models described are women who come to realise that their initiative and dependence is being stifled and sapped by the jealous emotional bonds of marriage and who turn instead to the collective for support with childrearing and for warmth and comradeship.

Restoration

This ran counter to the Stalinist objective of restoration of the family.

So undoubtedly the vivid depictions of incipient opportunism and bureaucratism were also seen as intolerable by the Stalinists.

Much of the appeal of the book lies in its portrayal of everyday life in the 1920s in the USSR, the immense possibilities and the immense dangers in the battle between the bourgeois and proletarian social orders. Personal conflicts reflect these wider social conflicts.

Committed

All the leading women in the stories are committed party activists. It was a joy in shared political work and mutual admiration which

attracted them to their lovers in the first place.

Invariably when revolutionary activity allowed a more settled existence traditional 'husband' expectations would emerge.

Vasilisa who has longed to be with Vladimir for months and months eventually leaves her exhausting but exciting work in setting up a housing commune to join him at his post in the provinces.

Absorb

There she is appalled to find that her ex-anarchist, Bolshevik activist husband, now director of a firm, has become totally absorbed in trade and business, has embraced NEP policies as an end in themselves rather than as a means to an end, and uses his party connections opportunistically.

He has acquired a large house and fitted it out luxuriously, employs servants expects Vasilisa to run the house and organise the enter-

tainment of his business associates as 'the director's wife', and also keeps a bourgeois and decorative mistress.

Cynicism and privilege flourish under NEP and so does bureaucracy in the the contradiction being that strict bureaucratic discipline is in some sense necessary in order to control the resurgence of arrogant capitalist tendencies.

Soon Vasilisa has involved herself in organising poorly paid women workers in a mat factory and she even lands up helping her husband's loaders to win better conditions.

In this work she meets party activists whom she respects, most particularly a woman, Lisa, who has recently left her husband and re-emerged into political life, who cannot understand why Vasilisa tolerates her position.

Embedded

For Vasilisa it takes a long time to realise the extent of her own depression and



Kollontai

inactivity.

So deeply embedded in her mind is the image of Vladimir as an active revolutionary, and so deep does her attachment to him run that she constantly tries to convince herself that that happiness will return.

She takes her own fears and anxieties about him as signs of her own love for him:

'The threads that bound him to her were fine but they were fast and tied so artfully that even Vasya herself had never noticed before how they trapped her'.

In *The Sisters*, too, the husband who originally loves his wife for her strength and activism becomes impatient

with her 'neglect' of household tasks.

He also is a nepman, and as such comes to enjoy his comforts and privileges more than less.

Only the *Three Generations* shows a new woman who manages not to become tied down by love and domestic relationships because she treats sex altogether more casually interpreting 'love' in a more general sense of comradeship and collectivity.

Relationships

This 'new kind' of love is not a developed theme in these stories; it is discussed more fully in some of Kollontai's other writings, where she sees jealous and possessive relationships as a consequence of bourgeois individual property relations.

Collective property relations should lay the material basis for transforming the emotional but this can only be achieved through struggle.

It is this struggle which Kollontai wanted to encourage women to take up, and the liberation she advocated stands out sharply from that sought by petty bourgeois feminists. For it is not personal liberation for personal ends which is sought, but for collective ends.

Struggle

It is only by freeing themselves emotionally that



Stalin (left) in 1926

women can give their full strength to the revolutionary struggle.

It is only because of the gains of the revolution that Vasilisa can rejoice in her pregnancy at the end of the story, knowing that a creche can be established and the child collectively cared for.

But it is only because she has freed herself that she can devote her full energies to her union work, to improving the conditions of women workers—including the creche.

This commitment to socialist ends is what makes this book revolutionary and socialist and by no means petty bourgeois as the Stalinists would have it.



A street market during the NEP period

OUR POLICIES COUNCILS OF ACTION

By John Docherty.

PART 3: After the General Strike

The struggle had been betrayed. The miners were left alone to be driven back to work with longer hours and lower wages.

The members of the councils of action had shown courage and inventiveness as well as enormous potential power.

This potential had not been realised because its

possibility or necessity had not been pointed out.

Political power

There were some ways in which councils of action took over elements of local political power.

Thus besides issuing their own newspapers, they sometimes stopped the distribution of anti-strike papers. Cowdenbeath and



TUC leaders leaving after the sell-out

Newcastle mass picketing gave some control over regular passenger and goods traffic.

Workers defence corps were established in Fife, Cheltenham and St. Pancras.

However at Willesden, Selby and Lincoln such bodies did not see themselves as in opposition to the police, and indeed operated closely with them.

This could not have continued for much longer, however, with police harassment

rapidly increasing in the last days of the strike and with the entire Birmingham Emergency Committee arrested on 12 May.

Had the TUC leaders been serious about the strike and efforts to win it, they could have organised alternative food distribution through the cooperative society.

In a few cases, councils of action worked with these societies, but this was not actively pursued.

The issue of permits was a

less direct way of obtaining control over the distribution of goods.

In many places the movement of scab vehicles was severely limited.

In Edinburgh large numbers of them were impounded so the strike committee got near to being 'practical control of the road traffic' in the city.

The confusion caused Bevin and Thomas with the National Transport Committee meant that the perm-

SWALLOWS AND BOLSHIEVIKS

By DAVID WHITFIELD

Our regular readers may well have difficulty in identifying the English writer who was invited to attend the 1917 Petrograd Soviet from its first meeting; who was detained by the British police as a 'Bolshevik agent' in 1919, and, later that year, arranged the peace negotiations between the Estonian and Bolshevik governments.

The man was Arthur Ransome, who was also a close friend of Karl Radek; his wife Evgenia was Trotsky's secretary, and as a child he had been taught to skate by the Anarchist leader Kropotkin!

Today Arthur Ransome is mainly remembered for his *Swallows and Amazons* series of books for children.

declared that his politics were 'fishing', and this was not bluffing.

It seems unlikely that such an individual could add to our understanding of the Russian Revolution, but, in a small way, he did just that.

