WORKERS' FIGHT
UNITE'D ACTION
CAN SMASH PAY FREEZE

Gas workers outside Mill Hill conversion depot

THE TORY PRESS WITCHUNT

This is the confrontation Heath thinks he can win. The flabby bully boy of Downing St. plans to get revenge for what the miners and dockers did to his Government, by wiping his boots on the Gas workers.

Thus he hopes to deter the miners, hospital workers, civil servants, Ford workers, the railway workers, from pressuring their claims.

In fact it can be the confrontation — the decisive one — that we can win. If we mobilise our strength to aid the Gas workers and smash the freeze.

The Press is campaigning hysterically against the Gas workers, trying to snatch off a witchhunt. Last year the whole of the working class and much of the press sympathised with the miners, doing a dirty job for low pay. Gas workers exist in conditions nearly as foul as the pits, where the labour is hardly less conscious.

YEARN DEATHS

But most people have never been inside a gasworks, and know little of the conditions. So the Tory press opens the throttles and belches out clouds of lying propaganda, in an attempt to choke off the kind of solidarity action that helped the miners to win.

Every year nearly 90,000 old people die from cold and undemontisment — but there are no press campaigns for a living pension; just the old report of especially horrible cases, which make good "human interest" copy and build up an image of "caring".

But now they are traund out to be used conventionally to bash the gas workers. Suddenly we find more coal-turn ins in one week devoted to old people than are normally devoted to the average year's toll of 90,000 dead — dead not because of a gas workers strike, but because of deliberate, official neglect.

The danger of accidents and explosions during the strike is the responsibility of the Tory Government alone. Any attempt to lay the responsibility on the gas workers is sheer industrial blackmail.

Unfortunately there will be such incidents — because in any normal week of the year there is an average one serious explosion caused by gas.

But you won't find that in the bosses' press.

The Press aims to witchhunt the gas workers back to work by saying they did the power stations two years ago. But times have changed. The whole working class has learned great lessons since then: millions will now see victory or defeat for the gas men as a victory or defeat for themselves.

VICTORY

The most effective answer to that witchhunt, and the best way to make the strike hit hardest, is for other sections of workers to come in with them.

It is sheer madness that sections of workers coming in for a fight against the freeze are being held back, with the gas workers out in front in the firing line. All together the freeze will be torn apart. If the choice is clearly between an all-out confrontation aiming to win, and toasting the line by giving the field to the Tories, Union leaders, and most certainly the TUC, have chosen the latter.

We must campaign and organise for victory. We can win, now, and smash both the freeze and the Industrial Relations Act. If we mobilise our industrial strength for an all-out battle — THAT IS FOR A GENERAL STRIKE. The gas workers' action and the other mobilisations against the freeze — like the major struggles of the last year against the Industrial Relations Act — point logically to a confrontation using the full resources of our industrial strength.

The key demand at the March TUC must be for a general strike. Here and now we must organise mass solidarity with the gas workers — form local militant rank-and-file Unitf Front committees. If the "leaders" fail, the task falls to us to prepare the counter-offensive and the general strike.

POLICE ARREST 24 WORKERS

ALL OUT MARCH 15th.!

Summons have been issued for the arrest of 24 building workers. The charge is one of "intimidation", arising out of incidents in Shrewsbury round the building strike last year. Six have already been arrest ed, and are on £50 bail.

The contractors' shop stewards' committee at Shrewsbury have called an all workers to strike on 15 March — the day of the trial — against this blatant Tory under-handling. Liverpool dockers are already supporting this call.
BUILD UNITED FRONT COMMITTEES

"Yes, but it's against the law, isn't it?" It's not so often that you'll hear that reply these days. The Industrial Relations Act is 'the law'. The 90-day wage and price freeze was 'the law'. Phase 2 is scheduled to be 'the law', come what may.

But to millions of working people, it is clear that if this is 'law and order' and 'the system is all right', then living is going downhill. Most of the half million workers in all-fields of living are non-peaceful, spooky, insecure lives. It is law and order in aid of jailing trade unionists, in aid of deporting thousands of a decent livelihood, by kicking them off keeping their wages down - and in aid of the interests of the rich minority who control the State and its law.

And so working people have struck back at the Tories - in the strike on the coalfields, on the shipyards, on the gas workers, Printers, the hospitals... to lay down their own order. The Tories have not been able to carry through their plans. They are now resorting to forthright configuration - no 'special cases', no Official Solicitor. Their 'price freeze' is a sick joke - grocery prices rose 1.5% in the five weeks to January 22nd. That's a rate of over 16% per year! And only the most gullible can believe their words of comfort for the lower-paid after their record with the farm-workers and the hospital ancillaries. The Tories face a wages collision like the miners' strike of a very year - but in less favourable conditions for them. Their inability of climbdown is narrow. Their credibility is less. The working class is aware of the smoko from the State. They will protest against a pay cut. They will respond to a pay cut. They will face the Tories as they face the present phase to 3.

