

Workers' fight

3p

No.42 - February 2nd - February 8th

McGahey was right

THE HOWLS that greet miners' vice president Mick McGahey's threat to appeal directly to soldiers not to be used to break the miners' strike came from both Labour and Tory politicians, and doubtless, behind the scenes, from the Communist Party too.

The fact that McGahey has now retreated doesn't change the significance of these cries of outrage.

Why did they howl so much? Because McGahey broke the tradition of mere shadow boxing between the union leaderships and the bosses and their government. He posed the possibility that the working class will challenge the right of the bosses to use their army as they think necessary by appealing to the workers' sons in uniform who, in this situation, are a final sanction of the ruling class against the workers.

McGahey WAS right! Heath has resorted to a national lockout. He is determined to beat down the miners — as determined as Churchill when he sent the soldiers against them at Tonypany. He has deliberately steered towards a head on collision with the labour movement.

It would be utter stupidity for the labour movement to think he will hesitate to use all the power at his command.

Either the labour movement is seriously prepared to fight, or it should throw in the towel — now.

If troops are used to strikebreak then we must be prepared to break ruling class law here too as we have done in the struggles of the last 2 years. Either we allow the Army to be used here as it has been used in Northern Ireland, or else we attempt to neutralise it. The army that has served British governments so well in Northern Ireland may prove to be not so reliable on the 'home front'.

In every area of conflict the responsible bodies of the labour movement must be prepared to say to the soldiers:

**DON'T SCAB on your class!
DON'T BE scabs for the people who drove many of you into the army in the first place!**

L.Cleary

THE RESULT of the miners' ballot will almost certainly be a vote to strike.

If the miners then go on to take strike action the scene will be set for the most bitter — and decisive — class battles Britain has seen since the 1920s.

Make no mistake about it — if the Tory Government lets it go as far as strike action, if it doesn't at the last moment use the Pay Board's report on 'pay relativities' (see back page) to reach a settlement, then we are in for a long stand up battle which will surely spread and escalate.

Warfare

The Government's obvious electoral calculations and manoeuvres are mainly moves to clear the deck for industrial warfare.

As soon as the miners go on strike the question of solidarity action will arise for railwaymen, as miners begin to stop the transport of coal.

Very soon the same question will arise for dockworkers as the Government attempts to import scab coal: and unless they plan the large scale importation of scab coal it is unthinkable that they would try a second round with the miners.

Use of troops to transport scab coal is very likely.

Picketing will be decisive, as in 1972. But the miners' mass mobile picket will not this time be the bolt from the blue that flattened the Tories 2 years ago.

The Government has had two years to prepare — and it has prepared.

The law on picketing has been tightened savagely — and 3 working class militants are in jail to prove it. Mobile squads of anti picket police, with a directing and intelligence centre at Scotland Yard, will immediately be thrown against the forces of the NUM in any miners' strike.

Troops

If necessary soldiers will be used for picket control: recently in Parliament Robert Carr refused to assure Labour MPs that they would not be used. If necessary all the techniques the army has been using in Northern Ireland will be used — CS gas, rubber bullets, military 'riot control'.

In the last two years a complacent attitude has grown up on the left. An attitude that the miners are simply unbeatable.

Powerful, combative, militant — they are all of

MINERS' STRIKE

THE FRONT LINE IS THE PICKET LINE

these. They were all of these in 1972, and won the strike! Defeat on the picket line would mean the danger of the miners being starved and beaten into submission.

In today's conditions, victory will depend on prepared and organised local solidarity committees to physically back up the miners' pickets. Wherever there is a coke depot, coal mine, railway yard, port where coal could come in, a gas works or a power station — there local militants must set up a SOLIDARITY committee. Not only must such

committees set out to rally physical support for the miners' picket line. They must also agitate for pledges of support from militants in factories in the area, and for their representation on the solidarity committee.

The idea of Councils of Action (or United Front committees, as WF has called them to avoid misunderstanding) has been in the air since about 1970. In fact they have either been mildly useful left forums or else artificial and sectarian appendages of one or other of the left groups.

Nevertheless the need to build representative committees of struggle has been real and is now very urgent as the classes shape up for battle.

Solidarity committees built around support for the urgent needs of the front line struggle can draw militants together — miners, dockers, railmen, power workers and others — and really hope to reach, mobilise and organise whole layers of militant workers eager to hit out at the government and support the miners.

Such solidarity committees, LINKED TO THE CLASS STRUGGLE, have the potential of developing and changing their function as the struggle develops and escalates, throwing up new concrete problems. An all out miners' strike will inevitably tend to spill over into a general class confrontation — into a general strike. The rest of the labour movement, on which the Tories have already inflicted the 2 day lockout, is unlikely to stand idly by, especially if the lockout is going to go on for months or is imposed for 3 days instead of two.

The Tories themselves with their lockout have already indissolubly linked the fate of the miners' struggle with the

These. They were all of these in 1926 too. But they were beaten then, by a ruthless bosses' government because they lacked adequate support from the labour movement.

Large imports of coal can partly neutralise strike action. The physical force of the state can counter mass picketing. If the labour movement allows it, a ruthless government could hope to starve the miners into submission. Already Heath is talking of cutting off Social Security benefits to strikers' families.

There must be no complacency! Victory for the miners is sure this time only if the labour movement throws up the forces to counter every move the Government makes.

The front line of the miners' battle will be the picket line. The mobile police squads will have the weapons, the intelligence service and the transport they need: it will be police helicopters against pickets' cars and buses. Concentrations of flying pickets will be met by concentrations of police and or soldiers.

They will have much less chance of success unless backed by local forces. It was the eruption of such local forces into action — pouring out of factories and colleges — that turned the tide against massed police at Sattley Coke Depot in Birmingham in

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supply speakers, information, propaganda, to centralise fund raising for the families of the defendants and for the campaign, and to help, sponsor and coordinate local actions.

Of the eight who are on trial in Shrewsbury now, two have been pressured into pleading guilty to the charge of unlawful assembly. This is a reflection on their confidence in the efforts of the campaign. If we want the defendants and their families to be more confident, then we have got to be behind them all the way.