Ransome left England for Russia in 1913, to escape from a disastrous marriage and the aftermath of a libel case provoked by his book on Oscar Wilde.

Folklore

This was the first of several visits up to 1928. Although he had gone there to study folklore he became a journalist for the *Daily News* then later for the *Manchester Guardian*.

In his reports to these left-liberal papers, Ransome stressed the colossal effects produced within Russia by the imperialist war, and pointed to the inevitability of revolutionary upsurge.

Later, he was to argue forcibly for recognition of the Bolshevik government, and against any form of imperialist intervention or blockade.

Although he never spoke there, Ransome regularly attended the Petrograd Soviet where he had speaking, but not voting rights.

Ridicule

There he clearly recognised both the power expressed in the form of the Soviet, and the crucial importance of the Bolsheviks.

These insights of course brought him ridicule and suspicion from the British bourgeoisie.

Ransome planned to write a history of the revolution, but the Soviet secret police removed most of his material—an event which, remarkably, he seems to have understood

as justified under the circumstances, and he returned to Russia in 1919.

His aim was to counter bourgeois propaganda for military intervention by revealing the truth of what was happening inside Russia.

The result was a short book, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*, which immediately became a bestseller.

Impressions

The book is not an analysis of the new revolutionary state, but a collection of shrewd and accurate impressions.

Ransome describes domestic and street scenes in Moscow and Petrograd, and relates interviews with a wide range of Russians, including Lenin and Bukharin.

In his own words, what emerges is

'That extraordinary vitality which obstinately persists in Moscow even in these dark days of discomfort, disillusion, pestilence, starvation and unwanted war'.

The revolutionary reconstruction of Russian society was being obstructed by war, with poverty, and political reaction as constant enemies.

Above all, Ransome was impressed by the response of the workers to this situation—the co-operation with which they united to overcome these problems.

Knowing that their leaders shared the same food and the same housing conditions, they could at the very least agree with the chambermaid who said "that there was not enough to eat, but that she felt freer!".

Advantages

Others of course were more conscious of the revolutionary war in which they were engaged. Such was



Ransome

Pavlovich, President of the Committee of State Constructions, who talked about the immense military advantages possessed by the counter-revolutionary white armies.

'And yet we win. Why? Because from every town we capture we get new strength. And any town they take is a source of weakness to them, one more town to garrison and hold against the wishes of the population!'.

Technology

The book details the workings of the housing committees and the factory councils. It also shows the attempts made to convince peasants of the advantages of new technology, as again in the talk with Pavlovich:

'The local inhabitants, partly, no doubt, under the influence of our political opponents, were extremely hostile with regard to the building of the power station, simply because they did not understand it.

I went there myself, and explained to them what it would mean, that their river would become a rich river, that they would be able to get cheap power for all sorts of works, and that they would have electric light in all their houses.

Then they carried me shoulder-high through the village, and sent telegrams to Lenin, to Zinoviev, to everybody they could think of, and since then we have had nothing but help from them'.

But what comes over most strongly is the quality which dominates the great film of early Soviet cinema—the revolutionary ardour of the Russian workers.

Ransome does not avoid direct political comment altogether. In a brief account he sharply exposes the weaknesses of the opposition parties—the left Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and right Social Revolutionaries—and shows how the last two hoped to mobilise the peasantry against the Bolsheviks.

His own support for the Bolsheviks was entirely based in his recognition that the party held the support of the vast majority of the population because it offered, and was prepared to fight for policies that could fulfil their demands and aspirations.

This was not just their heroism at points of great challenge, but the enthusiasm shown in every moment of their daily life, as in this description:

'there are many classes for working men, designed to

give the worker a general scientific knowledge of his own trade and so prevent him from being merely a machine carrying out a single uncomprehended process.

The workers crowd to these courses. One course, for example, is attended by a thousand men, in spite of the appalling cold of the lecture rooms'.

Ransome's partial but accurate insights were the product of a shrewd materialism which enabled him to perceive the forces shaping history, even if he could not analyse them.

At the same time his humanism, and genuine concern for the political ideals of the one-time revolutionary bourgeoisie, gave him the ability to respect the liberty, equality and fraternity gained in the struggles of the Russian workers.

It was for these qualities that Lenin told Ransome, laughingly, that he had 'more or less succeeded in understanding what they were at' and that Lenin would be 'pleased to see him again'.

Because they knew he would present an honest and sympathetic report, the Bolsheviks invited Ransome to extend his stay and sit in on the meetings which were to become the founding conference of the Third International.

Conversations

Ransome admitted that as the only non-communist who attended these meetings, he gave a sketchy and disappointing report in the end.

But the core of the book is the conversations with those figures involved in building a socialist society. Its value is not as a source of hidden information, but as a record of the enthusiasm and dedication with which they confronted the massive problems in their path.

Six Weeks in Russia in 1919 is very difficult to obtain now, but the sales of Ransome's other books may persuade some publisher to re-issue it in the near future.

Until that happens, it's worth trying to find the *Autobiography of Arthur Ransome* in a local library.

