

GRUNWICK-NO LEGAL WAY TO VICTORY

AFTER 'RED MONDAY', July 11th, when 18,000 trades unionists picketed the Grunwick plant in a massive display of working class solidarity, Friday, July 29th, was indeed a black day for the Grunwick strike. In the space of three hours, the strike suffered a series of bitter blows: the Cricklewood postmen were forced back to work; the Grunwick strikers were pressurized into calling off the August 8th Day of Action, and the Appeal Court, headed by Lord Denning, decided in the company's favour on the question of union recognition.

By Frank Hansen

The next day the 'Sun' proudly proclaimed, "Grunwick Chief's Double Victory", and the rest of the gutter press parroted its approval of the company's triumph in its "battle against union recognition".

No doubt Grunwick boss George Ward spent the weekend laughing his head off. Not only had he secured a decision in the Appeal Court, but, much more importantly, all real pressure on the company - mass picketing and blacking - had been brought to a halt, giving the firm a tremendous boost in its efforts to survive the crucial summer season.

CONSPIRED

"Ward's victory", however, did not result from the activities of Grunwick and their Tory backers. It was won for them by the Labour Government and the trade union bureaucrats, who conspired in a co-ordinated campaign of treachery and sabotage - invoking every dirty trick in the book - in order to whip the strikers and the Cricklewood UPW into line.

Instead of receiving their hardship money as usual, the postmen were summoned to a meeting at Conway Hall where UPW acting-General Secretary, Norman Stagg twisted their arms by threatening to withhold their money and suspend them from the union. The UPW leadership had already been busy isolating the Cricklewood men and making sure their action did not spread. They even collaborated with the Post Office and the Grunwick directors to break the postal boycott by removing 65 mail bags from the sorting office, in order to "clear the bottleneck" and force the post-workers back to work.

Despite this brow-beating the vote was a close one: 51 in favour of "normal working", 48 against. No doubt the decision was tilted by APEX's refusal to back them by replacing their hardship money.

As Colin Moloney, UPW chairman said "Our union leadership has done something that George Ward, John Gorst and the National Association for Freedom failed to

do - we have been forced back".

Nevertheless the situation is ambiguous. While the post-workers will return to work on Sunday July 31st it still remains to be seen whether they will actually handle Grunwick's mail. As they left Brent Trades and Labour Hall, on Friday evening they defiantly proclaimed "we'll be back!".

APEX leader Roy Grantham also used threats and blackmail to cajole the Grunwick strikers into abandoning August 8th. They were told that unless they toed the line their strike pay would be slashed from £35 to £12. Strike leaders were stopped from addressing the meeting in Gujarati. The only person allowed to use this language was a striker who backed Grantham to the hilt.

In a confused and angry meeting the vote in favour of August 8th was narrowly lost. The women, led by Mrs Desai, were the most solid and uncompromising opponents of Grantham's sordid manoeuvres.

The T&GWU leaders also played a small but effective role in the sell-out. The 7 drivers who recently joined the strike had to wait until after the meeting for strike pay since it "did not arrive" at the usual time.

DERAIL

The invisible hand behind this conspiracy to defuse and derail the Grunwick strike is that of the Labour Government. As we pointed out in the last *Chartist*, the Labour leaders aren't interested in winning the strike. Their aim is to "cool down" an "embarrassing situation" in order to placate the Tories at a time when Thatcher and co. are howling for their blood.

According to the Labour leaders their manoeuvres are justified since we must play it the "legal way" and not rock the boat before the Court of Inquiry has reported. In fact, many of the strikers have been conned by Grantham's arguments that the Inquiry is the "best way of winning the dispute". It is nothing of the sort. Grovelling in front of the courts and the legal process, is not a recipe for victory, it is the road to disaster, which can only end in compromise, capitulations and abject surrender.

Even if Scarman favours the strikers,



Home Sec. Merlyn Rees conspired with police and law against strikers led by Mrs Desai (above).



Scarman

Ward has made it quite clear he will not be bound by its findings. Twice during the hearings he stated that the strikers - who he describes as "rioters" - "deserved to be sacked, are sacked and will always be sacked".

Grantham's arguments are nothing but illusions. There is no 'legal road' to victory at Grunwick. There is no law which can force Ward to reinstate those who have been sacked for joining the union, because the law exists not to protect "workers' rights", but to guarantee to bosses the right to make profits.

BRINK

Indeed the strike only reached the brink of victory because the UPW Cricklewood have been prepared to place trade union rights first and challenged the bosses's law, by blacking Grunwick's mail-order work. The Appeal Court decision underlines the fact that only blacking backed up by mass picketing can force the company to its knees and guarantee reinstatement and recognition.

Another illusion which must be challenged is the idea that even if the Court of Inquiry can't win the dispute, it can at least 'help' the struggle. Employment Minister, Albert Booth set the Inquiry up not to help the strike but to derail it. He said quite categorically that one of its main aims was to "cool things down" and "stop the mass picketing".

The Inquiry began when the mass picketing was at its height and there was a possibility that postal blacking might spread nationwide. Scarman gave the impression he would rush out a report that would probably favour the strikers.

Now - when the pressure has been toned down - he is saying that the report will be delayed until the 18th August, and will not contain any recommendations only "findings". Scarman has also decided to investigate whether it was "right" to call mass picketing.

In this context there is not the slightest guarantee that the report will be "favourable". It may come out in favour of "paper recognition" - worthless without reinstatement - plus suggestions for restricting the right to picket.

Even if the report is "favourable", the fact is that the Scarman Inquiry has been the main vehicle the Labour leaders have used to derail the struggle. Black Friday July 29th, was a product of the Court of Inquiry. As Grantham has said, the decision to call off August 8th "followed a request by Lord Scarman, who is making the report, "to cool it".

There is no doubt that the Grunwick strike has suffered a severe setback and there is no doubt who is responsible for this betrayal. Nevertheless, the struggle is far from over and far from lost. July 11th demonstrated that the most advanced sections see the significance of the strike and are prepared to mobilize behind the strike committee when called to do so. The heroic action of the Cricklewood post-workers has shown how the strike can be won. Under the massive pressure of threats, tricks and manoeuvres from the Labour bureaucracy, the strike committee has made mistakes.

HOLLOW

Allowing the TUC and APEX to divert the mass picket into a march around Willesden, made the victory in the morning rather hollow, and paved the way for the defusion of the struggle. However, those on the left who stayed on the picket line and try to substitute themselves for the strike committee and the working class equally made a mistake. The strikers are learning their lessons the hard way and it is our responsibility to stand shoulder to shoulder with them, while arguing for a correct position. In the coming weeks they will need our support more than ever, particularly those who are fighting tooth and nail to convert all the strikers to a

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THE CHARTIST

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PAY RESTRAINT - DEAD IN LETTER, ALIVE IN SPIRIT?

THE RESENTMENT and hostility built up by Phases 1 and 2 of pay restraint have finally led to a majority of TUC affiliated unions rejecting restraint and calling for an "unfettered return to free collective bargaining".

The message of rank and file trade unionists was voiced most strongly at the conferences of the Transport and General Workers and the Mineworkers, where the pendulum swung clearly against any more wage control. In fact, at the TGWU conference, retiring union chief and architect of pay controls, Jack Jones was resoundingly defeated along with the right-wing policy of "an orderly return to free collective bargaining" - a pseudonym for another round of pay restraint.

Workers are now saying 'enough is enough'. Premier Callaghan, in attempting to rescue and resuscitate the old policy in his Commons speech on July 20th, claimed the social contract "is not, and never was, just another word for pay restraint." About the only words of truth he spoke! For many leading militants are now realising that the social contract is also about more unemployment, public spending cuts, wage cuts and uncontrolled inflation, currently running at a rate of 17.7 per cent a year.

SURGE

The latest surge in the numbers unemployed to 1,613,956 - 6.8 per cent of the working population - gives the lie to the claim of Wilson and predecessor Callaghan that "one man's pay increase is another's ticket to the dole queue."

Callaghan and Chancellor Healey have dredged up in response to this limited workers' offensive against the social contract a three-pronged policy aimed at the teeth of the working class. It was presented in the form of Healey's mini-budget on July 20th and offered to the TUC as the basis of an 'understanding' on pay. The prongs are:

- An insistence on a 10 per cent maximum earnings limit.
- Rigid enforcement of the so-called 12-month gap between pay settlements.
- Strict cash limits to the public sector and nationalised industries, with tight control over money supply and public spending.

Point one means that all income

including overtime pay, cost-of-living increases etc. will be limited to 10%. In effect, with inflation running at 17%+ this will mean wage cuts of around 10%.

Point two is an attempt to prevent a restoration of free collective bargaining which inevitably means the freedom to negotiate whenever required for wages. It also attempts to eliminate collective action by different sections of workers over pay and ensure that no catching-up claims are made.

Point three is the most treacherous. It aims to isolate the 7 million public sector workers from those in the private sector by blackmailing local authorities (not that Tory-controlled ones will need it) and nationalised industry heads into keeping employees' wage rises below 5 per cent or lose government aid. In the private sector the government will give orders to those firms who "toe the line" and not to those who don't. In other words, police wages or sack workers. Unemployment will result from any further restrictions on the money supply as the chain of bankruptcies and closures mounts.