With action and not just with words.



SHREWSBURY 24

Build national campaign now

Liverpool Trades Council's conference to defend the Shrewsbury 24 to be held on 2nd February could mark a turning point in the campaign to Free the Three who were jailed before Christmas and quash all the charges against all the other defendants.

The 24 North Wales building workers arrested on charges arising from picketing during the 1972 official miners' strike

workers' strike are taking the full force of the Tories' attack on militant picketing. Three have been jailed and, though they are lodging appeals, have so far been denied bail.

But if they are bailed, it makes no difference to the urgent need to step up the campaign.

The last conference sponsored by the Liverpool Trades Council, held on September 21st, made plans for a series of action,

Unfortunately in the three months after that conference, very little was done. For instance, no functioning London Defence Committee had been established.

The announcement of the savage jail sentences — 3 years on Des Warren, 2 years on Ricky Tomlinson and 9 months on John McKinsie Jones — shocked many militants into fulfilling some of the pledges made at the last conference.

Since then there have been hundreds of meetings, marches, work stoppages and massive pressure for action by the trade union leaderships. UCATT, the builders' union whose leaders started by expressing bitter hostility to the 24, allowed the latest issue of its paper 'Viewpoint' to come out with a statement of support — for a few brief days before it was recalled. The I&GWU Builders Section

has also moved toward supporting the lads on trial.

But two important things still need to be accomplished. The issue must become an issue for every worker and not left to the one industry that the Tories chose to pick on and make an example of. And solid preparations must be made for the only action that will really have any chance of opening up the gates of the jails: serious, protracted, widespread and determined strike action.

Both of these demand an energetic, centralised campaign to be built up around the North Wales Defence Committee, to

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EOKA Leader helped by Britain's Divide and Rule Tactic

By definition a man who is an anachronism dies long before he reaches the grave. Any comment therefore on the death of General George Grivas in Cyprus last week comes two generations after the death of the ideas he held as major currents in Greek politics.

Grivas, the epitome of the backwardness of the middle peasantry, resembled in many ways the types like Papadopoulos and Ghizikis in Greece who come from the same sort of background. He was a monarchist, a pro fascist and an ultra chauvinist harbouring the imperialist fantasy of the restoration of the territory which was said to be that of ancient Greece.

The German occupation of Greece saw him as the leader of

the Group 'X' which was no less fascist than the Nazis with whom it collaborated. But it was Greek. Consequently its collaboration did not stretch to being quislings; X acted as a co ordinator between the British and the Germans with the aim of liquidating as much of the left as possible.

For this and for his terror activities on behalf of the British and the Americans in the Greek civil war — conducted under his favourite flags: monarchism, pro fascist anti communism and chauvinism — he expected as a reward the British sponsorship of ENOSIS, the unification of his native Cyprus with his adopted Greece.

But this suited neither western imperialism nor its military arm, NATO. Thus, to achieve his ends,

Grivas was forced into opposition, first legally in Greece and then underground in Cyprus.

The struggle between the EOKA terror group he led and the British Army in the 1950s was a struggle between a backward political current partly transfused with a grass roots desire for independence from Britain (and which saw in ENOSIS a means to that end), and an imperialist power attempting a divide and rule policy to secure strategic advantage.

After the British withdrawal, the rationale for the demand for union with Greece drained away, and all that was left was the bitter puss of Hellenic chauvinism, anti Turkish racism and the rancour of old wounds.

WITH the catch phrase "inflationary wage settlements" becoming a permanent fixture in 'media' language, there are endless opportunities for the constant repetition of the lie that "prices are chasing wages". And, as Dr. Goebbels once found out, if you repeat a lie often enough, everybody comes to believe it.

For the Tories, it is a very useful lie. At present, playing on the insecurity and perplexity that every working class family feels in face of the alarming shifts in the prices of daily necessities, they are using it to build a rational-sounding case for closing down half of industry rather than concede the miners' claim. They hope to isolate the miners by making them a scapegoat for inflation.

It is therefore all the more vital to nail this lie — and nail it

hard. First, we can look at what has happened to working class living standards since this lie was first enshrined in law.

It is now just over a year since the Tory Government imposed a total wage freeze, supposedly as part of their 'counter inflation' policy. Now figures just released by the Department of Employment make it more and more transparent just what Tory 'counter inflation' means. They show that from November 1972 to December 1973 the retail price index rose by 12%.

According to the same source, basic wages also rose by about 12%. But counterposing these two figures conceals a cut in working class living standards, which is just what Tory policy is all about.

The proportion of income

the worse becomes the shortage and, because of the shortage, the conditions deteriorate further.

It is the militant mood caused by such chaos that is pushing the teaching unions, the NUT in particular, into firmer action. The pay claim and the London Allowance are seen as part of the same fight. One Association, Lambeth, now has a policy of not covering for any staff absences; others are passing motions in support of the full 25% claim, and calling for a fight against Phase 3 through all out strike action.

It is the job of teachers, in the build up to the April pay claim, to do two things. Firstly, to show all working class parents how the cuts in education spending directly affect them; to call for all such cuts made over the last few years to be restored; and to demand that expenditure on education be increased.

Secondly to prepare actively for a national strike over wages.

With these things done, teachers will be in a better position to take on the Tories and to appeal to other trade unionists for solidarity.

What m

that a working class family spends on essentials such as food and housing is far greater than allowed for by the retail price index, and it is just the price of these essentials that have risen most drastically. Food prices have increased a staggering 21% since 'counter inflation' started: this figure is concealed within the general average given by the index.

GROCER

Moreover, inflation is a double tax on the working class, since any increases in wages push a worker's income into a higher tax bracket and cuts down on means tested benefits. So to compensate for a 12% rise in prices a worker's pay must go up by considerably more than 12%.

To top it all, papers such as The Economist are saying that prices will go up even faster in 1974 and that the rate of inflation will be at least 15%; the retailers' magazine The Grocer says another 578 price rises are on the way.

But what actually makes prices suddenly take off and head for the moon?