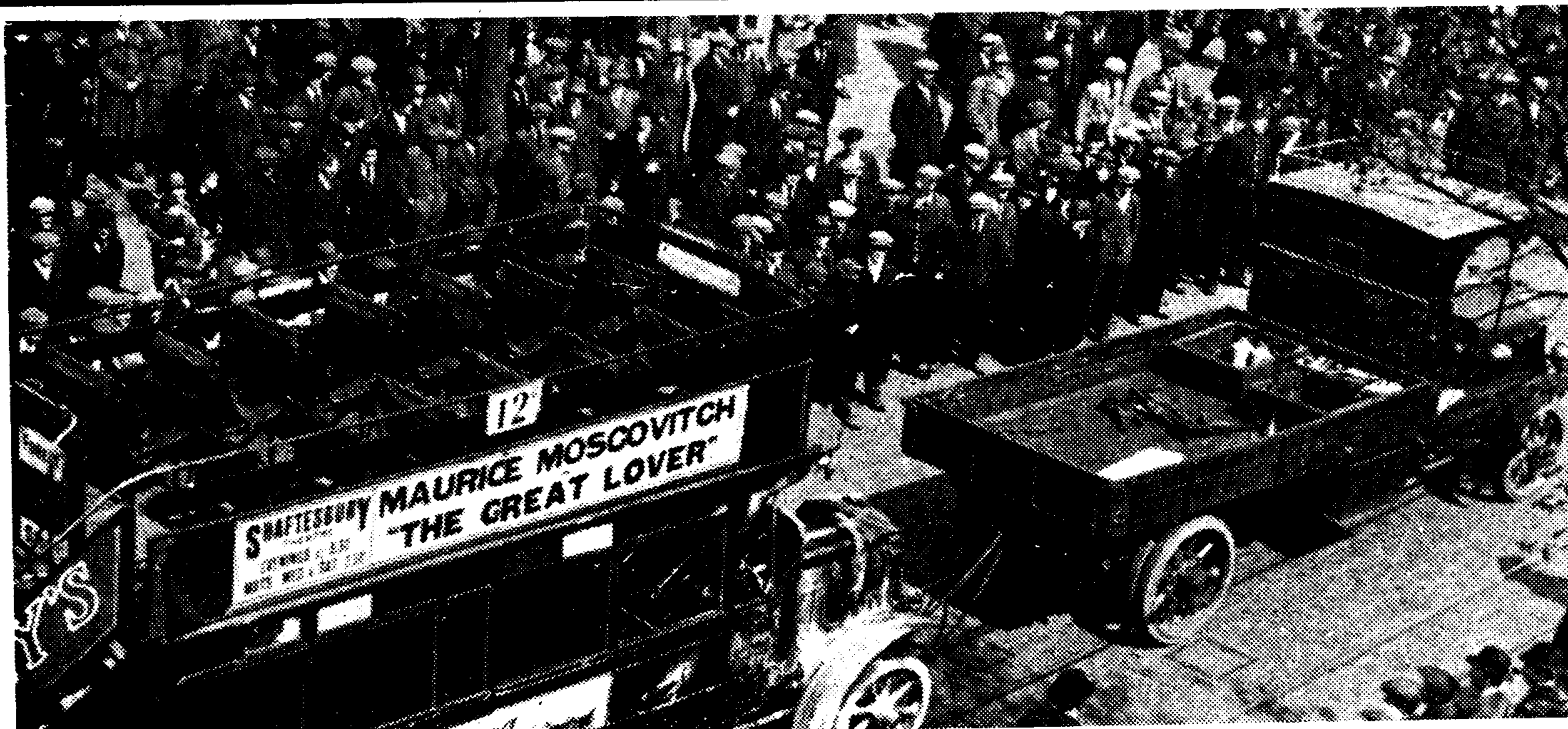
A large part of that later book is taken up with Ransome's visits to Russia, and the relevant chapters throw an interesting side-light on the early development of the Soviet Union.



Radek

For all their many strengths, these books were very obviously not written by a revolutionary socialist.

Ransome was no communist—when questioned by the British police, he



Bus immobilised by strikers is towed away

system had broken down by the end of the first week in any case.

In Newcastle the local strike-breaking authorities were compelled to negotiate with the Council of Action about the unloading of goods on the docks.

Infringement

Although this was raised in Parliament as an infringement of governmental authority, no agreement was ever actually made and blacklegs

continued to work on the docks until the end of the strike.

After the strike was over the Comintern issued a statement about its development which included the following statement:

"The Councils of Action organised by the trade unions actually developed into District Soviets. The Departments organised by the General Council already resembled in their structure and functions, the departments of the St Petersburg

Soviet in the period of the so-called 'dual power' (February-November 1917)".

This point represented the opinion of the Stalin faction of the Comintern that the TUC leaders were capable themselves of fighting for power without any alternative coming from within the working class movement itself.

It was reflected in the slogan put forward in Britain by the Communist Party itself calling for "All Power to the General Council".

The Communist Party, under the tutorship of Stalin, completely failed to do this.

In the last party publication before the strike, the *Workers Daily* of 3 May, the councils of action were told they 'should not take over any of the duties which ordinarily belong to the Trade Unions'.

In the Party's *Bulletin* issued the following day, it was said that:

Unconcerned

"All it needs now is for every man to stand fast and the fight is won".

R. Page Arnot, a leading CP member a short time before released from prison was active in setting up a Joint Strike Committee in Northumberland and Durham.

He said at the same time that he was unconcerned:

"... with any wider horizons, but simply with our limited objective".

This was a disastrous attitude. Only at the very end did the CP begin to fight for a definite line within the strike.

Meetings

The day after it was called off they advocated emergency meetings of councils of action and the day after that a national meeting of council of action representatives to

consider 'the question of changing the leadership of the labour movement'.

Hindsight

Only some weeks later did a pamphlet issued by the CP set out the issues more clearly.

It was, they said with hindsight:

"... not enough for the workers to give greater powers to the General Council or the local Trades Councils acting under the General Council. It was necessary to go beyond this to the defeat of the labour bureaucracy".

The Communist Party was unable to learn from these errors and develop in a revolutionary direction.

Assimilate

It is up to the Trotskyist movement today to assimilate these experiences and to bring them into the struggle for alternative leadership in the workers' movement.

The call for councils of action has again begun to get a response within the struggle against the Lib-Lab coalition and its wage-cutting policies.

The problems political, theoretical and practical which necessarily follow can only be solved if we assimilate in a living way the historical experiences described in this article.

DARLINGTON: A CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

Darlington was not simply the NUJ's longest ever strike. It contained within it a distillation of the problems, confusion, strengths and weaknesses that have confounded the journalists' union over the past decade.

The eight month strike for a closed shop by 106 journalists in Darlington and Durham epitomised the limits of trade union militancy and posed in a classic form the crisis of leadership facing the working class.

Starting from a straightforward trade union demand, the strike brought to a head the evident refusal of print union leaders to lead any fight bigger than a skirmish against the employers. It brought them into a conspiracy with the employers and ACAS against the NUJ membership and print union supporters and it exposed the weakness and vacillation of the militants on the NUJ Executive.