United Action - with different sections co-ordinated to strike together - can multiply our strength a hundredfold. United Front Committees must be formed at every level - from the top union leaders down to the rank and file in each locality - with a programme of:

(1) Support for all workers actually in struggle - for instance one day solidarity strike with the Civil Servants on 27th February.

(2) Defend and advance the trade unions from the State - NO INFRINGEMENT ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT.

(3) Against the cut in the public service - branch union unity.

In Manchester, a trade unionists' conference against the Freeze takes place on February 18th.

Particularly important is gaining support from better-organised workers for the less experienced trade unionists now up against the Government. The forthcoming conference of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Union Rights must take a lead in this. The Liaison Committee as United Fronts and coordinate them nationally.

But, if unity is our aim, that doesn't mean that we wait to act until perfect coordination is achieved. The trade unionist hesitant will never follow. The new vigour of the struggle of the past year has sprung from a willingness not to wait, not to delay for the 'proper channel', to choose immediate, direct action. It is that vigour that will break the Freeze.

The Tories hope rest on the Trade Union official leadership. After the AUEW's successful action to take all the gas workers' anger against the £60,000,000 to waste away in isolated protests, large part was the Industrial Relations Act which established as the norm for official trade union practice. The 'leaders' line' is that Phase 2 would be all right, given only a little room for 'special circumstances'.

The line of officihood - both Trade Union and Labour Party - is to stress kicking the Tories out and getting in a Labour government which (we hope) will stop the Tories' works. Of course, we are absolutely in favour of kicking the Tories out.

But the official leaders advocate kicking the Tories out as the alternative to trade unionists fighting now. The danger is that some rank-and-file workers who want to kick the Tories out as well as fighting now will be conned into the officials' policies.

There is a serious possibility that action against Phase 2 can escalate to general strike proportions - particularly if the Tories use the penal clauses of the Industrial Relations Act, which are a vital weapon for them to assist Phase 2. A general strike could go ahead to rip up both Act and Freeze.

The great strike wave of 1972 - Chiswicks Farm, Penneve Five - was based on the brink of a general strike. And precisely because they don't develop their full logic, to a general strike, their victories were partial, and their real position and their effective remain.

General strike is the perspective presented to the workers. It is the key demand to be pressurised at the March 19th march on the Tories' last official strike - by the Trade Union leaders. It is the way to protest against the 'trade unionists' workers' strike of the freeze.

We cannot rely on the top union leaders. The responsibility falls on the rank and file. Local United Front Committees must pressurise, build solidarity here and now, organise militant pickets where possible, explain, educate, organise.

The Dollar and PHASE TWO

British Government's Phase 1 and Phase 2 policies are so similar to the US administration's Phase 1 and 2 that the Finance Minister was moved to explain to our American friends about the 'paradigm' of Phase 2, its effects, and its outcome.

"The British experience supplies the myth of the crisis of 'inflation' as the thing which is wrong with the American capitalist system. Inflation is a symptom of a much deeper underlying crisis, which penetrates into the very economic foundations of capitalist society."

PROFITS

The American Phase 2 regulations succeeded in keeping down the level of inflation in the States to below the rate of growth of real wages, as a success by businessmen and the Nixon administration. It resulted in a reduction in profit margins, 22% in 1972. Profits went down unexpectedly while exports failed to keep pace (up 13%).

The immediate success of the American Phase 2 regulations in cutting inflation, the US Administration was forced to remove them, not because of the impending Dollar crisis but because whilst the restrictions on wages encouraged production in the early stages of Phase 2, the restrictions on profit margins soon began to discourage production. The restrictions had to be removed. The result was a fall in American investments on profits, the door was opened to wages. Thus Phase 2 was dismantled.

This situation could face the Heath Government during the later stages of Phase 2. Of course it is not to be admired by the British workers. This is why Heath took pains to assure businessmen and workers in a reply to a question in the House of Commons that "The limit on profit margins would not inhibit increased industrial investment...the objective of Phase 2 and 3 would be to ensure that company profits were sufficient to provide increased investment.. The forced sacrifices of the American workers did not benefit them in any way. In fact the huge deficit which Phase 2 has helped to create has led the Nixon Administration to draw down budget proposals which catered for the 'real' costs of the social services and Welfare schemes by $19,000 million."