IGNORE

Just to do their bit for the 'national interest' the TUC leaders saw fit to ignore the decisions against pay restraint by a majority of trade unionists and proceeded hot-foot to pledge their support to Cabinet ministers for the '12-month rule'. Not only does this defy the democratic wishes of workers for 'free collective bargaining' but also completely pre-empt the decisions of the September TUC Congress.

Similarly, TUC leaders have uttered not a word against the blackmail of cash limits - a blatant attempt to divide public and private sector workers.

The Confederation of British Ind-

ustry naturally welcomes the proposals, shares rose and the Tories bayed for more. The 'men of Steel' rattled their sabres and demanded rigid enforcement of the 10 per cent limit and 12-month rule as conditions for the continuation of the Lib-Lab pact.

As always Callaghan is jumping to the dictates of big business rather than listening to the wishes of the Labour movement. The essence of the Callaghan Government's approach is now to cynically allow unemployment to rise, continue to sow further divisions between industrial and 'white-collar' workers, male and female workers (the increase in women unemployed last month was over half those newly registered 88,303), and through 'self-financing' productivity schemes dividing the productive from the 'unproductive' worker.

SOLVE

On this basis our reformist leaders hope to solve British capitalism's profitability crisis, placate international and domestic creditors and lubricated by North Sea oil win a General election in 1978 or 1979. Some hope! In fact, these policies will have the opposite effect as the by-election results have shown.

No lead is coming from the Labour Party NEC or the Tribune MPs. Recently a conference decision to nationalise the banks and top finance houses was abandoned. July's NEC meeting supported by 20 votes to 1 the continuation of the social contract enshrined in the new document 'The Next Three Years and into the Eighties'. Proposals to campaign for EEC withdrawal were dropped in favour of a watery goal of working towards "a wider but much looser grouping of European states".

The Tribune MPs have totally

failed to set themselves against the Callaghan-Murray manoeuvres on pay restraint or make a serious challenge to the Lib-Lab pact.

But many sections of workers are rejecting the shabby treachery of the TUC and Labour leaders and pressing for pay increases which would bring their members living standards up to pre-1975 levels. Railworkers unions are claiming 63.5 per cent increases. Mineworkers are "seeking" £135 for face workers by November and have rejected further productivity schemes. Dockers have also lodged a claim to restore members' living standards.

All workers and socialists should strive to ensure support for these workers. At the TGWU conference proposals for a sliding scale of wages clause based on a trade union cost of living index to protect incomes gained a third of the votes. Such a policy constitutes the only real defence against inflation. It should be generalised across the whole movement.

GUARANTEE

Although the letter of the social contract has been defeated by the recent union conference decisions its spirit and practice lives on. Furiously labouring to guarantee it can deliver the goods to the British ruling class Callaghan and co continue to attack the only force capable of effecting any kind of fundamental economic recovery. If an ideological and political battle was commenced now amongst this force - the working class - showing how wages do not cause inflation or unemployment, defending all workers in struggle, championing the battles of women and immigrant workers (those at Grunwick in particular) and explaining the class nature of the state and its laws, a counter-offensive could yet be mounted to thwart the plans of the Tories and the ruling class.

On present showing it is unlikely that the Labour Party can prevent the Tories sweeping in at the next election. But a start can be made now to reorientate the labour movement - demoralised and weakened despite recent conference decisions. At the centre of such a battle must be the defeat of the tattered policies and leadership of Callaghan and Murray.

Desoutters - in the shadow of Grunwick

A COUPLE OF miles down the road from Grunwick an equally important strike for union recognition is entering its 13th week. Over 100 workers at Desoutters Air Tools, Colindale are demanding the company recognise their union the AUEW for purposes of collective bargaining. Unfortunately the dispute has tended to be overshadowed by the Grunwick strike, and the strikers are not receiving the full support they deserve.

In many senses the struggle is similar to that at Grunwick. Many of the strikers are immigrant workers and

the company has a long history of opposing trade unionism. The strikers have been threatened, bullied and intimidated by the management and the police. Strike leader, Fred Hopper - the AUEW convenor - has been sacked and the company say they will never re-instate him.

The strike is official, and the union have made attempts to black Desoutters air tools. Strike pay, however, is very poor - only £9 a week. Many workers who came out at the begin-

ning have been forced back to work through lack of money.

The Grunwick strikers have been assisting their brothers and sisters at Desoutters by splitting collections and benefits with them. Nevertheless they still need your support urgently.

Send Donations to: Barry Moroney c/o Jim Black, 26, Springfield Mount, London NW 9.

Support the mass picket of Desoutters: Thursday 4th August, 6:30 am Edgware Road, Colindale. Colindale tube.



Arrests at Desoutters: and it's the same police as at Grunwick's...

PICTURE: Andrew Ward (Report)

Grunwick cont'd

perspective of mass picketing and blacking as the only way forward.

The trade union leaders are looking for a compromise which will get them off the hook, but there is no guarantee that Ward and the NAFF will give them one.

The movement must be prepared now for the battles which will come after the Court of Inquiry. As we have pointed out, Grunwick's "is all our tomorrows", if Grunwick's goes down it will be a bitter blow for the whole working class, since the Tories will have succeeded in using "law and order" to drive a wedge into the Labour movement; a wedge that will be used to defeat the working class when the Tories come into government.

- Support the Grunwick picket line. Make sure that your trade union or Labour Party continues to send regular delegations.
- Continue to boycott and picket the chemists that deal with the company.
- Fight for the imposition of the blacking on a national level and for continued mass picketing.
- No illusions in the Court of Inquiry. Full re-instatement and union recognition for the Grunwick strikers.

Darlington journalists in closed shop fight

THE STRIKE by 106 Journalists at North of England Newspapers, Darlington in defence of their policy of a 100 per cent post-entry closed shop crystallises in one dispute the main questions being posed for the National Union of Journalists.

This moderate, "pseudo-professional" union finds itself being brought into sharp conflict with the economic and political contradictions of a crisis-ridden capitalist economy. The way in which these questions are resolved will have serious implications for the British Labour movement.

At Darlington the Union's policy of 100 per cent post-entry membership is being challenged yet again by the employers — as it has been in earlier disputes.

The Darlington chapel of the NUJ (Office branch) declared a 100 per cent post entry membership situation last August. This meant that the 10 non-union workers could remain so but any new editorial workers must be members of the NUJ.

An initial attempt by the employers to beat the chapel policy by recruiting two non-NUJ photographers was snuffed out when NUJ members refused to work with them unless they joined. They joined.

The second stage of the battle came when Ms Josephine Kirk Smith, formerly with the Lady was recruited by the management as a sub-editor. Despite approaches from NUJ members and officials up to the level of General Secretary Ms Smith refused to join the NUJ and eventually joined the anti-industrial action, pro-strike-breaking IOJ.

ABROAD

On June 3rd the NUJ members came out — but without print union support. The Print Union's leadership was abroad at a conference. When they returned their members continued to cross picket lines and work normally.

But after eight weeks of NUJ strike action the print workers, members of the National Graphical Association, decided not to cross picket lines from Tuesday 2nd August. This should effectively mean that no newspapers are printed in Darlington after this date. This long-awaited decision was greeted by NUJ strike leader Mike Duggan, as "tremendous news".

Mass picketing has met with police harassment and arrests of a kind which is becoming familiar to anyone attempting militant picketing in industrial disputes over the last 18 months.

The NUJ members of this moderate chapel stayed firm and would echo the words of NUJ General Secretary, Ken Morgan;

"The real danger in the NUJ strike against North of England newspapers is not to press freedom, but only that their employers may have to bargain with journalists as hard as they bargain with the industry's other workers."



On the picket line in Darlington

"The first casualty in the dispute has been truth, for members of the NUJ at Darlington find themselves cast in the role of politically inspired censors bent on controlling the contents of their newspapers. In fact the chapel there is demonstrably the sort of militants who; are avowedly concerned to preserve press freedom; deny any desire to influence, let alone control, their papers contents or restrict general access to them, but are openly, seriously and justifiably concerned to increase their wage bargaining power."

This is it in a nutshell. The main issue for the Darlington members — and the majority of the NUJ membership appears to be the wages and conditions issue and their right to improve their strength to bargain collectively.

The closed shop policy dates back to the Union's 1920 conference. The press freedom issue has been raised by the employers and their sounding boards in the media.

OPPOSED

Lord Gibson, chairman of the Westminster Press group (of which North of England Newspapers is a section) says; "We concede closed shops for all newspaper workers except the journalists. We don't mind closed shops for trade union purposes. But we're opposed to a closed shop for journalists because they might interfere with the editors right to publish what they want. And that's an interference with the Freedom of the Press."

Its an argument which has a persuasive ring for many NUJ members who regard 'Freedom' as a virtue and don't analyse it in the real context of

by JIM BARROW (NUJ)

Britain's media where monopoly control means 5 large corporations own 90% of the countries' newspapers.

The closed shop is posed as a threat to individual liberty and freedom — masking the current freedom of proprietors and editors to manipulate their newspapers and the freedom to use scabs to break NUJ disputes.

The question of press freedom has not yet been seriously broached within the NUJ and the main thrust of the Union's argument has been that it is using the closed shop merely as a means to improve industrial bargaining.