The Tories admit that inflation is "also" a result of rises in world prices. But this is no 'act of God', nor does it represent any gain for most of the primary producing countries. The prices of important commodities such as oil, metals and grain have rocketed over the past year, but this has been partly due to the fall in value of the dollar and sterling, which are still the major trading currencies. The £ has been devalued by 20% since 1971 as a direct result of Tory policy, and half of the increased price of imported foods is due to the falling value of the £.

BARBER'S 'STARVE THE CHILDREN' CUTS — "No harm to education" says Tory Minister

AS Local Authorities prepare their education budgets for 1974, we can begin to see just how vicious Barber's cuts in government expenditure in this area will be, and just how must they will affect working class children.

Even before the latest round of cuts — now reckoned at over £200 million for 1974 — the Tories had been attempting to run down educational spending. Fewer new schools, less equipment, no further expansion in higher education and a stubborn refusal to provide either higher grants for students or higher wages for teachers — all this has meant increasing chaos throughout the system.

Now Local Authorities must think of further ways in which to reduce spending. It is an interesting exercise to see just how some of them propose doing it.

Shropshire, for example, has put forward these items in a list of proposed cuts —

- £50,000 by reducing the protein content of school meals.
- £100,000 on school decoration.
- £60,000 on new furniture.
- £30,000 on using dried milk rather than fresh milk.
- £16,000 by reducing discretionary awards for further education students.

The one area not scheduled for cuts before Barber's latest slaughter was nursery and pre school education, which was in fact supposed to be expanded and improved. Now this is grinding to a halt, and certainly any Local Authorities moving

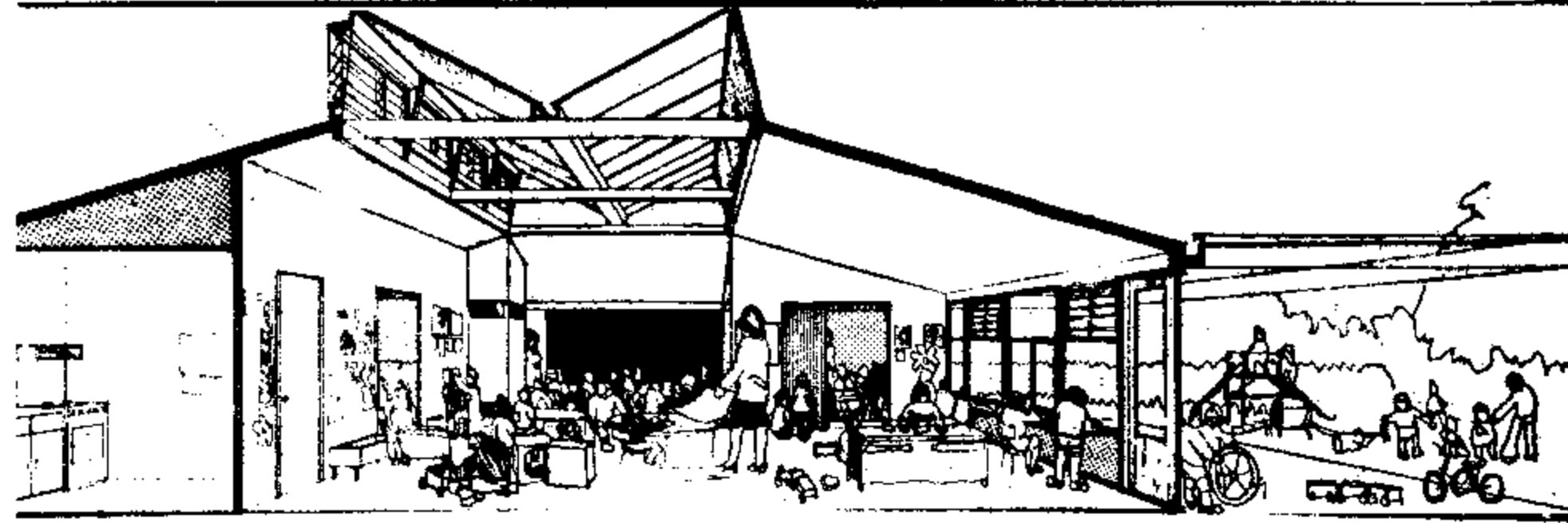
faster here than the Tories' meagre supply of money allows have been told in no uncertain terms to hold back.

Norman St. John Stevas, (who was at the Ministry of Education when the cuts were being planned) said they had been made on things which would do "least harm to the education service". It is difficult to understand what he means. Perhaps he doesn't think that slum primary schools with outside lavatories and leaking roofs, or overcrowded secondary classrooms, do any 'harm' to children, that milk and protein aren't important or

that a bare classroom with no facilities is "best for kids". But then, there aren't such 'minor problems' in the wealthy Public Schools of which he is a product.

St. John Stevas went on to say that there would be no cuts in expenditure on teaching staff; that nothing had been done to stop schools opening their doors for normal business. He must have been joking! It is exactly this question of part time schooling, caused by the shortage of staff, which shows most clearly how the Tories hope to get education on the cheap.

So far, acute teacher shortage has put children on part time schooling in at least 3 cities — London, Glasgow and Birmingham. In London the number of schools on part time stands at 83 (affecting an estimated 100,000 children). The reason is that teachers are just not available, because the wages and conditions are so poor. And the worse the pay,



Primary school building programme ... scrape!

THE October insurrection was in fact organised and led by Leon Trotsky. But Lenin was the recognised leader of the Revolution. He became the first Chairman of the Council of Soviets. Here again his actions exemplified what was a constant theme in his life, the dialectical combination of "the strictest discipline, truly iron discipline in our party" and his confidence and reliance on the creativity of the masses. "We must be guided by experience; we must allow complete freedom to the creative faculties of the masses..."

The Bolsheviks, who had a

majority in the Soviets, became the builders of the new state and the foremost fighters for its defence. It was a truly democratic state, with democratic rule by the working class exercised through the network of soviets, at the apex of which was the Supreme Soviet.