VICIOUS

This in itself is a vicious attack on the US workers, and it is this that makes means where the real privations of austerity and self-reliance. This attack, in line with the 10% increase of the Surtax by March 19th, will mean that the American workers with cuts in welfare benefits and cuts in real wages. What a gloriously successful Phase 2! Let us now for a moment look at the role of the American trade union leaders in this massive confidence trick. Initially they accepted positions on the boards which looked into pay and price mass, and they only resigned when they became dangerously close to their authority in the unions.

The American trade union bureaucracy totally failed to mobilise their members against the freeze and as a result lost half their membership in the middle of the freeze. The Freeze is a defeat. The US workers will not 'realise' in their wage demands during Phase 3 - for Nixon, that is, but for the American workers, that is a defeat.

The deflation of the dollar will have a multiplier effect of effects on the dollar.

First, the pound is still rising, forcing the US to the dollars, and per has a lot down. Secondly, the dollar will also cause a balance of payments deficit, perhaps up to £1,000 million. Even if it does not go quite that high, it still means that the Government will have to take measures to cut down exports.

The most likely event is a further effective deflation of the £, which will have the effect of flowing from that for the working class. If the Government takes measures to stop the imports, it will most likely be monetary means.

The consequence of this will be to bring a new attack on the British economy that will be in evidence in the new SS."
Clay Cross Councillor David Nuttall calls for trade union support

The 11 CLAY CROSS 'rebels' councillors have been suspended by the council from their duties and have been removed from the council's payroll.

The council has also removed the rebel councillors from all council committees and has refused to pay them any more money.

The rebels are demanding reinstatement into their positions on the council.

On Wednesday 10th January, the NUM's claim for 1973 was withdrawn. The NUM has now set a new target for the end of the year, and the success of the present claim will depend on how the miners respond to the NUM's call for a strike.

PREPARE

Last year the miners' strike was a success in terms of the financial benefits received by the miners. The NUM's claim for an increase in the minimum rates for faces, drivers, and underground workers was successful, and the success of the present claim will depend on how the miners respond to the NUM's call for a strike.

Another issue for immediate discussion is the level of productivity/efficiency bargaining. The NUM is determined to achieve a real and sustained increase in productivity.

NMTU must reject productivity deals and act now

The NUM must reject all productivity deals and act now. The NUM has set a new target for the end of the year, and the success of the present claim will depend on how the miners respond to the NUM's call for a strike.

As a result of the NUM's success in the strike, the NUM must now set its sights on achieving a real and sustained increase in productivity. The NUM must reject all productivity deals and act now to ensure that the miners receive a fair and just settlement.
Obituary of a poor man

"All the rooms were intact with bugs, the gas fires were broken, and the flats have to be fumigated and cleaned..."

From a tenant to a rent tribunal? No. This was part of the statement of a landlord describing his property.

Apparently he thought this adequate reason for serving notice on the occupants, including Mr. Bill Quinn, a 68-year-old retired bricklayer, who he reckoned Mr. Quinn had put the main front door out, and for burning his few possessions.

This all came out in the evidence to the coroner who recorded a verdict of suicide in the case of Mr. Quinn. As the coroner said: "The notice to quit, the chipped locks, and the state of the house obviously upset him a great deal!"

...and a dog

We hear that Lyndon Johnson was cremated. He was dead at the time. Under his victims.

Militant?

A recent cartoon in the English paper "Militant" (No. 142) shows two naked "gunmen". One sports the red hand of Ulster, and the other a briclot. They are being shot down from fighting by a heroically muscular figure: The Trade Unionist.

This socialist superman points his sure and messianic finger at the fat capitalist and says: "There's your real enemy!"

The trouble is, my dear, spineless militants, that it is more than likely that the Loyalist in your drawing is a card-carrying member of the AUEW, and quite possibly the IRA man isn't. In fact, that's one reason the fighting started - job discrimination against Catholics, or rather keep as many of them unemployed for all or most of their lives.

But what is worse is the equating of the two "gunmen". For socialists, the struggle of the Republicans against British imperialism and Orange rule is a progressive struggle to be supported. The struggle of the Loyalists' or Orange ascendancy must be opposed with all our force.

The mind of the 'Militant' has been affected by the "English disease": the arrogant judgement of all things by the lens of the formal routes of the uniform trade union struggle and imposed values.

\[\text{From Eric Heffer's statement giving the reason for his resignation as a front bench spokesman on industrial relations.} \]

Brilliant wit

"At the end of the meeting, how far had you felt you were responsible for the council?" The chairman asked. "I was responsible for the problems."

Mr. Heeley replied: "It wasn't as far as we felt, it was about 4 feet 6 inches!""
THE MESSAGE OF THE BLACK STRIKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA:

VORSTER! YOUR END IS NEAR!