At this level it is an objective necessity. A recent ACAS report on provincial newspapers showed that; "in some cases the differential between skilled production workers' average earnings and those of journalists was over £1,000 or more in favour of the former."

Junior journalists in the Darlington dispute have found that their £30 a week strike pay has been more than their normal net wage. The ACAS report also shows that of 38 provincial paper stoppages over a six year period 24 involved journalists — economic pressures squeeze even moderates.

The determination of the newspaper owners to mount an offensive against the NUJ closed shop cannot be underestimated. Already the provincial newspaper owners group the Newspaper Society has an £80,000 fund to back up any management getting cold feet over taking on the NUJ.

Some managements in small Southern weeklies have resigned from the NS rather than toe their belligerent line. At Kettering journalists struck

for six months to defend their closed shop policy — the longest strike in NUJ history.

A somewhat compromise victory here could be undone after August 31st if nine NUJ members who tried to leave the NUJ during the dispute are allowed to leave now by the TUC Printing Industries Committee.

What is needed to win the Darlington dispute and nationally is the solidarity of all workers in the newspaper industry. At local level Federated House Chapels (Joint Shop Stewards Cttee's) should be formed to unite all workers against management.

Until the printers decision to refuse to cross picket lines the NUJ action was seriously undermined, allowing management to get out scab sheets produced by an editor and a handful of helpers.

Breaking down divisions in the industry is difficult particularly for journalists — many of whom helped break the 1958 print strike by crossing picket lines, handling type and delivering newspapers. The bitterness and mistrust of that strike still lives on in the print.

Objectively in the face of the coming onslaught on the industry's workforce the maximum unity is vital but craft divisions and lack of democracy within the print unions militate against this.

A historically labour intensive industry is faced with a technological process of concentration common to capitalism. In the United States this has sometimes meant a 75 per cent cut in the workforce.

Without a strengthening of links between Unions on a sound political basis then newspapers will follow the logic of capitalist development and and social necessity will take second place to profit.

NATIONALISATION

At present demands for the nationalisation of the newspaper industry under workers control are debating points. For the NUJ, currently bearing the brunt of the newspaper owners' attacks on Trade Union organisation the coming period will determine whether it lapses into ineffective, moralistic "professionalism" or develops into a fighting, more class-conscious Trade Union that will increasingly challenge for a democratisation of the faster and faster concentrating press.

At Darlington mass picketing and the full support of the print unions is needed. In the coming period what is needed is unity of all media workers on a clear political understanding of the way in which newspapers are able to maintain a strong and often passionate hostility to the Labour movement and any elements in that movement likely to further the interests of the working class.

Journalists have started to question the Capitalist's right to interfere in the way they organise themselves as an industrial force. In the future this will be insufficient and journalists have to come to an understanding of the part they play in maintaining an economic and social order which, objectively, has long been ripe for the scrap heap.



Sir Robert Mark

WHILST THE capitalist press continues to prop up the image of the 'British Bobby', we have seen violence, mass arrest, racist attacks carried out by the defenders of law and order. Once again the political role of the police has come into question. What has the Labour Government done about it?

The Grunwicks picket line has been the testing ground for confrontation between the police and the Trade Union movement. The sheer numbers of police and the use of the Special Patrol Group, a well-disciplined strike breaking force, have led to violent scenes not witnessed since the Miners strike, 1974.

The police have tested out their techniques of crowd control with considerable success. The flight of Maurice Jones, editor of the 'Yorkshire Miner', the paper of the most militant mineworkers, and his interrogation and intimidation by police who had well-kept secret files on his political activities, shows how police have been able to pick out leading militants. There can be no doubt that the police have also used mass arrests to build up information for the future.

The struggle has also been a massive exercise in propaganda. The use of police agents provocateurs in the crowd, and the flood lies and distortions (have given the anti-union press a field day. At the same time we have seen an offensive against black people) by the law. While the trial of the Islington 18 is still in progress the police have made a series of swoops on families in

Halt police intimidation

BY JOHN SUNDERLAND

"If all this can happen under a Labour Government god help us when the Tories get back."
(Maurice Jones writing from E. Germany to Arthur Scargill).

Lewisham and Deptford. Nearly 30 youths were charged with 'conspiracy with persons unknown to rob persons unknown'. This has been used to search and terrorise black homes.

The Labour government has yet to make its position clear. Who authorised the drafting of thousands of the police to the Grunwick factory? Is it true, in fact, that detailed dossiers are kept on all political activists? As far as we are concerned the government has been active in encouraging these attacks, but because of its links with the Labour movement, it cannot admit it. Merlyr Rees, confronted with accusations of police brutality, and recently with the threats to Jones, had promised to 'look into the incidents'. He will probably do nothing. The government have stated they intend to change the law, outlawing mass picketing.

Let us not forget that Labour has consistently protected the interests of the capitalist state for as long as it has been in office. It has used the official Secrets Act to deport anyone it considers politically dangerous. It has used the army to break the Glasgow dustmuns strike in '75. Throughout its term of office the government has used every means to crush strikes, to head off militancy, to impose defeats on the movement in order to consolidate its own power, and resurrect collapsing British Capitalism.

BELOW: Police in action on Grunwick picket line. t meets police



ONLY THE BEGINNING

The Labour Government has softened up the Trade Unions through the Social Contract, and laid the basis for a renewed attack on our basic rights. This is the mandate for the Tories under Thatcher. In order to restore falling profitability a qualitative defeat for Trade Unionism is required. The police have shown what form this is going to take.

* HOW DO WE MEET THESE ATTACKS

The Trade Union movement must take up as a matter of urgency every attack made by the police on every section of society. This means taking up the issue of racialism, for example, and putting an immediate stop to all racist attacks. Only when the Trade Unions take up the struggle against the oppression of all sections of society will it win the mass of working people behind its ranks.

* The Labour Government must defend the right to mass picketing as part of democratic rights won by the TU movement.

* The Trade Unions have to confront the role of the Labour Government and its success in driving down living standards, by recognising there can be no solution to the crisis under capitalism.

* On this basis to struggle for the replacement of

a leadership whose policies have brought defeat and demoralisation.

Only then can we begin to make an impression on the police force, at present united against us. There are contradictions inside the police. Many top police officers have been shown to be guilty of corruption and complicity in organised crime, and jailed for upwards of seven years. How more so are they linked with the anti-union employers against working people. Isn't it significant that Sir Robert Mark, has close contact with the NAFF, political backer of George Ward? And that ex-police officers have been employed as security officers for the firm? The police bosses are tied by innumerable links to the interests of the employing class.

The fact that the police force is in a state of demoralisation, due to wages — between £2,928 and £3,930 — decline of manpower to a level below 1968, and an ever increasing work load, makes the question of unionisation and the right to strike a crucial one. The police should support the Grunwick struggle if they wish to win the right to strike. Unfortunately it is likely that militant policemen will turn to the right wing. They key thing is to arm the Trade Unions with the policy which is capable of defeating the attacks of the right wing, and begin to struggle for a socialist society.



Mr Callaghan, Mr Healey, President Carter, Dr David Owen and Chancellor Schmidt

PICTURE: John Sturrock (Report)

BRITAIN AND THE WORLD ECONOMY STILL WAITING FOR B

THE PARTIAL recovery from the 1974-75 recession is now showing signs of petering out — and this is bad news for Britain's palsied economy. For the British economy forms a component part of the world economy and rises and falls with it.

"Slow world economic growth in recent quarters has not been favourable to an expansion of UK out put, which on this occasion has depended particularly on the growth of exports." "The domestic economy remains relatively depressed: the recovery which began towards the end of 1975 was checked during 1976 and growth is still hesitant." (Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin Volume 17 No. 2 June '77).

Any contraction in world trade effectively nullifies Healey's 'export-led growth' strategy. Yet not only has there been a marked decline in world trade (see chart 1a) there has also been a long-term decline in Britain's share of world trade. (see chart 2).

WORLD TRADE CONTRACTS

Chart 1a

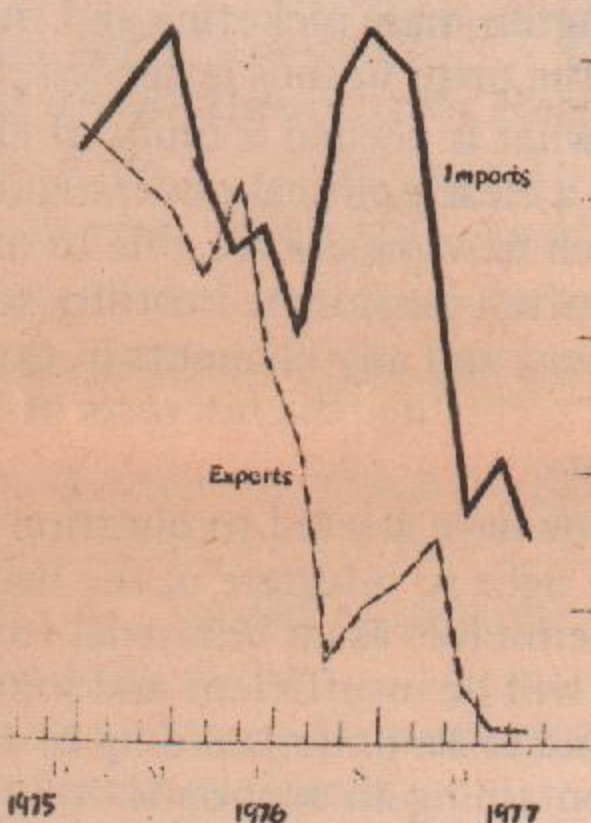


Chart 2

% of total capitalist world exports.