In the struggle for power, the Bolshevik programme and the needs of the masses had been summed up in the slogan 'LAND, PEACE, BREAD'. Now, in relation to the war the Bolshevik slogan was "Peace without annexations". But revolutionary Russia, bled white by war and famine and with the remnants of

the Tsarist Army simply useless, did not have the strength to impose this peace programme. German imperialism was able to impose a robbers' peace on the new workers' state.

The Bolsheviks were forced to make a retreat, giving massive territorial concessions to the Germans in the forced treaty of Brest Litovsk, signed in February 1918. This was the first of many retreats the Bolsheviks were forced to make in their isolation. The revolution in Europe still had not broken out. The Bolshevik party experienced the sharpest factional division on this question. The

majority around Bukharin advocated an immediate revolutionary war. Lenin advocated immediate peace, making the necessary concessions to Germany. Trotsky favoured an attempt to dramatise to the workers of Europe, and especially to those who had been told that the Bolsheviks were German agents, the forced character of the concessions the Bolsheviks were having to make to the Germans, but he recognised, with Lenin, that concessions were unavoidable. Consequently, using the slogan "neither peace nor war", he dragged out the negotiations at Brest Litovsk as long as possible until the Germans launched a new onslaught on the workers' state. Lenin, who had been in a small minority on the Central Committee, now gained the majority against the Bukharin faction for immediate peace.

The peace and war factions had been equally divided. Trotsky ultimately voted with Lenin, giving a majority of one to those favouring immediate peace.

Realism

Lenin had faced the situation with brutal realism. More significant, however, is that in the heat of the argument he insisted on proclaiming his opinion that if necessary the Russian revolution should be willing to sacrifice itself and face defeat in order to hasten the German revolution.

All eyes were now on Germany. The revolution did break out in Europe, beginning towards the end of 1918 a revolutionary wave swept Europe, brushing the monarchies from power in Austria and Germany and putting the right wing Social Democracy in power. Revolutionary workers' governments were established briefly in Hungary and Bavaria. In 1919 and '20, the Italian state virtually collapsed, with the working class seizing the factories. But everywhere the revolution was defeated. Everywhere it was demonstrated negatively that the work Lenin had successfully accomplished, the building of a hard revolutionary party, was irreplaceable if the revolution of the proletariat was to be victorious.

The existence of the Bolshevik party had made revolution possible in Russia, a revolution made in the belief that Russia was the first link in a necessary chain of proletarian revolutions throughout Europe. The lack of similar parties in Europe led to the defeat of the proletarian revolutions that erupted, as the Marxists had expected, in the wake of world war I. This in turn led to the isolation — which by 1921 had become apparent — of the one successful revolution, embattled Russia. And from this isolation came, from the middle of 1918, tremendous difficulties for the Bolsheviks.

The victory in Russia in 1917 had been very easy, almost bloodless. The difficulties began afterwards. Civil war erupted. In 1918 and afterwards, to the internal enemies in arms against the revolution, were added the armies of intervention sent by no less than 14 states to extinguish the proletarian revolution in Russia. The Soviet State was forced to defend itself and to build up from scratch a new, Red, Army. This was accomplished under the leadership of Trotsky, Commissar for War, and the workers' state fought a long war in which civil war was inextricably linked with interventionary war.

Internally, the majority of the Mensheviks joined the counter revolution. In July 1918 the Left Social Revolutionaries, a peasant party which had initially formed a coalition government with the Bolsheviks, organised a rebellion. An SR militant, Dora Kaplan, shot Lenin failing to kill him, but injuring him very seriously.

In response the Bolsheviks launched a Red Terror. A special

organisation, the 'Cheka', a revolutionary police, was set up to fight counter revolution. No mercy was shown to the enemies of the workers' state. The Bolsheviks, who had begun by abolishing the death penalty, now did not hesitate at summary execution of counter revolutionaries. Steeped in the history of revolutionary struggles, they understood that the proletarian revolution, in these conditions, though it aims at building a society where violence against people will be unthinkable, a socialist society, needed arms and ruthlessness to prevent a counter revolutionary bloodbath.

Cheka

Writers on Stalinism today, especially those who do not have ready access to the real history of the revolution, as for example Solzhenitsyn, confuse the ruthlessness of the revolutionary working class with the counter revolutionary butchery of Stalinism. Thus, in 'The Gulag Archipelago', the list of crimes begins in 1918 and runs all through the Stalinist period. In reality there is no continuity. The Red Terror of the revolutionary years was the violence of workers and peasants in revolt against capitalism, directed against the bourgeoisie and their agents. The Stalinist terror was the violence of an uncontrolled and self serving State bureaucracy, in four defence of its own privileged position, against the working population in general and genuine Communists in particular.

There is as much difference between the two as between the violence of a slave against his the



Makes prices go up? Don't be fooled by

THE BIG LIE

Besides this, the instability of world currencies has led to a rash of speculation in commodities which has pushed up prices. Speculators bank on prices rising and buy in order to sell later at a higher price. In doing so, they themselves push up prices — and reap the profits.

Still on food prices, many of these have been quite deliberately jacked up as a matter of policy. On January 1st, a whole series of new tariffs was slapped on imported food. Most criminal of all, food is actually destroyed to keep the price up. Last year, 1.4 million cows were slaughtered in Europe, turning butter, cheese and meat into semi-luxuries. In Britain, one million hens were slaughtered to push up the price of eggs. Tory Minister of Agriculture Joseph Godber promised fruit growers £200 for every acre of orchard deliberately spoiled with grubs; and, in the first months of 1973 alone, an estimated 17,000 tons of wheat were deliberately contaminated in this country.

MARKED UP

Retailers, who are usually presented as the hapless innocents who can do nothing about prices, have been quick to cash in on 'inflation'. Shop prices do as much as 'apfrogging' as wages are proposed to do, so that cheap items can be yanked up and still find a market, because everything else has gone up even more.

When you buy a tin of fruit for 15p, wipe off the dust on the tin and find 1s.7d. marked on it. It's fairly obviously has nothing to do with extra wages, transport costs, prices of raw

and mortgages racked up to line the moneylenders' pockets.

Finally fares — which have gone up just because previous rises, and the appalling quality of transport services, have driven passengers to use private cars, thus causing the transport authorities to put up fares still further to recoup their loss. And so ad infinitum.