Demand

Closed shops have been official NUJ policy for more than 40 years. The demand has occupied the centre of the stage for NUJ members over the past five years, largely through the growth of the management sponsored Institute of Journalists: and through the campaign waged by the newspaper owners over the Bill introduced after the return of the Labour Government to scrap the Industrial Relations Act.

Few managements were more prominent in this campaign than Westminster Press—the owners of the *Northern Echo* and other Darlington and Durham newspapers.

When the NUJ struck for three days in 1973 for the right to put in local claims, Westminster Press circulated members of the NUJ who were moving into the bottom rungs of management and made them an offer it judged they could hardly refuse.

Guarantees

If they chose to work through the strike the management would guarantee that they would not lose out by any union action taken against them afterwards.

Many of the most servile elements opted for a future of secure promotion by leaving the union.

Overnight the advocates of cowardice and surrender turned into men and women of principle fighting for their right to remain outside the NUJ.

The IOJ became a safety net. At one and the same time it was a registered trade union which might give the illusion of shelter, and an organisation so deferential to management that membership would be no barrier to promotion.

It was against this background that journalists on the *Northern Echo*, the *Evening Dispatch*, the *Durham Advertiser* series of weeklies and the *Darlington and Stockton Times*, declared a post entry closed shop in the summer of 1976.

Management signed nothing but after a

accept the position and gave a verbal assurance that the policy would not be broken.

But if the local North of England newspapers favoured collaboration, their bosses on the board of Westminster Press in London were not so conciliatory. The *Northern Echo* is one of the few morning papers outside the big centres of Fleet Street, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow.

If the precious star of the Westminster Press empire could establish a closed shop which could combat the low wages, what hope was there to resist throughout the chain of provincial papers up and down the country?

In April 1977 the firm hired Josephine Kirk-Smith—an anti union fanatic—as a sub editor on the *Echo* and the chapel was on course for a strike.

It started on June 3 1977 after print union leaders had succeeded in stalling it off for one week.

The bureaucracies of the NUJ and the print unions differ in an important way. The NGA, NATSOPA, SOGAT and SLADE have decades of established bureaucratic control.

The authority of the leadership has become a crippling barrier to any autonomy by the membership.

Resolution

When the Westminster Press NGA group chapel passed a resolution expressing support for the spreading of the Darlington strike, the executive ignored it. Officially the group chapel did not exist in the union structure.

The NUJ by contrast—though beset with leaders as capable of betrayal as the print unions—is not anywhere near so heavily bureaucratized.

Membership

The problem then for the print leaders was that the NUJ membership did not have the same subjugation to bureaucracy that they have come to expect outside Fleet Street from their own members.

When Bill Keys, general secretary of SOGAT and head of the Printing Industries Committee of the TUC, heard that the national executive of the NUJ had refused to accept his sell-out, he dem-

anded angrily to know when they would grow up. If that expresses the contempt that Keys has for principle, then the fact that the NUJ stand lasted just one week demonstrates how weak and vacillating was the opposition.

Social Democrat

The local leadership at Darlington was a strike committee which contained individuals close to the SWP and to the Communist Party.

But the Father of the Chapel (FoC), Mike Duggan, is a social democrat who had been elected immediately before the management assault on the chapel's closed shop declaration.

Throughout the dispute Duggan and the other local leaders held the membership united in a way which is unprecedented in a long NUJ dispute.

But Duggan and his strike committee remained wedded firmly to the concept of a successful local action. Formally the Darlington chapel supported a call from the Westminster Press Group Chapel (representing all papers in the group) to escalate the strike throughout the group. In reality Duggan was frightened that any extension of the strike would sabotage the unity of the chapel.

For the same reason he was unable to confront the print union leadership in a direct way. The strike committee insisted that these leaders must not be 'antagonised' and that progressive elements within the NGA Executive (in fact the Executive is composed entirely of right wingers and Stalinists) were determined that the strike would be won.

For this reason lobbies of the PIC were called off or watered down and the chapel agreed to cancel a mass picket in Darlington for fear of offending Bill Keys.

The unity of the chapel,



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report
Mike Duggan, NUJ President John Devine, Ken Morgan and Darlington picket

therefore expressed both the strengths and weakness. The weakness was that no alternative leadership able to confront these questions emerged.

When the strike began in June the printers continued to cross the picket lines. A series of mass pickets were called in which NUJ members were arrested by the dozen as scab drivers were piloted through the pickets by police.

Print union leaders began complaining about 'another Grunwick'.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report
Joe Wade

After stalling off support for a month with hopeless talks with the employers, the Printing Industries Committee finally sanctioned supporting action by Darlington printers from the beginning of August and North of England Newspapers stopped publication.

NUJ members in Westminster Press head office in London had been on strike since the beginning of the Darlington dispute.

Members there, faced with the choice of strike breaking by having their copy wired to Darlington or being locked out, struck.

Joe Wade interviewed outside a PIC meeting by TV declared belligerently that if Westminster Press did not give way, the whole group would be shut down.

At the same time as Wade was threatening to shut down the group, he was allowing members at London to

continue to scab on the London members' much more difficult strike without lifting a finger to stop it. 'In every war there are casualties' was his cynical reply to NUJ protests.

By August it was clear that support had built up in most major offices for an escalation which, with print union support, would have overwhelmed Westminster Press resistance.

To survive with a cluster of papers shut down was painful but bearable. To have every major evening and weekly paper in the group closed would have been too much even for WP's fat reserves.

Critics of the policy of escalation have said that it could not guarantee success and that the NUJ could not afford to risk escalation without a guarantee of print support.

That entirely evades the question. The safe 'united' approach was guaranteed to fail and everyone knew it.

Escalation

The only way to win was by escalation, and since the print union leaderships were determined to stop this happening, the escalation could only come from the NUJ alone—linked to a fight to get printers out alongside afterwards.

Many print chapels had expressed support and the NGA Group Chapel had also expressed support.

The Executives of the print union instructed them to work normally.