An African going on strike in South Africa risks losing his job and to
his right to be outside a poor rural
reserve (called Bantustan). Accor-
ding to the ruling, Apartheid ideology, Africans are “at home” in the Bantu-
stan and are only temporarily in industrial areas.

Striking by Blacks in South Af-
rica is a criminal offence. Black
trade unions have no legal or negoti-
ating status, so downing tools
means no strike pay. The strikers
have been felled with arrest, baton
charges, dogs, tear gas, armed
police in battle dress, troops and
helicopters.

Despite all this, up to 100,000
Africans in Durban, one quarter
of the African work force, have waged
strikes over a period of five weeks.

These included shipbuilders, steve-
dores, drivers, textile, brick, and
tea company workers. Their solid-
arity and militancy has been magni-
cent. They have protected each other
by refusing to allow their leaders to
be identified by negotiating with
employers. They have brought
fellow workers out by invading the
offices where they work. When
strikers marching on a factory were
stopped by police dogs and then
tear gas, they were replaced by a
second group as soon as the gas
was cleared.
The strikes were broken only when
the municipal workers, number
15,000, were threatened with the
sack. They had spread in the Durban area and in Cape-
town. Some workers, for example 2500
textile workers, have lost their
jobs. But many others have gained
jobs. The strike was sparked by sub-
standard pay. An average family
needs at least R100 a week to live at the basic subsistence level.
More than three quarters of Durban
black workers live below this. The
tea company was paying only 75
per week. The brick workers got less.

Now the tea company workers
have gained £1.50, and also the
reinstatement of sacked workers.
Overall the gains have average £
per week. Small, but with the defi-

dant militancy of the black workers,
a significant threat to the South
African white bosses.

OVAMBOS

It is a year since a general strike of
Ovambo workers in South Africa's
colony of Namibia (South West Africa) shook the Apartheid
dictatorship. Vorster's retaliation,
after ending the strike, was to
send many black workers back to
the Bantustans.
The economy, however, de-

deps on black labour. Even this move created serious economic
problems. The Durban strike was,
therefore, not with the typically
'cool' approach - the workers
were not shot or deported. But
this softening only led to a spread-
ing of the action.
The Government is caught in the
mass strike points to its over-
throw. And it expresses the bas-
cial, predominant working class
character of the black majority.
It points towards the coming
South African revolution, which
will transform the whole of Africa.
The Government have de facto
conceded the right to strike - but
they aim to ride out the move-
ment by not changing the law; not
allowing black unions; that is,
permanent organization; and striv-
ing to keep the workers atomised,
not letting any formed leadership
emerge. Any concessions they
are forced to make will redouble
the impact through increasing
the workers' self-confidence.

GENERAL STRIKE

The Government managed to res-
tume control because of the inade-
quacy of the general strike
which in Harare, in itself, the
general strike is merely passive: 'people doing nothing on a large
scale'.

Because the general strike
did not move the use of force -
amend insurrection - the Govern-
ment was able, finally, to spell
the strikers through the use of
force. (Which is not to say that
the strike shouldn't have been
started, or didn't yield gains?)

In the conditions of South
Africa, guerrilla and armed strug-
gle will be a necessary part of
revolutionary action. The pre-
cipitation of armed detachments is...
If the time is to be pre-arranged from prevailing simply through
agitation in the armed forces. It
is clear from the Durban strike
that the foremost role will be
played by the action of the urban
black workers. The guerrilla strug-
gle will have to be linked with
and led by the activity of a work-
ers' political party (necessarily
an underground party).

The South African revolution,
now taking shape, promises to be
much more like the 'classical'
Russian revolution model than like
doesnot. The third wave of revolu-
tions of the last 30 years.

MURDEROUS

What about the white workers?
They are formally workers, true
but they form a privileged, racist
caste. In the face of any decis-
ive class action by the black
workers, they instinctively and
automatically side with the
murderous regime. To rely on
abstract class unity is to live in
dreamland.

And what about us? British
bosses can pretend superiority to
and even hơn at Apartheid. But
the fact is that the South African
bosses are scarcely more than
well-paid African agents for
British and US imperialism. Brit-
ish investment and trade is mass-
ive, and arms deals continue.
Apartheid is merely the underside
of 'British democracy'.

Many firms in South Africa are
actually international companies.
In Britain, France or the USA, they
pay one wage; in South Africa, the
starvation pitance apartheid all-
ows them to get away with. Rec-
ognised by US workers to force
the Polonard company to pay the
same wage in South Africa as in the
white' countries is a way in which
we can aid the struggle of
South Africa's working class.

TROTSKYISTS

300 CANDIDATES

A strike of 10 million workers
in 1986. But that magnified
strike showed, and not for the
first time, that the French working
class is not made of.