Nobody was fooled when the sop of a Prices Commission was included in the "Counter Inflation" legislation. With all the measures the government has taken to put up prices, who can believe that their Prices Commission wants to bring them down at all?

And now that it's been at work for a year, what has it done? It's made absolutely sure that whoever and whatever suffers, profits remain intact. And that's just the point. The capitalist system is a system based on profit, with all the finance for its operations and progress dependent on attracting cash to it on the basis of a hard cash return to people (some individuals but mainly other companies) who have done nothing to create that increase.

So, if there's a rise in the world price of a primary commodity, that never means a cut in the manufacturers' profit. Instead, it's automatically passed on to the 'consumers'.

FREEZE

And while they're robbing it from our pockets into their tills, the Government tries to bombard us with lies about "inflationary wage settlements". Now they're even saying that Phase 3 (under which the miners would be, until the next round of price rises, the grand sum of 61p a week better off than a year ago) is "too generous". And the next thing we'll have is the Big Lie trumpeted out again as the basis for the next total wage freeze.

DON'T SWALLOW THE LIE!

The war that didn't end a year ago

27th JANUARY marked the first anniversary of the signing of the Paris Accords which were supposed to bring peace to Vietnam.

On 4th January South Vietnamese dictator Thieu made clear just how much peace meant to him. He made a violent speech denouncing the Provisional Revolutionary Government, declaring war on it in so many words, and specifically ordering attacks on areas recognised in the accords as PRG territory.

Part of Thieu's intention, no doubt, is to divert attention from the economic chaos of his own regime. Enormous inflation in 1973 meant that the average income per head went down from the equivalent of \$180 to \$110. But his recent moves to revise the constitution show that he is in no hurry to carry out the Accords' proposal for 'conciliation'. Thieu has enabled himself to secure a third term of office as President, stretching to 1980. Judges will now be appointed, effectively by Thieu, instead of being selected by committees of jurists. (There are still, according to a priest recently returned from Vietnam, "between 200,000 and 300,000" prisoners in Thieu's jails, and many are "near to death").

The National Security Council in Washington is pressing for \$1,000,000,000 to be sent to Saigon in military aid. Although other factions in Washington favour lower figures, all are reported to support the idea of increased aid.... despite the fact that according to the Paris agreement military supplies are permitted only to make good used up material!

Warfare is still continuing in South Vietnam. An average of 1000 per week have died in the last year according to Saigon figures. But as far as can be seen (and even according to the opinion of US military experts), the National Liberation Front is planning no large offensive action in the near future. It seems that they prefer for the moment to use a breathing

space to consolidate economically in the North and in the liberated areas of South Vietnam.

It is not at all clear how China's seizure of the Hsisha (or Paracels) Islands from Saigon control on 19 January fits into the general picture. It may well be that it was just a 'border incident' of no wider significance.

Laos — the 'success story' of the 1973 agreements — almost certainly does have an effect on policy in Vietnam. The agreement for a coalition government in Laos is well on the way to implementation, with arrangements going forward for Vientiane to be garrisoned jointly by Royal Lao Government and Pathet Lao troops. Whether a coalition government can last much longer than previous coalitions in 1957 and 1962, which were overthrown by right wing coups, is another question: but for the moment there is conciliation.

In Cambodia, according to a statement made in November by Khieu Samphan, chairman of the FUNK liberation organisation, conciliation is right out. The Khmer Rouge guerrilla forces, with their troops sitting on the outskirts of the capital, Phnom Penh, are in a considerably stronger position than either the Pathet Lao or the National Liberation Front. The existing Lon Nol regime is so rotten that there is scarcely anything to conciliate with.

As from the end of December, the Khmer Rouge have been making heavy artillery attacks on Phnom Penh. It is certainly true that these bombardments are having a demoralising effect on the bourgeoisie of Phnom Penh, many of whom are making preparations to evacuate. Still, the Khmer Rouge tactics do raise doubts.

For the bulk of the two million population of Phnom Penh (nearly one third of the total population of Cambodia) a call to rise up against Lon Nol, backed up with organisation, would be better than the continual bombardments (using up a great deal of munitions) and appeals to leave the city which they currently receive from the Khmer Rouge. It may be that what is involved is a drive to force the creation of a 'national democratic' regime with the toleration of US imperialism, rather than an all out offensive to kick out imperialism altogether.

That strategy would be misleading and ultimately self-defeating. But in any case that is a matter of our estimates and hypotheses about the plans of the liberation forces. The fact, right now, is that the Khmer Rouge and the NLF are fighting against US imperialism and its stooge regimes, and that they face the threat of renewed offensives (much of the aid proposed by the National Security Council may well be intended to enable Saigon to intervene in support of Lon Nol). Our duty is to give them full support in their fight to free their countries.

MARTIN THOMAS.



V 1870 - 1924 OCTOBER

Includes his 3 part series on Lenin

ster and the violence of the

March 1919, the work the Bolsheviks had begun when the Second International collapsed at the outbreak of war, bore fruit. A Communist, International was founded in Moscow, Russia, the burning heart of the world proletarian revolution, the object of the bourgeoisie and fear on the part of the world's bourgeoisie, combined its attempt to break out of its encirclement with the attempt to build a world party of the proletariat, on firm foundations. In the fire of the revolutionary surge then flaring in Europe, the International attempted to lead revolutionary parties out of the debris or the hulks of the old Second International Parties, and, more importantly, out of the newly proletarianised masses.

From the Second World Congress in 1920, an increasing part of the basis of the Comintern was the analysis of the experience of the defeats suffered by the revolution in Europe.

The complex interaction between revolutionary victory in Russia, whose precondition was the existence of Lenin's party, and the defeat of the European revolution, because of the absence of such parties, now manifested itself within the victorious revolution.

Civil War

Throughout the years of civil war and intervention, the Russian economy had been devastated. The working class, always a small part of the population, had been virtually uprooted from its social role and transformed into the personnel of the new state and the

organisations, trade unionism and revolutionary politics, and the question of women. Far from Moscow issuing orders, as it was to do later, the future and conduct of the Soviet state itself was seen as a subject for discussion and deliberation by the world communist movement.