There is no question but that the workers in Westminster Press had and have the organised strength to bring the employer to its knees. The only question was of leadership willing to take the only road that could lead there.

No attempt to remove such a well established bureaucratic block can be guaranteed success in advance. It can however be guaranteed to fail if no attempt is made.

At the TUC in September, print leaders met with Morgan, the employers and Jim Mortimer of ACAS in secret. The outcome was a proposal to demolish the strike by sending it to ACAS with the strikers back at work.

Seeing the main danger as being the return to work both the Darlington and London chapels voted to accept arbitration in principle with no return to work.

One vote

A Group Chapel leaflet *Yes to Talks, No to Compromise* handed out to NEC members said:

"To compromise on the basic principles is a policy of despair which is not present in the chapels. The aim of the NEC must be to win these disputes".

By one vote the NEC took its most militant position during the entire strike, and supported these demands.

One week later this stand was ended. Under threat from Wade and Keys it climbed down.

Bill Keys abandoned the

became clear that his manoeuvre had not succeeded. But although the PIC had pulled out (and NATSOPA members went back to work) both the NGA and SLADE aware that ACAS had offered nothing to the strikers could not see an easy way to sell a return to work to their members.

Stalled off

Spreading the strikes was stalled off from week to week. Chapels ready to come out began to get demoralised. For a period of six weeks they remained on the verge of one of the biggest strikes ever to be fought against a major employer.

When that strike did not begin the steam inevitably began to go out of the support.

By allowing the dispute to go to ACAS the chapels had avoided the immediate danger of a return to work.

But, once ACAS had become involved, print union leaders—with co-operation from first Ken Morgan, and then his successor Ken Ashton—were able to prevent the strike spreading.

ACAS was not a tactical question. It was one of principle.

Excluded

Three months later more talks followed between NGA, NUJ, SLADE leaders and the employers, and for the first time chapel representatives were excluded.

The ACAS plan was trotted out again and put back to the chapel and was again rejected.

But this time Wade declared that the plan had been a joint union/management initiative and that his members would return to work.

Despite Ken Ashton's protests that he had only helped word the plan, not agreed it, the printers went back supporting the same sell-out they had already rejected once.

Mass turnout

On the very day that this was decided the NUJ Executive called for escalation.

The result was not surprising. A mass turnout at a Group Chapel meeting rejected escalation two weeks before Christmas with the guarantee of NGA scabbing.

It took eight months for the leadership to bring Darlington members to the point where they returned to work and not much less than that to break the resolve of other journalists in London and potential support all over the country.

The need for a leadership based on a revolutionary understanding of the nature of bureaucracy and the way to confront it was raised in the sharpest possible way throughout the strike.

In other groups closed shops were being conceded without a fight. It is not the demand that the NUJ Executive needs to look at.

It is the building of a leadership prepared to tackle the real questions raised by it.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

BLACK THE SWAN HUNTER SHIPS

Grunwick diversion: blacking only way

A Private Members Bill sising out of the Grunwick dispute, which seeks to inject some life into the Government's badly leashed 'conciliation' device, was accorded a second reading last day 20 January.

Introduced by old-time Labour MP Ted Fletcher (Lambington) with the blessing of the Employment Department and the full backing of the TUC, the Bill is designed to help ACAS conduct its investigations without hindrance from stubborn employers, court decisions or helpful delays.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Grantham

The sponsor of the motion won't be a new name to readers of Socialist Press. Only last week we reported

that it was in his constituency that journalists on the Northern Echo were driven back to work after the longest strike in the history of the NUJ.

The strike over basic trade union rights was only defeated by the combined onslaught of employers, trade union bureaucrats, ACAS and last but not least, Ted Fletcher himself.

Hypocritical

In a speech which must rank as one of the most hypocritical and obscure ever to get an airing in the Commons gallery, Fletcher told his audience how his Bill would be a positive response to 'those millions of trade unionists appalled with what has gone on at Grunwick backed by the NAFF'.

Barbara Castle, former Labour employment Secretary also chipped in to say that she hoped the Bill would deal with the 'other mini Grunwicks cropping up in my constituency'.

For APEX leader Grantham and his followers on Brent Trades Council, its purpose is clear.

As it gets dragged through the maze of parliamentary debating chambers, the strikers are left waiting still longer for action to achieve the demands for which they have been on strike now for over eighteen months.

Little opposition

That Grantham has managed to regain control over the strike committee is clear. Strike committee bulletins are now published under APEX letterheads and the committee's offices are littered with APEX pamphlets titled APEX Looks After You designed to be handed out to the scabs.

Picketing is now taking place only in the mornings. Little opposition has been shown by the strikers against the path to final betrayal being opened up by APEX.

The WSL, unlike almost every left group, reasserts that this strike is not over. It can and must be won.

To do that a sharp break must first be made from the bureaucracy, and the strikers must turn back to calls for direct action from workers who supply the scab firm with its essential services.

Stalinists scab again

In a further round of brazen blacklegging, Stalinist leaders at Govan shipbuilders are to accept work on three further ships for Poland, formerly allocated to the Swan Hunter yard on Tyneside.

Govan stewards first nailed their yellow colours to the mast in December when they voted not to black work that had been diverted from Tyneside as a result of a continuing overtime ban by 1,700 outfitters at the Swan Hunter yard.

Instead they called on the outfitters to end their 3-month struggle.

And Stalinist convenor Jimmy Airlie declared that Govan would accept as many ships as the employers offered in order to 'prove that the British shipbuilder is second to none'.

Even this strikebreaking

by the Govan stewards—indicating that a Stalinist blackleg is second to none—failed to crack the determination of the outfitters in pursuing parity claim. It was only ended when a £5.40 pay increase was awarded.

But boilermakers at the yard, in a bid to reestablish their differentials, voted immediately after this to end more flexible working arrangements, and insist on one-man-one-job working.

British shipbuilders management—the board of which contains 'Brother' John Chalmers, General Secretary of the Boilermakers union—

immediately stepped in and withdrew the order, awarding most of it to the bootlicking Govan Stalinists, and one extra ship order to Smith's Docks on Teeside.