Even if the leaders would 'respec-
t' and accept - under protest, of

course - the lawfulness of Pompot-
dou's decrees, the militant workers
of France might not.

They might instead choose to
take to the streets, or occupy the
factories, despite their leaders.

UNION OF
THE LEFT

The Union of the Left stands on a
programme of genuine reforms, and
has not, so far, aroused much real
enthusiasm amongst the workers. It
proposes to initiate progress
towards (only 'progress...' towards) a
40-hour, 5 day week (already

gained by the general strike of
1936, through a dead letter since
1939), a minimum wage of 1000
francs (i.e. about £250 per month),
retirement at 60 years for men,
55 for women.

Other planks are unemployment
pay at least up to minimum wage;
some restraint on the bosses' right
to fire workers; reduction of the
powers of the employers; to get a
more proportional representation for
election jobs.

France remains part of the imperi-
alist alliance, NATO, though it
squeezes NATO armies (i.e. the US) out of
France in 1967. How will the
Union of the Left treat NATO?

It will work for the simultane-
ous dissolution of both NATO and
the Warsaw Pact - and until then stay
in NATO.

Yet the Union of the Left is de-
nounced as ... a communist conspi-
crapy by the Gaullists!

In real nature, its cap-in-hand
respect for the bosses and their
state is shown by the way it argues
for its reforms, saying - "France's
economy could afford them without
an increase in taxes". The French
tax system still heavily favours the
rich, more even than most West Eu-
ropian countries!

What is the Union of the Left?
The Communist Party is the work-
ers' party. It has had a revolution-
ary, and then 'classical Stalinist'
past. Its reformist policies now
are like toothpaste, say, the pre-war
Labour Party.
The Socialist Party, once based

PAGE 9
AS the eyes and ears of the world fixed upon Vietnam last month, a shot rang out unnoticed. An assassin's bullet shattered a great mind of the African revolution. 

Antonio Cabral, leader of the national liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau, was slain by agents acting on behalf of the Portuguese dictatorship.

For over a decade, the working class and oppressed peoples of the world have dwelt on the struggle of 23 million Portuguese against the mightiest military power in the capitalist world. However, a wall of silence has surrounded another genocidal war, waged against 14 million Africans in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique.

Portugal, Britain's 'oldest ally', has inserted neocolonialism from Italian planes directed by German radio. It is hardly surprising that little news of these events in so-called Portuguese Africa filters through to the British press.

It is with large-scale aid from NATO and South Africa that the rotten teeth of Portuguese colonialism still bite into African soil. Portugal cannot even move its toys, let alone the jets it uses in Africa.

But for Portugal to wish to retain its 400-year-old empire at the cost of over 50% of its annual budget seems odd. When 'decolonisation' has been accomplished everywhere, how could the fascist dictator Salazar make such an incredible statement as "Africa doesn't exist"?

AGENT FOR IMPERIALISM

For Cabral the answer is that Portugal hasn't decolonised because it can't 'neo-colonise'. It can't do what other imperialist powers have done - maintain economic domination without direct political control.

Portugal, one of the underdeveloped countries in Europe, is herself a semi-colony of imperialism, with almost her entire industry and capital owned by the rich nations. With insufficient capital to exploit her colonies, indirectly Portugal acts as an agent of imperialism in Africa.

The services Portugal provides for imperialism are twofold. Its direct military presence being the most obvious; its indirect influence, for example, as long as Portugal remains in Mozambique and Angola, the white racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia can rest secure. The other way imperialism benefits is by the exploitation of these countries' resources. Companhia Uniao Fabril, which holds a monopoly on the export-import trade with the colonies, is, in the main, owned by French, British, and Belgian and German capital. In the interests of Angolan diamonds, Mozambique lead, and Guinean cash crops Portugal fights her war and the war of others.

THE PAIGC

The movement for national liberation in all three countries began in the early 1960s. In Guinea's capital, Bissau, Cabral and four or five other intellectuals built a base among the workers for their party, the PAIGC (Independent African Guinea Workers' Party). A strike of Bissau dockers was crushed when the dockers were forced back to work at gunpoint, with some fifty dead. In Angola, too, the response to the first stirrings of revolt was vicious. 8,000 African lives were lost in 1961 alone.

The violence of the coloniser ended any reformist wishfulness which may have existed in the early days of the PAIGC. As Cabral said: "The struggle is always armed because the colonialists and the neocolonisers had such an incredible statement as "Africa doesn't exist"?

WHITE RULE NOW IN VIETNAM

Imperialists have already decided to use arms against us. They drowned people in rivers they burned people with petrol, they destroyed villages suspected of welcoming our party."