The struggle for Bolshevism had meant an irreconcilable battle against all those tendencies weakening the proletariat as a revolutionary force. The new world party of the proletariat was to be built in the same way — founded on a Marxism now enriched with the fundamental experiences of struggle against Bernsteinian revisionism, social chauvinism, and the Kautsky centre, and enriched also with the experience of the revolution in Russia.

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Civil War

Throughout the years of civil war and intervention, the Russian economy had been devastated. The working class, always a small part of the population, had been virtually uprooted from its social role and transformed into the personnel of the new state and the

new Army. A system known as War Communism had been in operation. Essentially this had been a system of direct state distribution of goods. The peasantry were willing to allow the direct state appropriation of their produce so long as the threat of counter-revolution, and the restoration of the landlords, loomed over their heads. But the end of the Civil War inevitably led to growing frictions and tensions, culminating in peasant rebellions.

In 1921, the Bolsheviks reacted to this by introducing the 'New Economic Policy'. This was essentially a policy of limited restoration of free market relations under the strict regulation and control of the workers' state. But this in turn led, by the middle '20s, to a large scale degeneration in the state itself, raising it to a degree of independence in which it balanced between the newly licensed merchants and traders and rich peasants on one hand, and the working class on the other.

N.E.P.

The harmful effects on the Bolshevik party of these developments, rooted as they were in the incredibly backward conditions of Russia, were already visible by the early '20s. They took the form of growing bureaucratism within the Bolshevik party, the transformation of an increasingly dominant section, which had a power base in the state apparatus into a stifling bureaucracy.

Like the trade union bureaucracy in Britain, the bureaucracy of the Soviet state grounded itself in

material privileges. Its rule was made easier because at the 10th Party Congress in March 1921 party democracy had been severely curtailed and organised factions banned. Intended as a temporary measure to aid the party through the dangerous period of transition to the New Economic Policy, it became permanent and ultimately shaded off into the stalinist ice age in which nobody by the 'Great Leader' himself dared utter an independent word.

In opposition to the bureaucracy there crystallised a determinedly revolutionary section, dedicated to maintaining the revolutionary perspectives of the party and fighting for a restoration of party democracy.

Stalin

Lenin was one of the first in the field against bureaucracy. In 1922 he had suffered a stroke which paralysed him almost totally for a period. After a brief recovery, he suffered another stroke, on March 7 1923, from which he never recovered, though there were periods in which he was able to dictate notes. In this period, he fought his last battle, against growing threats of bureaucratism and in defence of working class democracy.

On his deathbed he became increasingly aware that things were not going well, and alarmingly conscious of the growing power of the bureaucracy. Initiative from below was being stifled. The Workers' Inspectorate, far from being a genuine organ of working class supervision, had become merely one more source of bureaucratic power for Stalin.

On the National Question too, 'Great Russian chauvinism' was rearing its head. Stalin and Dzherzhinsky had conducted a savage campaign against the Georgian Bolsheviks, accusing them of nationalism. Lenin knew where the malignant nationalism lay — in the central state apparatus.

He resolved to conduct a struggle against the bureaucracy and in favour of the maligned Georgian Bolsheviks. But Lenin the activist was reduced to Lenin the dictator of notes, unable even to write them himself. These notes became his Testament.

On January 4th 1923 he wrote: "Stalin is too rude and this defect... becomes intolerable in a general secretary. That is why I suggest that the comrades think over a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing somebody else differing in all respects from Comrade Stalin by one single advantage — that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and considerate to the comrades, less officious, etc. ... I think that from the point of view of assuring against a split and from the point of view of what I wrote above of the mutual relations between Stalin and Trotsky, it is not a detail, or it is a detail which can acquire decisive importance."

Stalin was not removed, and in any case he was not himself the new bureaucracy, merely its personification.

On 21st January 1924 Lenin died. Within a short time all that he stood for had become a dead letter in the Communist movement.

At the end of 1923 the Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, had taken up the same struggle as Lenin. Lenin's death was made the excuse by the bureaucracy for a mass recruitment of tens of thousands of careerists and time servers into the party, thus diluting it and increasingly isolating revolutionaries. As if already mocking the memory of Lenin, they



named this drowning of the party "the Lenin levy"! Within less than a year after Lenin's death the bureaucracy had differentiated itself from his programme by proclaiming the possibility he had always mocked at, that there could be socialism in one country. Thus they started on the road to abandoning the struggle for the international proletarian revolution.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition were very soon the only forces still standing on Lenin's programme. The bureaucracy gained control of the young parties of the Comintern, many of them still in the process of formation. Soon they were transformed into parties like the British Communist Party of today.

Hostile

Within little more than ten years of Lenin's death, almost the entire generation of Bolshevik revolutionaries were murdered by the totalitarian state with Stalin at its head.

Lenin, safely dead, was mummified as an icon by the Stalinist state. The impossibility even for Stalin of destroying Lenin's published works — which for us remain as the real Lenin — now led to endless scholastic reinterpretations of them, quite alien to the spirit of Lenin and the spirit of Marxism.

This all too brief outline has traced the outline of Lenin's political activities. Let the writer Maxim Gorky, a friend of Lenin though not always an uncritical one, he opposed the October insurrection and very bitterly criticised the Red Terror — have the last word on Lenin's character and motives: "I have never met ... nor do I know of, any man who hated, loathed and despised so deeply and strongly as Lenin all unhappiness, grief and suffering. ... Lenin was exceptionally great, in my opinion, precisely because of this feeling in him of irreconcilable, unquenchable hostility towards the sufferings of humanity, his burning faith that suffering is not an essential and unavoidable part of life, but an abomination which people ought and are able to sweep away."

PAY BOARD REPORT

Some more elastic in the harness

THE PAY BOARD'S recent report "Problems of Pay Relativities" is all about the supposed 'league table' of wages. Like the earlier report (on 'linked negotiating groups') its aim is to elastically Phase 3 — to make it more flexible.