	1953	1963	1970
USA	21%	17%	15%
EEC	19.3%	27.8%	32%
JAPAN	1.7%	4%	7%
UK	9.7%	8.7%	7%

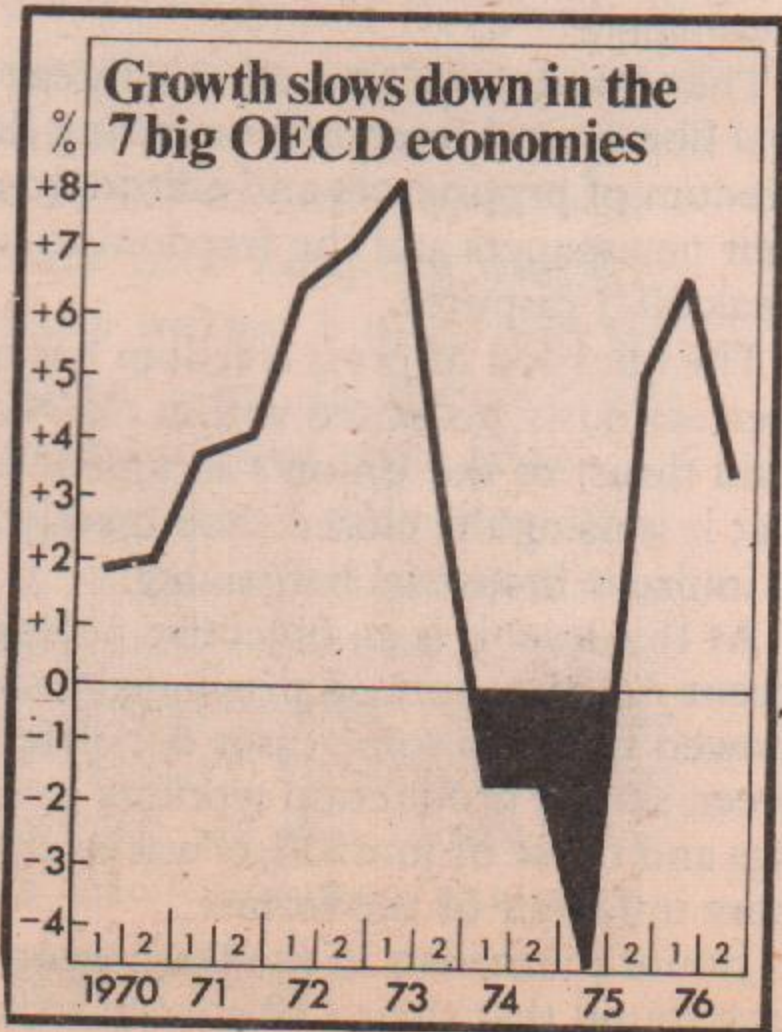
(Michael Barrat-Brown, 'Labourism to Socialism...')

It can be seen therefore that the crisis of British capitalism is long-term as well as conjunctural. The long-term decline of British imperialism has been telescoped into the world recessionary crisis of the 70s. In fact the fearful enfeeblement and parasitism of British capitalism was to a large extent obscured by the long 30 years upswing in the world economy which began in the late forties. However now that upswing has come to an end the enfeeblement is clear to see.

BOOMLET

Britain's economy rises and falls with the rest of the world economy. In actual fact the minor boomlet (1975-76) did not have any significant effect on the British economy. Britain was, so to speak, left out in the cold.

Presently there is little cause to believe in any significant upturn in the world economy, on the contrary "... there are few signs of recovery" (B of E Quarterly Bulletin p. 138). And if one really wanted to ram home the point to Healey and his toadies, one could not do better than quote the 'Investors Chronicle'. "While exporters are optimistic right now, oil strengthened sterling could make their task more difficult by the end of the year; the world economic cycle would be turning down pretty early in 1978 anyway. (January 1977 p8 — my emphasis FL).



The world recession which began in 1973 represented an historical watershed: it marked the end of the post-war long-wave of development with an undertone of expansion, 1947-1973, and the beginning of a long-wave with an undertone of stagnation, 1973-? And there will be no return to the Golden Age of early post-war capitalism. Healey and his entourage of sycophants might like to note that we are now living in a qualitatively different period.

Henceforth the world economy will be characterised by stagnation, overcapacity, underutilisation, chronic unemployment and so forth. Long periods of economic sluggishness will be punctuated by extremely mild and transient booms. And what applies to the world economy applies even more strongly to the British economy.

WORLD TRADE

During the boom period of the 30 years, growth in productivity and world trade expanded at an unprecedented rate. Britain however has lagged behind in both areas. For example, in trade, Japan's share in 1960 was 6.9% while Britain's was 16.5%. But in 1975 Japan's share had risen to 13.6% while Britain's had fallen to 9.3%.

In the average growth of industrial production between the years 1955 and 1975 comparative national rates of growth were as follows:

Table A

Japan	— Growth rate — 13.3% per annum.
Italy	— Growth rate — 7.3% per annum.
W.Ger.	— Growth rate — 5.3% per annum.
USA	— Growth rate — 4.7% per annum.

Bottom of the list came Britain with a paltry 3% per annum.

In British political/industrial bourgeois circles, the magic panacea to this growing decrepitude of British capitalism was seen in the shape of the EEC. Britain's industrialists cast envious eyes toward Europe; here was a potential market five times the size of the British domestic market. Surely a golden opportunity for export-led growth. Unfortunately there was also five times the competition. During the halcyon days of the British Empire, the British economy could gain a measure of protection entrenched behind tariff walls. Now with these privileged tariff arrangements defunct, Britain is paying the price for her economic backwardness.

In capitalism's law of the jungle the weak must perish. The EEC is no different in this respect; stragglers like Britain and Italy will not be grant-

ed any special favours. In fact the other members of the EEC are only too willing to take advantage of the problems of the weaker members such as Britain and Italy. Quite right too — after all business is business!!

The problem with Britain's membership of the EEC has been its low labour productivity vis-a-vis French and especially German industry. For when a country with low labour productivity confronts a country with high labour productivity, there will occur an outflow of surplus-value from that area, region or country with low labour productivity to that area, region or country with high labour productivity. This takes place through a system of unequal exchange. Briefly, to illustrate the point. (Take it that socially necessary labour time of universal commodity X equals 8 hours)

- 1) Then country with high productivity of labour produces X in 6 hours. Sells X for the equivalent of 7 hours; that is above its individual value but below its average value. Thus country with high productivity of labour gains surplus profit.
- 2) Country with average level of productivity will attain average rate of profit.
- 3) Country with below average rate of productivity (such as Britain) will obtain below average rate of profit.

EXCHANGE

Through the system of exchange there occurs the appropriation of a greater part of the total surplus-value produced on the part of the country with the higher productivity of labour. Commodities produced by a country with a high productivity of labour enter into the process of circulation and exchange alongside those commodities produced by the country with the low or average productivity of labour.

At the micro level commodities produced from a high labour productivity country contain less

surplus value than those produced in the country of low labour productivity however they will sell at the same market price or possibly even below the market price but still above their individual value. And what are extra profits gained by the country with the high productivity of labour. Socially necessary labour time shortened means extra profits gained; unduly extensive socially necessary labour time (ie. relative to the average) means profits lost. In fact the low productivity country becomes a source of surplus profits for the high productivity country.

It is in this manner that the outflow of surplus-value takes place from the 'third world' to the developed capitalist world, from country to town, and in our present case, from Italy, Britain and Ireland to Germany and to a lesser extent France. Additionally capital will tend to concentrate and centralise; this was an organic process taking place even before Britain entered the EEC. The process has since (Britain's entry) been rationalised and accelerated; the movement of capital from the peripheral areas (Britain, Italy,) to the centre has been most evident.

STAGNATION

Underlying the chronic stagnation and low productivity of the British economy is the profitability crisis. In the Nov '76 issue of Chartist we showed in some detail the reasons why there is a long-term tendency for the rate of profit to fall. The fact that the mass of the means of production (Constant capital) tended to form an ever increasing proportion of total capital invested (V—Variable capital—human labour-power) necessarily produced a tendency for the rate of profit to decline. Empirical evidence would seem to corroborate this basic Marxist postulate. For returns of capital invested have declined alarmingly in recent years. Rate of return on invested capital has fallen from 13.4% in 1960 to 3.5% in 1976 pre-tax. (see table B.). Post-tax rates of return have fallen from 9.7% in 1960 to 2.9% in 1976.