The move to the countryside and the move to armed struggle were not dictated by choice, but by necessity. Cabral's party was intent on liberating the people, but what did the liberation of the people mean in concrete terms? And how was the PAIGC to enlist the support of the rural population?

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Cabral's conception of independence differed vastly from that of the leaders of many of the "independent" states. He already observed that with neocolonisation came 'neocolonisation' control of the economic resources.
es and industry of the African states remaining, by and large, in the hands of the western powers. Cabral saw that the national revolution could only become meaningful if it was accompanied by a social revolution. This meant eliminating the chances of developing a national capitalist class which would act as an agent of imperialism in exploiting the workers and peasants. "We have to ask, what does the liberation of the people mean? It is the liberation of the productive forces of our country, the liquidation of all kinds of imperialist or colonial domination in our country, and the opening of every measure to avoid any new exploitation of our people. We don't confuse "liberation" with the colour of 'one's skin'. The struggle in Guinea obviously others have been forced to close by his strong-arm brutality. The banning of the distributing NLF literature or flags, or trying to enter an NFC area, is arrested.

CONCESSIONS FORCED

The withdrawal of US troops is clearly a big victory for the Vietnamese people. But, overall, the withdrawal of the capital concessions to the US. Crucially, military and political settlements have been agreed on, and ceased-fire has been declared while the Thieu regime still remains in power. It is reported that the same principle has been accepted for the Laos cease-fire. The essential points of the settlement are not widely different from those proposed in 1966 by MacNamara US war chief. We have the heroic Vietnamese fighters been forced into these concessions?

They have been subjected to the cruel mental and physical destruction of human history. Since 1965, between 14 and 15 million tons of bombs have been dropped by the US - about 750 times the equivalent of the Hiroshima bomb.

In just eleven days - 18 to 28 December, 1972 - the bombing exceeded the tonnage dropped by Germany on Britain in the whole period 1940 to 1945. Nearly one-seventh of the total land area of South Vietnam has been attacked with defoliants.

The US has spent an average of over $500 million every second, for ten years, in its project of mass murder.

But, even against this onslaught, the Vietnamese have shown, most recently by their Spring 1972 offensive, that they could and would fight back. But there was another blow: the treachery of the Moscow and Peking backing.

By bit by bit, Nixon went further as the American attacks, tending the readier of Moscow and Peking. Johnson had ruled out the mining of the road to North Vietnam for fear of Russian and Chinese intervention. Nixon tried it - and there were no more than mild complaints. The US only used the North with outside 2500 aircraft missions, holding back on the more advanced SAM-6s and SAM-9s, the US military aid was sent to the capitalist state of Egypt. Both Nixon and Thieu were forced into cordial talks, and the US had a new propaganda weapon: photographs of Americans being dragged hands were dropped over Vietnam.

And Communist Parties all over the world failed to mobilise their strength in working class solidarity action, strikes and blackouts. Already US planes had struck at the dykes of the North, without Soviet or Chinese reaction. If they had gone ahead with a full-scale attack, all the herdsman and all the resources of the Vietnamese could not have saved North from almost total social destruction.

SETBACK

The settlement is a setback. But it is very far from being a total victory for the US. The fact that they have had to abandon hopes of restoring capitalism in North Vietnam, and even cede a portion of the South to the liberation forces, is a victory for the Vietnamese.

And the power of the anti-war movement would make it very difficult for Nixon to resume bombing. 75% of the US population stands opposed to more bombing even if the NLF and the North Vietnamese government accept the deal.

What about the military situation in Vietnam? Thieu regime, according to report, have regained lost position, bringing the situation back to that previous to the cease-fire, in terms of control of main highways. But the liberation forces have won control of a number of poor, particularly in the Mekong delta.

The crossing of hamlets - as much a part of a military operation - seems to be the centre of the NLF's strategy. According to the NLF's statements, the Paris talks and the Paris decisions are the Paris daily "Le Monde"..."...their ambition is to carry through the encirclement of the town, thus to reduce without the "peace creation" programme of Thieu and the US, a progressively crumbling control of rural production, and, thus, to encourage by bit by bit the return to the land of an increasing number of urban unemployed. "...the towns do not interest the Vietnamese in the present stage of the struggle. The best proof of this is that they haven't even tried to make their banner over Sihanouk, which wouldn't have required such effort..."

SOLIDARITY

Our solidarity is still more than ever necessary. Our solidarity must be unconditional support of the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their future free of US interference. To support the concessions forced on the US by the US - with such slogans as "Peace Nixon to carry on the agreements", is to see the Vietnamese, the Hitchcock, it is true, have supported such slogans as "Sign Now", We believe they are wrong. It is revealed, in fact, the Vietnamese people's solidarity for fear of disagreeing with or criticising the Vietnamese... particularly now that the struggle has moved to the political level, we must not forget for one minute lowering our support for the NLF, meaning as is the case actually fighting against Thieu and the US - state clearly what the situation is, and what we stand for.