It could certainly help the Tories if they still wanted to duck out of a confrontation with the miners and railmen. "Certainly relativity problems cannot be solved in isolation", it says. "The relevant facts range wider than pay. Depending on the case, the

examination may need to cover payment systems as well as pay structures, certain aspects of manpower policies and industrial relations procedures."

There are further suggestions that a major change in the role or importance of an industry (like the mines in an energy crisis?) or a radical reorganisation in a service (like the drivers' reorganisation?) would count as a valid reason for sidestepping a freeze.

In any case, the designation "considerations of national priorities (which) may be involved in determining the manpower needs of certain industries" is so general that it is obvious the Pay Board intends to use it as a hold all.

In a way, then, this report is a mini Phase 3. It modifies that policy — and strengthens it — by expanding its 'flexibility' provisions. As it says itself, "There can be little doubt that some element of flexibility is necessary for the stability of incomes policy if it is to last more than a short period. (!) ... and would help make the policy itself more acceptable."

The kind of flexibility which the Labour Party has built in to its relations to the unions when in government — with its relatively broad room for manoeuvre — is not possible for the Tories. They therefore have to construct a very complex mechanism through which to allow themselves and the union leaders the same room for manoeuvre as Labour has.

How complex and elaborate, we can see from its recommended four stage framework for procedure: first there is a

selection of those whose case is to be examined for "special" treatment; then there is an examination in depth and in public of this case by a single examining authority; this authority will then make a recommendation; and finally the Secretary of State will make a decision.

Like Phase 3 itself, this procedure is designed to narrow down the contentious issues in a dispute to those which are specific to that industry — in this way encouraging sectionalism. At the

same time it draws the trade union leaders (willingly for the most part) further into the tangle of committees and tribunals and away from the real rank and file struggle itself, and is a major step towards the integration of the trade unions in the state.

With the agreement by the TUC two weeks ago that they would police Phase 3 for the Tories, the threat posed by this kind of integration is now very immediate.

JACK PRICE



6 arrested at Coventry picket

AFTER the successful mass picket at Art Castings, Nuneaton, the police hit back last Saturday (26th).

The occasion was a second mass picket in support of Indian strikers whose picket line had been harried by police with orders to keep it down to 4 at a time.

The police started by searching all those present, on the pretext that one of their radios was missing. A camera crew from 'Cinema Action' was harassed, and a man with a tape recorder was told not to use it.

Then, as an attempt was made to stop a lorry crossing the line, the police snatch squads swooped. One of those arrested, Jack Sprung said "The whole

thing seemed to be pre arranged".

Those arrested will be in court again on February 11th; they are charged with assault and obstruction of police. On Tuesday 29th, the regular picket line was attacked again, 2 people were arrested and it is reported that one of them was beaten by the police.

It is becoming obvious that the picket at Art Castings is to be an arena for a trial of strength. This makes it all the more important to respond to the latest attacks of the police. On Wednesday 30th January the Coventry Action Committee meets to plan further action and help for those victimised by the police.

D.S.

Action stepped up as hunger strikers fight on

The campaign for the repatriation of the four Winchester prisoners on hunger strike in British jails has gathered momentum, with numerous meetings, pickets and demonstrations in the last week.

After a letter from relatives of the prisoners appealing for an end to forced feeding had been sent to over 100 MPs, church leaders and civil liberties campaigners, Lord Conville (Minister of State at the Home Office) has been contacted by 'dozens' of people, mainly MPs, asking to be allowed to visit the prisoners to see what condition they were in.

Lord Longford is reported to have seen Colville, after visiting Gerry Kelly and Hugh Feeney. Neither Kelly nor Feeney has been allowed a single visit since they were convicted in mid November, and there'd been serious concern for their condition. Feeney is now also on thurst strike, in protest against the forced feeding. In a letter home he writes: "They are now going to play the cat and mouse — i.e. leave me for a few days and then feed me for a few, when I get weak. I'm down to 8 stone 6lbs. so they will do it either tomorrow or Monday and will put the liquids into me because of the thurst strike... If they stop force feeding, I'll take water again but not until then. NO".

HARASSED

It is understood that Longford has urged the Home Office to allow the two men to have visits from their families.

The family of Dolours and Marion Price has also been harassed over visits. The Social Security has said that their boat fares would be paid, but if they chose to go by air then they cannot even claim the cost of the boat fare towards it. Returning from London last week, they were suddenly informed that the flight they were booked on was "full" and that they would have to wait until the next day. They felt that the presence of a number of Special Branch men, who had been following them and had then gone into a huddle at the Flight Desk at Heathrow, might not have been unconnected with the sudden discovery that the flight was full.

HORRIBLE

Meanwhile, the torture of forced feeding goes on. If the four have not backed down from their demands to be returned to Northern Ireland to serve their 20 year sentences, it is not because the process is in any way tolerable. It remains just as painful and degrading. In one of her letters home Marian wrote "Today I heard Dolours yelling". Dolours wrote "I know that I don't want that stuff forced down me and, while I am not in a position to offer physical resistance, that's not to say that I cannot mentally resist and reject the whole horrible happenings. I notice that while I am having it I shudder all the time, which is something new. It feels as if my whole inside is turning..."

On January 1st, Marian Price wrote to her mother — "Well, this morning we had our forcefeeds. Dolours was a bit sick and I was the sickest I have ever been. As soon as the tube went down I started to retch and then when the liquid was poured in it all came up again, so half way through the doctor pulled up the tube and started all over again. ... I still puked the remainder up. Very unpleasant, but this is the first day of the New Year and if I have to go through the same for the next 365 days, I will".



Marian and Dolours Price

On February 3rd it will be Marian's 20th birthday. One of the committees pressing for the hunger strikers' demands, the Joint Action Committee, will deliver a massive birthday card. The message, taken from a poem written about a suffragette who won her release by hunger strike, includes these words, which well apply to Dolours, Marian, Hugh and Gerry: "Flesh shrank til bones showed through Yet still within that house of clay The spirit lived and won its way."