PROFITS DECLINE

Year	Pre-tax real rate of return	Table B
1960	13.4	
1961	11.5	
1962	10.5	
1963	11.4	
1964	11.8	
1965	11.2	
1966	9.8	
1967	9.8	
1968	10.0	
1969	8.8	
1970	7.8	
1971	8.3	
1972	8.8	
1973	7.8	
1974	4.6	
1975	3.5	
1976	3.5 (estimate)	

B of E Quarterly Bulletin

This clearly discernable trend receives sober attention from the Bank of England Bulletin: "Trading profits of industrial and commercial companies were some 25% higher than in 1975 both before and after deducting stock appreciation and providing for depreciation. Nevertheless,



North Sea Oil—no cure—all



CAPITALISM'S UNEMPLOYED: The dole queue's of today (above),
The hunger marches of yesterday (below).

ROOM

by Frank Lee

the written down value of company assets (at current prices) also rising rapidly during the year, the improvement in profit did no more than maintain the average rate of return, which has now been extremely depressed for several years. (p 145 - my emphasis FL)

Additionally "... The current rate of real return is on average about one third of what it was 15 years ago. (op. cit.)

In fact the ever-so-slight improvement in profit rates between 1974 and 1977, from 2.2% to 2.9% was attributable in the first instance to:

1) "... about one fifth of the increase in profits was due to a relatively small number of companies with interests in the development of North Sea Oil." (op.cit.)

2) Depressing the price of labour-power below its value. This has been done by means of the Social-Contract, incomes policy etc., We may illustrate this as follows. Let Britain's GDP be a hypothetical, (rate of surplus-value is 100%)

$$10000C+2000V+2000S = S/C+V \ 16.7\%$$

Now depress the workers wages with the social contract and we see the result on the rate of profit:

$$10000C+1500V+2500S = S/C+V \ 21.7\%$$

Simultaneously there will occur a rise in the rate of surplus-value S/V, from

$$2000V+2000S \text{ or } 100\% \text{ to } 1500V+2500S \text{ or } 175\%.$$

As stated this is a hypothetical example: nothing like this explosive in the rate of profit and rate of surplus-value has been attained, but increases of these dimensions need to be attained and this has been at the heart of Healey's economic strategy (whether he realises it or not). The evidential inflexibility upward of these profit rates outline the failure (from the capitalist's viewpoint) of Healey's policies (social-contract wage-cutting) to overcome the profitability crisis.

With profit rates stagnating at their present abysmally low level there will quite naturally follow an investment crisis. The capitalists will simply leave their money in the bank to accumulate interest. They will get a higher rate of interest than they would were profits invested in industry. (see table below)

Investment stagnates

Capital expenditure on plant and machinery in manufacturing industry at 1970 prices

Year	£ per employee
1965	142
1966	152
1967	155
1968	168 (162) b
1969	174 (181) b
1970	161
1971	176
1972	154
1973	169
1974	179
1975	158

b figures in brackets are after adjustment for the distortion caused by the ending of the higher rate of investment grants on 31 December 1968.

Chart C

It is in this situation that capitalism becomes more and more parasitic. The large pool of uninvested surplus capital has nowhere to go other than into speculation, property etc.. This is how



Hunger march approaches Hyde Park 1932.

Marx described the process: - "At a certain high point this increasing concentration (of capital FL) in its turn causes a fall in the rate of profit. The mass of small dispersed capitals is thereby driven along the adventurous road of speculation, credit frauds, stock swindles and crises. The so-called plethora of capital always applies essentially to a plethora for which the fall in the rate of profit is not compensated through the mass of profit - this is always true to newly developing fresh off shoots of capital - or to a plethora which places capitals incapable of action on their own at the disposal of managers of large enterprises in the form of credit. This plethora of capital arises from the same causes as those which call forth relative overpopulation, and is, therefore, a phenomenon supplementing the latter, although they stand at opposite poles - unemployed capital at one pole, and unemployed worker population at the other." (Capital Vol 3 p 251 - My emphasis FL)

PARASITISM

How apposite this description seems today with mass unemployment at one pole, and speculative or idle capital at the other. An idea of this increasing parasitism of British capitalism and symptomatic degeneration of the ruling class is instanced by the rise of the 'cowboys'. The 'ugly face of capitalism' is represented by all the Poulsons, Lonhros, Slater-Walkers and other bucket shop "asset-strippers" and wide-boys. And this mark you is the economy Mr. Healey wants us to make sacrifices for!! (sic)

Suffice it to say that without a significant increase in the rate of profit new investment will not be forthcoming.

"Without an early move to higher profits investment is therefore unlikely to be adequate to sustain a satisfactory rate of growth." (BOEQB) ... and ... "For industrial and commercial companies as a whole these figures (see above) do not suggest an encouraging outlook for investment. Rates of return are still extremely low with little prospect of any marked recovery in the near future." (op.cit.) My emphasis)

In fact investment has undergone a long-term decline (see below chart C) Government statisti-



30,000 marched against cuts and unemployment on November 26th last year.

cians estimate that the volume of manufacturing investment fell in real (not inflationary) terms by 13% between 1973 and 1976. It was hoped that during this year investment would be at a level of 15% - in fact investment hasn't risen above 5%. What also accelerates the decline in the rate of investment is the existence of spare capacity (eg. Steel, shipbuilding) in much British manufacturing industry. A capitalist is hardly likely to invest in more plant and equipment if he isn't using his present plant to maximum capacity.

PROTECTIONISM

Against this background protectionism rears its ugly head. The Tribune/CP reformist bloc plead the case for 'selective import controls'. Now apart from being utterly fatuous, this policy has extremely reactionary implications. For if the aim of such import controls is to save the jobs of British workers at the expense of foreign workers... then the next logical step to save 'British jobs for British workers' would be immigration controls! And we all know who advocates immigration controls don't we! Strange bedfellows Messers reformists!

In fact import controls won't be used for fear of retaliation. Britain is in to debilitated a condition to engage economies such as the US, Japan, or the EEC in a protectionist trade-war.

Great play is being made at present of North Sea Oil: this is being presented as the new panacea to solve all the Britain's ills in much the same way as the EEC once was. In actual fact North Sea Oil represents 0.25% of the world's Oil reserves and the cost of producing it is some 15 to 17 times higher than middle-east Oil. An idea of the cynical scepticism with which informed financial circles view the widely mooted (and held) notion of an 'oil fed boom' can be gleaned from the following: "... North Sea Oil will transform the balance of payments but unfortunately it will do comparatively little in other respects for the UK economy..." (Investors Chronicle Jan '77 p 8).

The candour of statements like these coming from the hardheaded financial spokesmen/advisers in Britain's industrial oligarchy stands in sharp contradistinction to the assinine drivel adduced by Healey. Informed financial sources in this country are only too well aware of the depth of the crisis and its longevity. Not for them the Healey chimeras of 'export-led growth' or 'oil-fed boom' etc, etc.

There is not the remotest prospect of any British economic recovery in the short-run. More-

over having missed the partial upturn of 1975-76 Britain is now faced with the prospect of a coming world downturn (forecast for 1978). Britain will be going from one recession into another.

In the long-term British economic recovery will be contingent on three factors.

1) Destruction of inefficient capitals through generalised bankruptcies etc. This will clear the decks for a greater degree of concentration and centralisation leading to a generalised restructuring of capital.

2) Systematic abandonment of anti-cyclical 'demand management' methods universally operational since the war. Capitalism allowed to run its 'natural' course ala Keith Joseph. (In this respect the 'let it rip' strategy of the neoclassical/monetarist school and their criticisms of Keynesianism are essentially correct - from capitalism's viewpoint I hasten to add.)

RESERVE ARMY

3) Most important, the working class must be qualitatively defeated in order to depress the price of labour power far enough below its value to enable both the rate of profit and the rate of surplus-value to rise sufficiently. The industrial reserve army (of unemployed) is still the best tried and tested means of driving down wages.

The Labour government since it came into office in 1974 has in fact imposed not insignificant reversals on the working class. But these reversals have been of a quantitative nature and they have had virtually no effect on the rate of profit. From capitalism's point of view a decisive defeat of 1905, 1926, 1933 proportions needs to be inflicted on the working class.

We should not be in any doubt that this is precisely what the Tories and their allies are preparing for. The next Tory government will not be so much a government as a General Staff of the ruling class, and it will come into office on a war-footing. Necessarily so for the only option open to British capitalism to solve its profitability crisis in precisely a decisive defeat of the working class.

Grunwicks' represents only the opening skirmish, a sort of probing raid compared to the full scale generalised class combat which is coming in the not too distant future. In this article we have tried to give the material reasons for the absolute necessity of a generalised ruling-class offensive with the coming of the next Tory government. We would be prudent too, to start preparing for such an eventuality...

NO PEACE IN MID EAST

by Geoff Bender

THE VISIT OF the new Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin to Washington where he swapped Biblical references with US President, Jimmy Carter should not be taken as an indication that any steps towards an early settlement in the Middle East are in the offing. Though Begin returned full of Carter's praises and Carter too was impressed the difference between this visit and an earlier one by the defeated Labour Prime Minister Yitshak Rabin was more a matter of political style than of politics.

On his return, against American advice, Begin was quick to recognize the latest batch of Jewish settlements on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. If expansion is inherent in the nature of an exclusive Jewish state which grants citizenship to Jews throughout the world while denying it to the original inhabitants driven out since 1948, then it is only natural that eventually the most consistent expansionists should come to the fore. The present coalition headed by Begin's Likud Party is even more committed to expansionism than its Labour (Mapai and Mapam) predecessor.