The NLF's programme includes "the right to free enterprise" (this is resisted in the cease-fire treaty) and even includes a breathing-space for landlords. This is not our programme. Our programme is for a state based on the power of the democratic workers' and peasants' councils in Vietnam in the landless way to really kick out imperialism and its local agents and to open the way to the development of the country's resources.

And we believe that the strategy of "surrounding the towns" is not the best one. Organising resistance among the workers in the towns, in the midst of the daily vital task - which cannot be Undertaken on a programme of "Freeenterprise"..."..."

The blocking of US shipping organised by Australian dockers, and the January demonstration in London, indicated a rebirth of the new movement. We must not allow it to die now.
A BOOK YOU SHOULD READ

1905 and the PERMANENT REVOLUTION

1905 • published by Allen Lane: The Penguin Press. Translated by Anya Bostock

At the beginning of the 20th century the Russian state stood as the mightiest bastion of reaction in Europe. Whereas most of the European countries had adopted democratic revolutions sweeping away the old feudal autarchies, the Russian state remained inviolate.

Tsarist Russia sprawled over vast areas of Europe and Asia, from relatively advanced European Poland to Asiatic Manchuria; from Muslim Turkestan to the primeval inhabitants of the Siberian forests who worshipped blocks of wood.

To hold this vast empire together the state spent up to 80% of its budget on maintaining a massive army, equipped with the most advanced weapons to be bought in Europe.

But in 1905 the Tsarist state, never before threatened from within Russian society, was shaken to the core by the Industrial working-class—a class which comprised only 5% of the population and had scarcely been in existence more than a few decades.

Trotsky's book, 1905, which has recently been published in full for the first time, is about how the Russian working-class—within its space of 12 months, came of age and outstripped the working classes of Western Europe in its revolutionary endeavour.

Now in his 80s, Trotsky an eye witness to the events of 1905 and an active participant (he was chairman of the Petrograd Soviet at the ripe old age of 25), but he was also the most prominent advocate of the only theory which explains not only 1905, but 1917 as well. It is this theory, the theory of Permanent Revolution, which Trotsky expands and defends in his book.

**Isolation**

Russia's slow historical development was reflected most sharply by the absence of those classes which are a prerequisite for the organic development of capitalism, and which in Europe had led to the revolutionary formation of democratic nation states. Russia remained a feudal autocracy, where the radical ideas of revolutionary Europe found no class in which to flourish.

But Russia was not left to develop in isolation, slowly in the wake of Europe. It developed in continual competition with capitalist Europe and later with capitalist Japan. Defence of the Empire, both from outside, and from a breakup along national lines from within, was always the first concern of the state.

And as industrial capitalism developed, so did the technology of war. Against industrial France and Britain in Crimea, against Japan at the beginning of the 20th century, Russia needed home production of arms, warships and railways, and consequently coal, mines and an iron industry.

The Russian state, which had always associated the development of capitalism, was now, itself, forced to import capitalism from Europe. At the instigation of the state advanced European technology and European capital poured into Russia.

The most advanced mode of production was thrust into the arena of Russia's backward class relations. The outcome could not have been other than to inflame the inherent contradictions within the state set-up.

Capital needs to be its own political master; it requires control of its own state in order to make and enforce its own laws; it has to put an end to state restrictions on trade and labour and abolish feudal taxes. In the face of these problems, the problems of a bourgeois revolution, were thrown to the forefront of Russian society by the importation of the capitalist mode of production.

In the classical French bourgeois revolution of 1789, the emerging capitalist class was lifted to power on the backs of the petty-bourgeoisie. But in Russia there was no independent bourgeoisie that had spent years developing its power. Capitalist development was closely tied up with the Tsarist state and the landlords.

There was no class of artisans in the towns. There was, of course, a vast scattered peasantry, with a long tradition of isolated struggle against the landlords, but it was inconceivable that the revolution could triumph without a class in the towns that could lead the peasants. Where was this class to come from?

**Marxists**

In 1861 the serfs were emancipated. Peasants were driven into their miserable conditions into the towns. Ultimately as mechanised industry was transplanted into Russia they manned some of the largest factories in Europe. Uprooted, raw, uneducated, clipped to work, the Russian workers became a revolutionary force.

On the negative side, they had not gone through generations of nurturing as urban artisans, of building up strong guild and later union organisations. But neither were they steeped in reformism, which was already beginning to grip the European working classes. Rather, they still retained the very qualities of the peasant revolt.