ACTION

PICKET of Brixton Prison. Saturday February 2nd, 1 to 2pm. Jebb Avenue, S.W.2
CAR CAVALCADE Sunday 3rd February, assemble at Lord Palmerston, Kilburn High Road, 2pm.

PICKET of Wormwood Scrubs. Sunday 3rd February, 3pm. Meet at White City tube.

MEETING, Saturday 2nd February, 7pm at the CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Square, W.C.1
MARCH, Sunday 3rd February, to the Irish Embassy, 17 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1. Assemble Speakers Corner, Marble Arch, 2.30pm.

PICKET of Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1. Starts 4pm on February 7th
MEETING at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, 7th February at 8pm.

MEETING February 8th, 8pm at Ladbroke Hall, Highbury Grove, N.5

MARCH to Brixton Prison, Sunday 10th February. Assemble Clapham Common, 2.30. FROM Friday night, Feb. 8th, members of the Kilburn Women & Ireland collective will hold a 'hunger strike' outside Brixton until the picket on Sunday afternoon.

These activities are organised by the Irish Political Hostages Campaign (88 Roslyn Road, London N.15) and the Joint Action Committee, 50 Colebrooke Row, London N.1)

'Socialist' Poland scabs once more

The ruling Polish "United Workers Party" has turned down an appeal from Communist Party (Great Britain) industrial organiser Bert Ramelson not to supply Polish coal to the British government during the British miners' dispute.

Naturally! The Polish 'Socialist' Republic scabbed on the 1972 miners' strike. It scabbed before that on the Asturian miners fighting the Fascist Franco government.

In November the Central Electricity Generating Board, fearful of an impending overtime ban, asked Poland to deliver 500,000 tons of coal by the end of March. The CEB wanted a deal that would scab on the miners and protect the interests of British capitalism. Poland duly signed up, and insists on sticking to the deal. Last week, 27,000 tons of Polish coal came in at Immingham.

Ramelson and the CPGB must surely have known what answer they would get from the Stalinist careerists who run Poland. If they were really serious, they would appeal not to the governing bureaucrats but to Polish miners and transport workers to black all coal for Britain, and if necessary to take strike action.

But you won't catch the leaders of the British Communist Party doing that. A foredoomed gesture is as far as they will go in interference in the affairs of "socialist" Poland.

A.T.

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Victimised teacher now fights Union deadweights too

Mrs. Dorothy McColgan is still without a job. After being removed from Hungerford Infants School because she held opinion "unacceptable to the Head", she now finds herself up against not only her employers the Inner London Education Authority, but also the bureaucrats in her own union, the NUT.

As a teacher of 20 years' experience, she holds what is known as an 'assigned' teacher's contract. This means that she is recognised as being a worthy member of her school, and cannot be moved from there without her consent — a useful safeguard, since all other classroom teachers are liable to be moved at ILEA's discretion.

But has assignment really turned out to be a useful safeguard? Dorothy's assignment was originally to Highbury Quadrant Infants School, where the issue first arose in 1969 (see WF 30). However, since being moved from there she has been placed in a special category, that of 'unattached' teacher. (Hence there was in fact an error in the report in WF 34 — she was not assigned to teach at Hungerford Infants.)

The importance of her case is twofold: First, it exposes the small print in ILEA's contracts, and shows that no London classroom teacher has guaranteed job security (not even after 20 years!). Secondly, since her "unacceptable opinions" hinge around democracy in schools,

they are a direct challenge to the autocracy of the Head teachers, who are precisely the kind of people who hold the key positions in the NUT.

Dorothy's demands to the ILEA before reinstatement are:

1). Re-employment as an assigned teacher in her previous ILEA division

2). Statements from ILEA and the Head of Hungerford Infants that there is no complaint against her work or conduct;

3). Back pay to September 1973, when the current campaign began.

So far, none of these demands are being met.

Since last September she has received no pay from the ILEA, and so far the campaign has cost Dorothy around £400. But with NUT hierarchy closing ranks against her, it has been left to the individual actions of local NUT branches to supply her with financial support.

Even the treasurer of her own branch is refusing to implement a resolution passed in November calling for support to the tune of two thirds of her normal salary. A special union meeting called last week to censure him over this matter failed: head teachers came from miles around, complete with 'supporters' in the shape of young teachers — many of whom had not been seen at any branch meeting in the past year.

Send donations and messages of support to Mrs. Dorothy McColgan, 163 Green Lanes, London N.16.

Protest after teachers' 25% claim strangled by NUT

THE NUT EXECUTIVE on 26 January decided to sell out to Phase 3.

They voted to accept an offer giving an average of about 8% increase in place of the teachers' 25% claim. Max Morris, NUT President and a member of the Communist Party, said: "We are aiming to get a settlement before

the Government introduces more drastic measures of income control that would have a punitive effect in the public service". In other words: accept Phase 3 while there's still time, because Phase 4 will be worse!

It's all quite logical if, like the reformists of the CP, you see the task of working class action as getting the maximum within what the bosses' state is willing to allow. The fact is, though, that teachers, together with miners, railwaymen, and engineers, could defy the bosses' state, and smash Phase 3.

The NUT Executive decision leaves teachers in the lurch, with an increase that will not even cover price rises. It leaves children's education in the lurch: teacher shortage and turnover will get worse on the basis of this miserable 8% increase. It leaves the miners and the railwaymen in the lurch.

The final decision on the settlement is to be made in the Burnham negotiating committee on 4th February. Before then, the NUT Executive must be bombarded with resolutions and protests from local NUT Associations and NUT members in the schools, to force them to back down.

Haringay Teachers Association on Tuesday 29th sent up a resolution to the NUT Executive condemning any settlement within Stage 3 and urging a fight for the full claim. It also decided to send a delegation to lobby the Burnham Committee negotiators on February 4th.

MEETINGS

Coventry W.F. 10th February, 7.30 at Elastic Inn. Marxist Education Series: Marxist Economics.

Nottingham W.F. 1st February 8th, 8pm at The Lion, Chamber Street, Nottingham. Andrew Hornung on LENIN

London W.F. 10th February, 8pm at the Golden Lion, Britannia Street, Kings Cross. Andrew Hornung on LENIN