Since the 1948 war in which Israel came into being, Begin has had a consistent record as a Zionist ultra. Commander-in-chief of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the terrorist organization responsible for the massacre of 250 Arab villagers at Deir Yassin, Begin later moved into the right-wing Herut Party which merged into the Likud. Begin's style may have changed with advancing years: his politics have not.

The main distinction between the previous administration and the present one is not to be found in relation to foreign policy nor on the question of the occupation of the West Bank. Rather it is to be found in the field of economic policy. The previous regime rested on the bureaucratic organs of the Zionist state and the Histadut, the "trade union" federation, which is also one of the country's largest employers.

The Likud-dominated coalition which includes the extreme right National Religious Party and the



Zionist leader Begin.



U.S.-MADE PATTON TANKS OF THE ISRAELI ARMY LINED UP FOR MANEUVERS

Democratic Movement for Change are more firmly-rooted in the Israeli business community favouring private industry and investment, and less state intervention. Already, this has brought them into to conflict with the Histadut.

package

A package of economic measures introduced into the Knesset on July 17th by Finance Minister Simha Erlich, supporter of American monetarist, Milton Friedman, raised by 25% the price of all subsidised goods and services, cut the budget by 2100 million Israeli pounds (about £130 millions), devalued the Israeli pound by 2% for the second time in a month, raised interest on development loans and froze recruitment to the public service. Among the items affected include fuel oil, electricity, public transport, telecommunication services and basic foodstuffs. The response of the Histadut was a 1 hour (!) strike, not against the measures, but in protest against lack of consultation. The Mapai (Labour) Party were forced to acknowledge that they would have had to put through similar measures had they remained in office, but the left Zionist Mapam opposed the measures, claiming that the lower income groups would be hardest hit with the average family spending increasing by 12 to 14% more a month on basic items.

The opposition to the economic policies of the Likud coalition by the Histadut, Mapai and Mapam members should not be taken as indicating a rising tide of class struggle in Israel, rather what is at stake, is different conceptions of how best to maintain and defend the Zionist state. For instance, one point of conflict between the Likud and the "Labour" organizations is over the question of the employment of Arab labour. The Histadut, built to defend Jewish labour and Jewish jobs, may find the business-minded Likud government more ready to allow and encourage the use of Arab labour, especially in the areas seized in the 1967 war.

Another area of public spending cut in Erlich's austerity measures was defence spending — an unprecedented move. On this, and on Begin's alleged conciliatory approach to the Americans, he has met with stern criticism from his opponents. Former "Labour" Prime Minister, Yitshak Rabin, claimed that Begin's declarations of 'deepened friendship with the US' "gave Israeli legitimation to the American position which runs counter to Israeli interests on two key issues (the borders and the Palestinians)."

It is clear that while the main political forces in Israel remain wedded to the Zionist state, and they can do no other, then the only conflict possible between the brazenly pro-capitalist Likud and the Mapai-Mapam "Labour Alignment" is about who is best able to defend the Zionist state and

how best this is to be done. This means politicians must vie with each other in their intransigence in refusing to recognise the Palestine Liberation Organisation as a genuine representative of the Palestinian people, let alone in concluding any agreement with them.

Why then is all this talk of peace in the air? The answer must be looked for outside of Israel. It is to be found in the wishful thinking of State Department officials in Washington, and in the rapid rightward shift in the politics of the 'frontline' Arab states. With the effective removal of Lebanon from the scene since last year's Civil War, the crushing defeat of the Palestinians at Tel al-Zaatar, and the police role of the troops of Assad of Syria and the increasingly close links between Sadat's Egypt and the United States it is now only those states further removed from Israel which maintain an intransigent line, states such as Gaddafi's Libya and Boumedienne's Algeria.

pragmatism

The cynical pragmatism of the frontline states has allowed the old idea of a Palestinian 'homeland' under the surveillance of Jordan's Hussein to be resurrected. It is hard to see anyone taking such a proposal seriously for long.

The pragmatism of the most important of the frontline states, Sadat's Egypt, has had another consequence. Under Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, Egypt's western neighbour, Libya, has attempted to combine the crusading Pan-Arabism which characterized Nasser's Egypt and Ba'aathist Syria of the '50s with the Islamic traditionalism which is typical of the more traditional Arab Kingdoms and sheikhdoms of the Middle East.

This unstable and volatile blend of old and new has brought Libya into a bitter war of words with the Cairo regime following an unsuccessful merger attempt between the two countries. This war of words exploded into armoured clashes last month when Libyan tanks were heavily defeated by Egyptian armour.

Behind the Sri Lanka Elections

by CLARENCE CHRYSOSTOM and AL RICHARDSON

On the 21st July the two parties that claimed to represent the working class of Sri Lanka, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party, were completely annihilated on an electoral level. Even such well-known leaders as N.M. Perera (LSSP) and Pieter Keunemann (CP) lost their seats. For the first time since the thirties there is no 'voice' for the working class in parliament at all. Even the so-called "party of the national bourgeoisie", the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, was reduced to a total of six seats. The result was a landslide victory for the reactionary United National Party, with over 135 seats, and the Tamil United Front with 17. From forming a government resting securely upon a basis of 90 seats, Mrs Bandaranaike's SLFP has fallen from power, dragging the left down along with it.

The reasons for this terrible setback go back a long way. The UNP has always been the Ceylonese party of establishment and reaction, which during the fifties had given birth to a split from which grew the SLFP. At that time the chief opposition party in the country had been the LSSP, a party leading the working class and affiliated to the International Secretariat of the Fourth International (the grouping that now includes the IMG in this country). After failing to take power during the great Hartal (general strike) of 1953, the LSSP had concentrated its efforts purely on electoralism and thereby evolved on classic Social Democratic lines, with scarcely any attempt to stop it from its "Trotskyist" mentors in Paris and Brussels.

The growth of the SLFP removed the possibility that the LSSP could come into office alone, and this laid the basis for the further degeneration of the LSSP by its entry into electoral agreement with the SLFP in 1960. By doing this the LSSP

submerged its independent working class character into a "progressive bloc" of the usual "Popular Front" variety.

The first coalition of these parties along with the Moscow-line CP came into power for a short while in 1964. The government that has just fallen was its second administration, which won the election of May 1970, and has provided yet another copy-book example of the bankruptcy of "popular front" politics. In this government the LSSP loomed large — with its chief theoretician Leslie Goonewardene as Minister of Communications, its foremost public speaker Colvin R. de Silva as Minister of Plantations, and the popular N.M. Perera as Minister of Finance. The local Communist Party was even more enthusiastic in its support of the coalition than the LSSP and was rewarded with a ministerial portfolio.

But the government was caught in the usual predicament of an underdeveloped country that does not free itself from the impact of the world market and the capitalist system. It had hardly been sworn in before N.M. Perera was sent to negotiate a loan from the World Bank, which was granted, of course, in exchange for "austerity policies", involving a cut in the rice ration and constant smashing of strikes. "Can we Get to Socialism This Way?" Leslie Goonewardene asked himself in a popular LSSP pamphlet. A limited amount of nationalisation in exchange for the quiescence of the working class supplied an all — too obvious answer.

The LSSP itself degenerated so quickly that Colvin R. de Silva, as Minister of Plantations, even promised to honour an agreement for the repatriation of Tamils to India. Concessions to Sinhalese Buddhist chauvinism followed, in

disgusting scenes of "Trotskyist" ministers attending Buddhist services with their necks ringed with the traditional yellow flowers.

By April 1971 the desperate unemployed Sinhalese youth in the villages broke out in a populist revolt led by a Guevara-style grouping, the Janata Vimukthi Peramuna.

This was crushed amid scenes of great brutality and carnage, with the LSSP ministers among others identifying the JVP youth with CIA agents.

After a long and miserable record of strike breaking the LSSP had demoralised its working class supporters sufficiently to be of no further use to Mrs Bandaranaike, who did not depend upon them for her actual parliamentary majority. Picking at a feeble excuse a speech made by N.M. Perera commemorating the victims of the Great Hartal of 1953, she heaped humiliations on the LSSP ministers and unceremoniously dropped them from the government in the autumn of 1975, despite their cringing avowals of loyalty to her regime. Typically, the CP remained in the government hoping to steal a march on their "Trotskyist" rivals.

Too late in the day, the LSSP finally reacted to Mrs Bandaranaike's ever more naked attacks upon the working class by calling a great strike of their rail and public services unions and their allies on the 17th of January of this year. When this was broken by the government in two days, the working class was utterly demoralised.

It came as no surprise, then, that a landslide victory now followed at the polls for the UNP, accompanied by riots and the murder of 25 people in curfew conditions. Naturally the working class found it difficult to distinguish between the Left Front electorally separate as it now was

from the SLFP, the party of Mrs Bandaranaike that they had supported whilst living standards had been so viciously cut, and only pulled back at the eleventh hour when they had been thrown out of the government.