If this move is allowed to proceed it will mean rapid steps by Swan Hunter management to impose 800 redundancies, including many boilermakers.

Occupation

There must be no acceptance of such sackings. Boilermakers and outfitters, whatever their feelings on wages, must unite in defence of all jobs at the Swan Hunter yard, and the first attempts at layoffs must be met by occupation of the yard, demanding work sharing on full pay for the whole workforce.

They must fight tenaciously for the blacking of all work diverted from Tyneside to defeat management's black-mailing tactics on pay.

'Nationalised'

But above all they must ensure that their unions, at present tied hand and foot to management through the collaboration of leaders such as Chalmers, break from their efforts to help the old bosses manage the 'nationalised' corporation, and start fighting for the interests of their members.

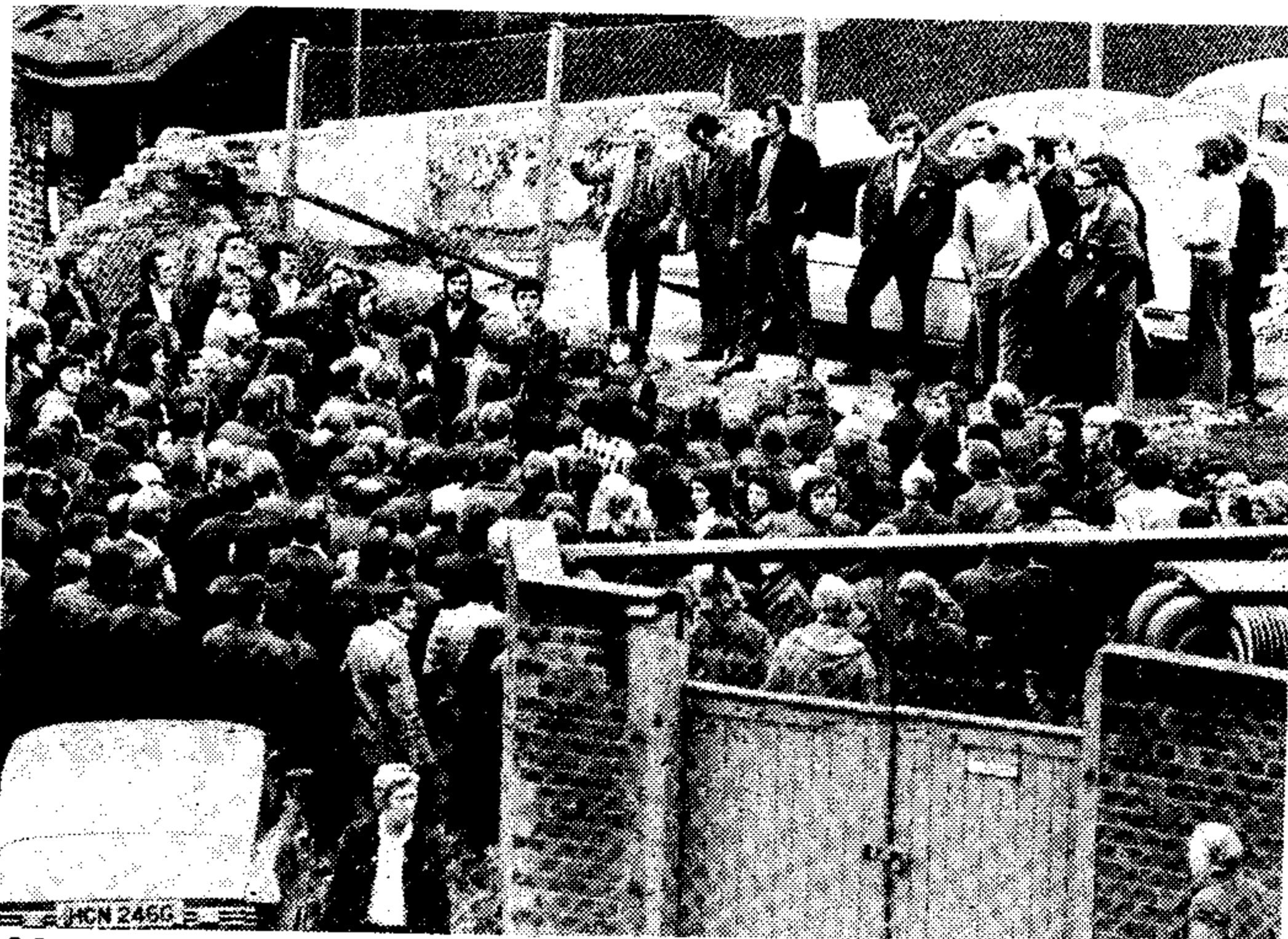


PHOTO: Ray Smith, IFL

Mass meeting at Swan Hunters

What has Leyland got to hide?

documents in the possession of 'Socialist Challenge', paper of the International Marxist Group, would prove to be genuine, they would seem to provide new evidence of bribery and corruption within British Leyland.

Legal difficulties and an action from the Department of Public Prosecutions prevented the IMG from publishing the full text of the documents.

British Leyland management do not doubt attempt to contest authenticity as they have with the documents revealed in the Daily Mail last year.



Edwardes

committees which will fight for access to the full accounts of Leyland, and all available information on its relationship with dealers and component suppliers.

This information will soon show whether these documents are genuine or not. And it will also show the need for the nationalisation of the motor industry as a whole as part of a planned socialist economy.

While doubts linger over these 'leaked' documents, Oxford CID have (not surprisingly) failed to come up with any clues on the theft of trade union and personal files from Cowley steward Alan Thornett early last month.

at the issue for Leyland cannot be settled in this. Whose word have we? These documents are fake or real thing?

bribery is not used in foreign contracts, and if 'ush fund' exists, why does Leyland throw its books open for independent examination?

ade unionists, now under threats that Leyland boss Edwardes is planning sackings, must put an end to all forms of secrecy and back-talk.

ey must elect trade union

Weighell bid to sell rail jobs

The right wing leadership of the National Union of Railwaymen that has tamely sat back while 10,000 British Rail jobs have been axed over the last two years, made a 'left' speech last week.