Now all the theoretical wild oats sown by Trotskyists of all stripes in the class character of the SLFP have produced abundant fruit. And once again the basic Marxist analysis of the so-called "national bourgeoisie" parties has been verified. There is no such thing, as Lenin and Trotsky repeatedly pointed out, as a party of the petty bourgeoisie led and directed by themselves: the petty bourgeoisie has no independent class interests of its own, and such parties are invariably led by the big bourgeoisie (all too big, in the case of the nepotist Bandaranaike clan).

In fact Mrs Bandaranaike's party has proved to be even more chauvinist, Buddhist obscurantist and racist than the UNP itself, since at times the latter has had to rely on the Tamils for its electoral majority. Since Mrs Bandaranaike's government had actually begun constructing concentration camps for the Tamils, it is not surprising that they in their turn voted so strongly for a party of their own. What a far cry this is from the time when only one nation-wide party could actually address a crowd in public meetings in the Tamil areas — the LSSP, the only party that defended their rights.

Despite its consistent betrayal of their interests, it is still too soon to say whether the LSSP will have been annihilated as the party of the workers. Let us hope that the rank and file's subjective adherence to Trotsky's ideas will lead to a critique of what he called the "Popular Front of Betrayal", and the formation of a party of the Ceylonese workers armed with Marxist ideas.

THE DEFEAT of the 400,000 strong demonstration of workers and soldiers, supporting the Bolshevik slogans of "Down with the Ten Minister-Capitalists" and "All power to the Soviets" on the steps of the Taurido Palace marked a bleak turning point in the course of the Russian Revolution. The date of the confused, semi-insurrection, 4th July, heralded the period of the 'July Days' during which the workers parties and organisations suffered severe blows while the reactionaries amongst the capitalists and the military chiefs grew confident and bolder in their counter-revolutionary conspiracies.

Through their lack of resolution and dangerous dabbling, the government of compromisers had placed itself in a dilemma whereby it had incurred the hostility of both the bourgeoisie and the proletarian masses. With the collapse of the 4th July demonstration they now set about the task of winning the confidence of the ruling class and their military allies.

A new Provisional Government was formed, replacing Prince Lvov with the radical lawyer and Social Revolutionary, Kerensky, at its head. Other leaders of the Compromist faction in the Petrograd Soviet Executive were given Ministerial portfolios: amongst them Tseretelli, Chernov and Skobelev. But far from the Minister-capitalists being replaced by socialists as the Bolshevik slogan demanded, these new democrats took the power only in order to bring back the Minister-capitalists.

setback

The new minister-President, Kerensky, immediately took advantage of the set-back suffered by the revolutionary workers and soldiers by disbanding the most militant regiments and sending the soldiers back to the front. In this period also, the Bolshevik press was shut down. On 17th July he met the army generals, Brussilov, Alexeiev, Ruzsky, Klembovsky, Denikin and Romanovsky in conference to discuss the measures necessary for the restoration of order in the armed forces.

The reactionary Generals presented their programme: the re-introduction of the death penalty at the front; the evacuation of the regiments from Petrograd and the abolition of the soldiers' committees which challenged the authority of the officers.

As a result of this conference, the army high command was changed and General Kornilov was named as Chief-of-Staff. This appointment had the support of the reactionary elements who saw Kornilov as a man who would establish iron discipline in the ranks of an

60 YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION



Bolshevik banner, 'Workers of the World Unite', carried by Russian demonstrators

KORNILOV'S REVOLT

Part 6 by Don Flynn

army which was rapidly going over to the side of the revolution.

In a telegram printed in the bourgeois press, Kornilov presented the terms of his acceptance of the appointment: "Responsibility only to his own conscience and the people; no interference in the appointment of the high-commanding staff; restoration of the death penalty for troops stationed at the rear."



General Lavr Kornilov, leader of the reactionary forces.

Kerensky believed that he was winning the support of the 'respectable' classes for his government. He endeavoured to provide evidence of this through the convening of a 'state conference', to be held in Moscow, consisting of representatives of professional, commercial, industrial, academic and political occupations, together with a handful of representatives from the working class and peasant organisations.

This conference would have been a carefully staged pageant of "public will" had not the working class of Moscow, organised by the Bolsheviks, greeted the event by a massive one-day general strike.

The Bolsheviks gave warning that the State Conference bore the "clear-

ly marked imprint of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy". Four hundred thousand workers heeded this warning and paralysed the conference by their strike action. They also demonstrated to Kerensky and Kornilov that it would take more than magnificently staged public spectacles to defeat the risen working class and poor peasants—direct intervention by the military would be required.

front-line

On 21st August, the German army occupied the city of Riga. This became the excuse of the army generals, in collaboration with Kerensky, to plan their action. Blaming the "workers who will not work" and the "soldiers who will not fight" for the fall of Riga, Kornilov began to divert Divisions and Cavalry Corps from the front-line to strategic positions in preparation for an attack on Petrograd. There is no doubt that he had the support of Kerensky in these actions. The minister-president saw the opportunity for the creation of a dictatorship, with himself at the helm, resting on the armed might of the Cossacks and reactionary regiments.

The author of "Notes of the Revolution", the social democrat, Sukhanov, said of Kerensky: "He was a Kornilovist—only on the condition that he himself should stand at the head of the Kornilovists". Clearly, the Social Revolutionary lawyer saw in the Kornilov conspiracy an opportunity to smash revolutionary Petrograd and to leave it with a pacified working class, amenable to accepting the demands which he himself, and the imperialist war, would place upon them.

However, at the last instant Kerensky was "betrayed" by his General allies. The former President, Prince Lvov, acting as an emissary from Kornilov, came to Kerensky

privately and urged him to "place" himself in the hands of the headquarters staff of the rebelling Generals "in order to save his life". Very late in the day, Kerensky saw that he was being double-crossed. As Trotsky writes, "At the same time that Kerensky and Savinkov /Kerensky's chief collaborator in the conspiracy/ were planning to clean up the Bolsheviks, and in part the Soviets, Kornilov was intending to clean up the Provisional Government." (from History of the Russian Revolution, Vol 2, p207).

But by now Kerensky was powerless to prevent Kornilov's march on Petrograd. Beginning on 27th August, the minister President was left powerlessly pacing the halls of the Winter Palace, while the workers and soldiers he sought to betray came to the aid of the Revolution.

no blow

The story of the defeat of the Kornilov insurrection is, "truly remarkable testimony to the clear-headedness and independence of the class-conscious workers in times of crisis. The agitators and propagandists of Soviet power realized that Kornilov's armies consisted of wretched, half-starved and exhausted workers and peasants like themselves. They immediately realized that Kornilov was offering the people war and a defence of the privileges of generals and the property of landlords. The remarkable, counter-revolutionary army of Kornilov simply withered away before it even reached Petrograd.

Krasnov, the Commander of the Third Cavalry Corps wrote of this event: "We should have struck Petrograd with a force of eighty-six cavalry and Cossack squadrons, and we struck with one brigade and eight weak squadrons, half of them without officers. Instead of striking with our fist, we struck with our little finger." Trotsky remarks that in truth there was no blow even from a little finger. Nobody felt any pain at all.

Thus ended the Kornilov insurrection created in the first place by the treachery and double-dealing of the Compromisers and Kerensky, it was left to the clear-minded, class-conscious policies of the Bolsheviks and their working class supporters to save the revolution and clear the ground for new conquests. Through September up until October, the workers would grow more confident while the Bolsheviks secured their respect and allegiance as the genuine party of proletarian revolution.

Zimbabwe: more manoeuvres by MARTIN COOK

AS WE GO to press the latest steps in the confused minuet of the leading protagonists over Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) continue. The pawns are the lives of thousands of black militants, the stakes are high: will racist Western imperialism be able to maintain its grip on this part of Africa, and in what form?

For 12 years now, Ian Smith's white regime—based on 200,000 settlers out of 5 million plus blacks—has held out against all comers, mixing brutal intransigence with cynical deception.

After the Portuguese withdrawal from Mozambique in 1974 and the stepping-up of armed struggle, Smith (with much prodding from Britain and the US) has been having to change his tune.

Now the talk is of a 'negotiated settlement' with the more 'moderate' Black nationalists: at the moment this seems to be Muzorewa and Sithole. The result of this 'sell-out' would be a government dominated by a façade of tame blacks ('Uncle Toms'), while behind the scenes the white settlers and Western capital would continue to dominate the economy.

This solution à la Kenya or Zambia is not a new idea. It is what Whitehall and Washington (not to mention Vorster in Pretoria, who finds the 'illegal' regime an acute embarrassment to South Africa) have been trying to cook up ever since 1965! The more bone-headed faction in Smith's Rhodesia Front want none of such a betrayal—sev-



PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADER ROBERT MUGABE

eral MPs have split away to form a Rhodesia Action Party, dedicated to maintaining segregation and 100% white rule.

This may well provide a major challenge to Smith in the forth-

coming general elections in August, (most voters are white), called to provide a 'mandate' for these talks. How white Rhodesia can hold out, when the present emigration rate suggests there would soon be no-one to fight but imported mercenaries, is a mystery.

More to the point is whether the Black 'moderates' would be able to put such a carve-up across and 'out-flank' the guerrilla leaders such as Nkomo and Mugabe for support among the black masses.