In a carefully-timed curtain raiser to a planned sell-out of the union's 63% pay claim fixed at last summer's conference, General Secretary Sidney Weighell demanded British Rail fill an astonishing 9,000 vacant posts.

In the meantime, announced Weighell, the NUR's cringing cooperation on money-saving measures will be ended.

British Rail management will scarcely be shaking in

their shoes as a result of Weighell's threats. They claim that changed working practices, agreed by union bureaucrats, have actually abolished a large number of the 'vacancies' he wants filled.

Weighell has no intention of mobilising action to preserve or reopen these jobs. Rather he is aiming to use further agreed job cuts as a bargaining counter in an effort to push British Rail to concede pay increases in excess of 10%.

NUR members in freight handling have already seen whole sections of road haul-

age drivers receive rises above the 10% limit, and are pressing for similar treatment.

But if Weighell's strategy continues unimpeded many NUR members will be receiving their cards rather than a limit-busting pay increase.

Railwaymen must insist that vacant jobs are filled.

But this is linked to rejecting all forms of productivity dealing, and insistence that the full pay claim is backed up by all-out action.

Only when basic pay rates are adequate to ensure decent living standards will the fight to end rest-day and overtime working reach full strength.



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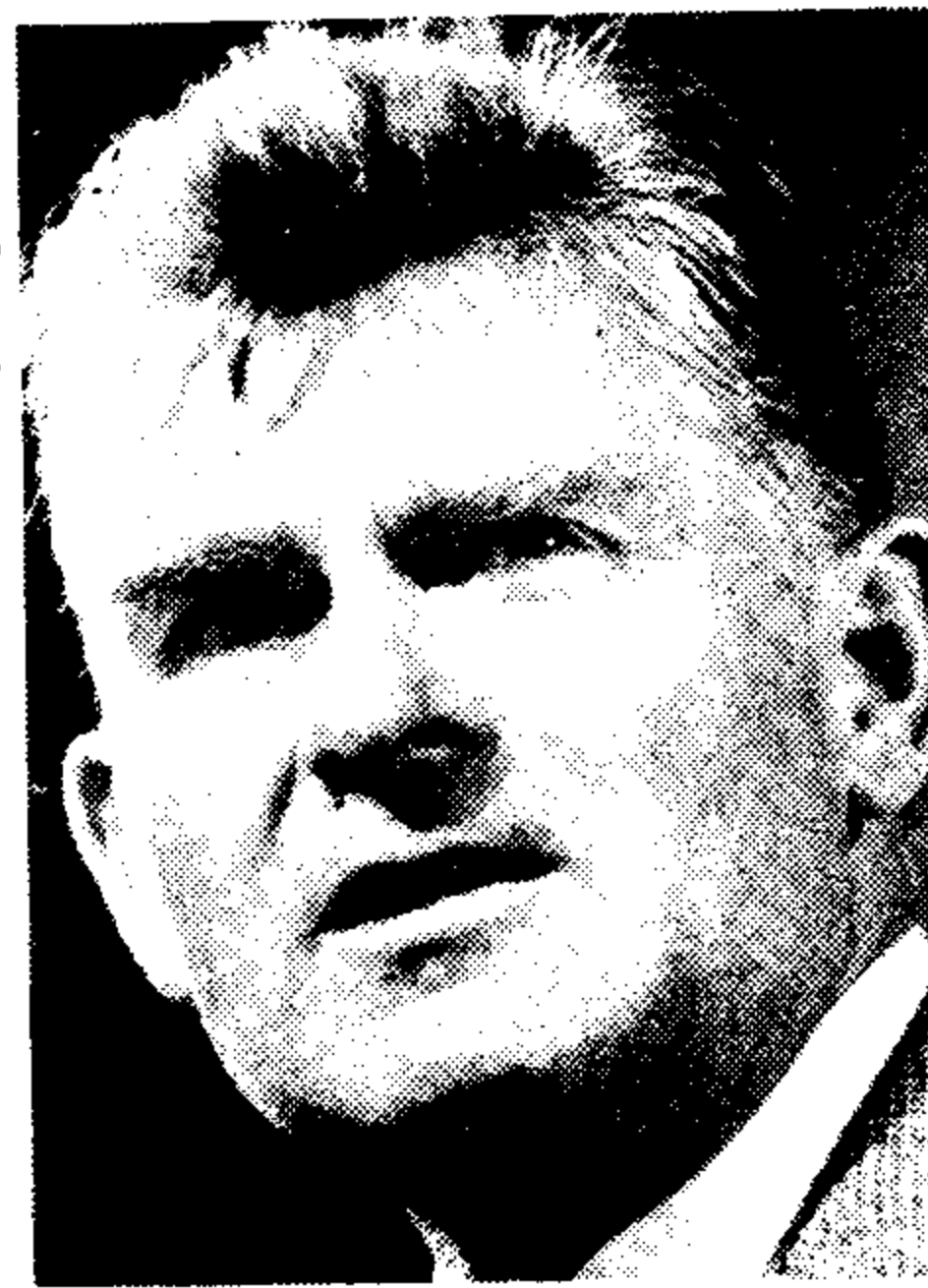
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STEEL JOBS MUST NOT BE SOLD!

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



Steel union boss Sirs

The utterly predatory nature of the Zionist state of Israel was clearly indicated in the breakdown of the Egypt-Israel talks during last week.

The 'peace initiative' taken by President Sadat just two months ago was designed in the first place to draw attention away from the social crisis in Egypt itself.

Sadat then hoped by the use of his friendship with the US to at least stop the occupation of his own country and to obtain at least some status for a tiny puppet state for the Palestinians.

In return for this, Sadat has been offering "secure boundaries" to the Zionists, and possibly international guarantees against further efforts to undermine the Zionist state.

Pressure

He hoped that he could use imperialist pressure to isolate the Palestinians and secure the agreement of the different Arab states in the area.

These hopes have foundered because the Zionist settlers are not seriously interested in being recognised by their neighbours, and do not intend to make the slightest territorial concessions.

They are prepared to resist even strong pressure from the Americans in order to retain their racially exclusive state.

A series of statements made by Israeli Prime Minister Begin during last week, on one occasion during a dinner for the Egyptian Foreign Minister, clearly revealed the utterly reactionary character of Zionism.

Granted by God

The state of Israel had existed, according to Begin, for 3,700 years, and this "had been granted by God to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob".

State power with credentials like these hardly needs serious justification for its predatory activities.

The Zionists genuinely cannot understand how the Egyptians, or for that matter the Jordanians, can deny Israel's right to hold settlements on their territories.

Even the *Times* of 20 January was driven to observe that:

"Mr Begin shows that he believes Israel can have her cake and eat it, can have both territories and peace".

The question goes much beyond this however. The Zionist state can only exist by denying national rights.

This is why Begin compared the national rights claimed by the Palestinians with the nationalist claims of the Nazis.

Threadbare

This tired old equation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism becomes increasingly threadbare, but the Zionists will always trot it out to justify their every crime.

The Israeli state by its very essence denies national rights, not only to Palestinian Arabs but also to Palestinian Jews.

Only its destruction, together with its allies in the Arab world, will open the road to the liberation of the area from landlordism, feudalism, racialism and class exploitation.

Any "peace negotiations" based on other ideas will deny the national rights of the Palestinians and the democratic rights of all the people of the area.

almost fell over himself pointing out that he was more than ready to cooperate with the other strings BSC wish to attach to a pay deal—including increased productivity at profitable plants and slashed manning levels.

10,000 jobs

Jobs are most at risk in steel plants at East Moors Cardiff, and Ebbw Vale. Closure of these would axe 10,000 jobs and allegedly save BSC £100 million.

But other, unnamed plants are also on BSC's 'death list'. The fanfare surrounding BSC's projection of a loss this year of £520 million has been aimed as much to pile pressure on Bill Sirs and the other union negotiators as to assert the rights of Parliamentary Select Committees.

Sirs has repeatedly in the past shown himself willing to sell the jobs and conditions of his members in the name of the 'viability' of BSC.

Desperate

Now the dangers facing steelworkers are particularly acute as they confront a desperate employer and a completely bankrupt, class collaborating union leadership.

Even as BSC's planned cut-backs were revealed, union bureaucrats were entering into a new extension of



'worker participation' designed to enlist them as direct advocates of management policy.

Not challenged

Sirs has yet to challenge a single one of the monumental assertions by BSC managements as to the financial state of the corporation.

Not a single Labour MP or trade union leader has asked the obvious question: if BSC is losing £520 million per year—where is it all going to? Who profits from BSC losses?

Rather than leaving their leaders to barter huge redundancies for minimal 'concessions' on wages, steel workers must elect committees in order to start a full-scale examination of BSC's books.

The private employers that supply and are supplied by BSC must be examined and publicised. The profits creamed off by the private sector remaining within the steel industry must also be revealed.

The huge interest payments made over to British and international bankers from the labour of steelworkers must be exposed.

On the basis of such information the fight must be taken up for work sharing on full pay to defend all steel

jobs, and for the nationalisation of the whole industry, together with related sectors and the banks, under workers' management.

Such a policy means breaking the anti-socialist Lib-Lab coalition, and the removal of the reactionary leadership within the steel unions and the TUC.

If such a fight is not taken up, then the present 25,000 threatened redundancies will be simply the opening shot of a long drawn out war on jobs throughout the steel industry.

Cowley pulls out of participation

170 TGWU stewards at the British Leyland Cowley Assembly Plant voted overwhelmingly last Monday (23 January) to withdraw from the so-called "worker participation" scheme set up under the Ryder Report.

As the major union on the plant, the TGWU withdrawal will render the remaining committees of little value to the management.

First chance

Today was the first time the stewards have had the chance to vote on participation since it was bulldozed in 2½ years ago.

The decision reflects the change on the plant since the defeat of the right wing in elections last November.

Bob Fryer, the newly elected convenor has re-established democratic procedures and has begun to restore the rights of the shop stewards movement.

READERS' LETTERS
Letters from readers in response to articles contained in Socialist Press or on other topics are welcome. They should, however, be kept as brief as possible. Write to Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill London NW5 1HR.

The decision by British Steel Corporation management to stick rigidly to their derisory 6% pay offer unless union leaders concede 25,000 redundancies is a conscious attempt by employers to profit from the defeat of the firemen's pay battle.

And it indicates also the Lib-Lab government's determination that the nationalised industries—including shipbuilding, steel and the part-nationalised British Leyland—should massively step up the exploitation of their labour force in order to increase the rate of profit for privately owned industries.

No improvement

The major steel union—the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation—was told bluntly last week that unless it accepts early closure of outdated and high cost plants then there will be no improvement in the pay offer.

ISTC leaders had in any case only demanded a pathetic 11.5% increase. And they are now seeking 'clarification' from government axeman Eric Varley before deciding how to answer the management ultimatum.

General Secretary Bill Sirs

Fords stand firm

The strike by 1,000 press men at Ford Halewood is now in its third week.

Management have attempted to introduce speed up by bringing in an hourly quota system instead of a shift quota system.

This would mean that the workforce would have to meet productivity targets at the end of each hour instead of reaching them at the end of each shift.

Speed-up like this would clamp down on the interchangeability of jobs and frequency of breaks.

The men voted solidly to strike and the plant is still closed.

3 ANNIVERSARY OF SOCIALIST PRESS Special meetings

OXFORD
Wednesday 8 February
8.00 pm
East Oxford Community Centre, Princes Street

COVENTRY
Tuesday 7 February
8.00 pm
Old Dyers Arms
Spon End, Coventry

LIVERPOOL
Sunday 12 February
8.00 pm
Mitre, Dale Street

LONDON
Friday 10 February
7.30 pm
New Theatre, LSE
Houghton Street
London WC2
Plus FILM