Our job in the British Labour movement is to denounce the Labour Government's complicity in any solution that leaves the power of white capital intact: whether an 'internal' deal by Smith or one fixed up under Anglo-American auspices with parts of the Patriotic Front such as Nkomo. NO DEALS: VICTORY TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE! MAJORITY RULE NOW!

GAYS UNDER ATTACK

by Carys Pearce

NINE MONTHS' jail suspended, a £500 fine and an order to pay one-fifth of the prosecution costs, was the sentence Denis Lemon, editor of the homosexual's paper GAY NEWS received for publishing a blasphemous libel - a poem!

This case raises several important issues. The oppression of minority groups, such as homosexuals/lesbians is an area of struggle that the Trade Unions, the Labour Party and left groups, often find it easier to ignore than take up in a serious way.

The bigoted harridan, Mary Whitehouse, who initiated the case against Gay News, has once more won a victory. Backed by the authority of 'British Justice', she has again managed to implement further censorship against individual sexual freedom.

By bringing this case to court, Whitehouse who is always good fodder for the bourgeois press, has helped reinforce deeply entrenched

prejudices against gay people, whilst the daily portrayal of women as sexual objects in commercial advertisements for example, continues unchallenged.

This case illustrates clearly the extent the state is prepared to go to suppress the behaviour and ideas of those it considers to be a threat to the existing order. Reactionary attitudes towards gay people are perpetuated by ignorance, archaic moral arguments and mystified notions of what is 'natural' behaviour.

There are aspects peculiar to the situation of gay people that differentiate them from other groups experiencing oppression, discrimination and contempt. Perhaps the most significant of these hinges upon the invisibility of homosexuality.

Unlike genetic sex or racial identity, our sexual orientation and sexual feelings are not immediately recognisable. Heterosexuality is assumed and remains the assumption until there arises some cause for

doubt and even then there is often considerable resistance to reassessment. This invisibility aids the process of internalising oppression, whereby the 'problem' can easily be seen and experienced, to be the fault of the individuals themselves.

Self oppression is a feature of all forms of oppression and is in fact vital for its reproduction, this is particularly intense for homosexuals and lesbians, for unlike gender identity or racial identity, gay people often have to come to recognise their sexual orientation at a much later stage in their lives.

The failure of the labour movement as a whole to support the struggle of gay people essentially rests on the division in capitalist society between work and privatized personal/domestic life. The workplace is not an acceptable place to discuss 'personal relationships' or people's sexuality; heterosexuality is the assumed norm.

The family being an essential ideological and economic pillar for the production and reproduction of the working class and the rigid stereotyping of the sexes necessary for its maintenance is challenged by homo-

sexuality. That sex could be something enjoyable outside 'marriage', not for reproduction of the species, and between members of the same sex undermines vital elements of capitalist ideology.

The link between the family structure and anti-gay sexism, though deep, is not an obvious one. The social nature of gay oppression remains mystified and is often merely attributed to backward, old-fashioned attitudes. We must recognise that it is only through struggle to actually change the position of gay people that we will successfully confront ideas and attitudes that have a real material basis.

We need to discuss the significance of gay groups in T.U.'s and the Labour Party, and take action around particular cases of victimisation in our places of work, in the same way we participate in anti-fascist committees and cuts campaigns.

All socialists and trade unionists should unequivocally defend the rights of homosexuals to organise autonomously against all forms of legal and social oppression.

Mason's 'progress' satisfies

Loyalism

by Peter Chalk

The stiffer penalties and new laws for 'terrorist offences', introduced for Northern Ireland on July 26th by the Privy Council and not even debated in Parliament, are further evidence of the repression required by the direct rule administration to 'stabilise the troubles' in the six count ies.

Three new offences have been created as an amendment to the Northern Ireland Criminal Law Act - placing a hoax bomb, sending a hoax bomb message and 'threatening to kill someone'. Under other Acts, 'conspiring or soliciting murder' and making or keeping explosives will henceforth command life sentences.

These measures are the final instalment of the package of 'tougher security policies' promised (as part of existing government strategy) by the Northern Ireland Secretary Roy Mason to the Ballylumford power workers during the Loyalist strike in May.

Other aspects of the package were confirmed by Mason on June 8th - a much increased undercover role for the British army (several hundred more soldiers on covert operations), improved weapons and higher recruitment for the police and 700 more members for the Ulster Defence Regiment.

What this means to the Catholic community is more harassment and intimidation from the army and sectarian state forces and further suppression of their right to oppose the artificial statelet.

In the June edition of the *Chartist* Colin Kennedy explained the central importance of the power workers' promise by Mason to the strategy of heading off support for the strike.

These latest moves confirm that Mason's so-called 'firm opposition' to the May Loyalist strike was not on the basis of its reactionary, pro-imperialist objectives, but simply that it was an unnecessary action because Britain was already committed to stepping up repression against the nationalist community!

STORMONT

Paisley's other demand was for the restoration of Stormont, a demand shared by all shades of Loyalist opinion. Mason, too has continually stressed his desire for 'devolved government' to the North and to allow Ulster Protestants to 'govern themselves'.

However, he realises that more time is required to break the backbone of nationalist resistance, to win a semblance of Catholic support for the SDLP and to be able to portray the RUC, Official Unionists etc.... as 'non-sectarian and moderate'.

But Unionist faith in Mason's commitment to their cause was demonstrated on 6th July when James Molyneaux, leader of the six Ulster



Paisley 'martyrdom' pays off, His demands have now been met.

Unionist MPs, committed those MPs to abstaining in any vote of confidence in the Government with the prospect of a 'Uni-Lab pact' at the end of the year if 'definite progress on a regional assembly' is agreed. (However, this tentative deal has received some criticism particularly from Harry West, leader of the Official Unionist Party).

Both these aspects of Government policy in the North show that, far from Paisley being 'isolated and defeated' after the strike, Loyalist 'extremist' demands are perfectly compatible with Mason's strategy (although there is disagreement about tactics and leadership).

Thus the results of the local council elections of 18th May (when Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party made some gains) confounded those who believed the 'official' version of the strike. In

fact, the logic of Britain's presence (stepping up the war against Irish nationalism) effectively 'legitimizes' hard-core Loyalist 'extremism'.

For socialists who support the aim of a United Ireland, but are confused by the intransigence of the Protestant population, the thesis advanced in the August 1976 *Chartist* remains valid today:

"For Loyalism to vanish from the scene altogether its own crisis would have to be intensified by a swift withdrawal of the British army. For a smashing defeat of the nationalists, the splintered Orange forces can only look towards the army to do the job for them. They cannot manage it themselves. The presence of the British army in Ireland remains the key to progress or reaction for the whole Irish people."

IRISH SOCIALIST FRAMED

STOP PRESS

A graphic example of the escalating British harassment of any opposition to its plans is the arrest of John McAnulty, secretary of the socialist organisation Peoples Democracy, on July 5th. He has been charged with the offence of being in 'possession of documents likely to be of use to terrorists, at an unspecified date between January 1976 and March 1977'.

This is clearly a frame-up as the alleged documents are the same as those that the PD Industrial Organiser was charged with in May (and is still on remand for). Far more serious is the fact that McAnulty has been denied bail and could face months on remand.

This, and other examples of British/RUC repression of groups that have nothing to do with 'terrorism', is blatant intimidation of the Catholic working class as a whole.

The Socialist Charter appeals to all class-conscious militants to protest against this action by writing to their MP, the N.I. Office

etc.... and raising it and the whole nature of current British strategy in their trade union and Labour Party branches.

Donations should be sent to the John McAnulty Defence Fund, Connolly Bookshop, Avoca Park, Andersonstown, Belfast 10.

As a concrete example of solidarity with the Irish struggle join the demonstration on Sunday August 7th, 2.30 pm at Speakers Corner, commemorating the introduction of internment in August 1971 (and clearly continuing today in a different form, as McAnulty's case shows).

JUST OUT: Haringey TOM Bulletin No.3.

Articles on Women in Ireland, Loyalist Strike, Building a Solidarity Movement and an Open Letter to Labour MPs.

Available for 20p, inc. p & p from 60 Loughborough Road, London SW9.

Right-wing machinations in Newham NE CLP

TWO RIGHT-WING 'infiltrators' living in Oxford, Paul McCormick and Julian Lewis, recently dealt new blows at Newham N.E. CLP. They did so only with the aid of judges, court injunctions and a lot of money.

The right-wing battle to regain control of Newham N.E. CLP from the anti-Prentice members has passed through press witch-hunts against the left to the court injunctions and fines to stop the Annual General Meeting last February.

Throughout that time until the reconvened AGM in July an extra 30 delegates had been recruited, largely by these right-wingers - calling themselves the 'Campaign for Representative Democracy'.

Because of the High Court ruling literally thousands of people who live outside the constituency and who are not Party members were permitted to send delegates, via trade union branches.

Transport House attempted to stop the unconstitutional AGM taking place by an NEC circular telling delegates not to attend.

Once again, Lewis and co ran to the courts, obtained an injunction vetoing Transport House and proceeded to spend £900 on telegrams to delegates telling them the AGM was going ahead. At the AGM a right-wing controlled EC was 'elected'.

The NEC is planning to amend the party rules at the October Conference in Brighton specifying that trade unions can only affiliate on the number of members living in a specific constituency. If passed it is likely to annul the decisions of the rigged July AGM.

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