The Russian Marxists saw the working class as playing the role of the Jacobin masses of Paris or the Model Army of Cromwell; the shock troops of the bourgeois revolution.

Trotsky's account of 1905 is a documentation of how the Russian workers (in particular, the Petrograd workers) overcame their inexperience and political naivety.

On January 9th the workers of Petrograd, under the leadership of a priest, Father Gapon (who, incidentally, was also a police spy) walked in procession to petition the Tsar. The petition demanded, or rather pleaded for, an eight hour day and the right to strike.

Under religious banners the workers marched to the Tsar's palace. They never got there. The troops opened fire on the demonstration and the dead were counted in hundreds. A wave of strikes spread over the whole
The Petrograd typesetters went back to work, but not for long. On October 25, 1905, the railway workers declared a national strike with political aims. They demanded a democratic constitution and a universal franchise. The Soviet decided to add a political strike to the general strike.

On the revolution's next day, the workers took control of the factories. A new strike spread to massive proportions, led and coordinated by the Soviet. The conflict was more than a strike committee. Innovating unique methods of struggle, it became the total leadership, not only of the working class, but of the whole struggle against Tsarism.

Trotsky saw that the working class, the Bolsheviks and Trotskyists, had to be the independent leading class as the only guarantee of the success of the revolution. Without workers control over the tasks of the workers, Tsarism would undoubtedly continue.

Trotskists怎么办? They formed a party, the Bolsheviks envisaged the working class making the lead in establishing a new government. The main task was to form a committee of independent workers and capitalist property relations. Trotsky knew that the working class would have to overthrow the government and the workers' government would be forced to see the factories and overthrow capitalism.

Trotsky came to believe that the workers and peasants would have to carry the revolution forward, without waiting for the capitalists to follow.

The history of the strike, the Bolsheviks, and the Bolsheviks' record in the strike, is a study of the struggle for power. The Bolsheviks were the only real workers' party in Russia. They were the only party that stood for the total emancipation of the working class.

In the end, the Bolsheviks won the strike, and the Petrograd Soviet was formed. The Soviet was the first truly democratic government in Russia. It was a government of the working class, by the working class, for the working class.

The Bolsheviks and the Petrograd Soviet were the first truly democratic government in Russia. They were the first government of the working class, by the working class, for the working class. The Petrograd Soviet was the first truly democratic government in Russia.

The Bolsheviks and the Petrograd Soviet were the first truly democratic government in Russia. They were the first government of the working class, by the working class, for the working class. The Petrograd Soviet was the first truly democratic government in Russia.

The Bolsheviks and the Petrograd Soviet were the first truly democratic government in Russia. They were the first government of the working class, by the working class, for the working class. The Petrograd Soviet was the first truly democratic government in Russia.
REPORT OF W.F. SPECIAL CONFERENCE ON THE F.I.

On Saturday 8 January 1979, Workers Fight held a special conference. Its purpose was to consider the group’s position on the Fourth International.

It had been prepared for over a long period of discussion and debate, from which all the members of the group. The conference unanimously declared that the international situation had reached a critical point, that the Central Committee of the Fourth International was losing its left orientation, and that the group was a part of this process.

The group therefore decided that it was necessary to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.

COMMUNIZATION

The main theme of the conference was the need to form a new international organization, to be called the Fourth International.

The conference declared that the Fourth International had lost its left orientation and that the group was necessary to form a new international organization.
Shotton

At Shotton Steelworks, Flintshire, the British Steel Corporation has made half the 13,000 workers redundant. But the workers are not going to take this lying down. They know that for too long now, workers in the steel industry and elsewhere have been easy prey for the employers because of their isolation.

To break out of that isolation they have called a delegate conference in Conners Quay on 30th April. Delegates from all the 100 plants in the country will be invited. At last it seems that a National Committee will not come out against steel closures may get off the ground.

Shotton workers have not been slow to show that they are not just asking for solidarity, but are ready to take action. On the other day a delegation went down to London to take part in the mass picket at British Colour Printing. So far, though, they have not decided to take this as their model: there are as yet no plans for a week-in or an occupation with no production, though these ideas have been put forward at action committee meetings.

The only existing national co-ordination so far has been by the officials of the trade unions.

REAL STEEL NEWS

"Real Steel News is produced by steelworkers who don’t believe that viability can be achieved in this society by sitting around and waiting for a better day."

No. 10 now out. Articles on National Action Committee: Shotton - a question of viability? Trade union, steelworkers, directors: safety. From Phil Thorne, 3 Heathcote Close, Stockton on Tees.

Hartlepool

On 2 February another 2850 jobs were added to the British Steel Corporation's list for the chop. At Hartlepool, the North Works and all of the South Works except the plate mill are in line for closure by 1975-76. Even the plate mill’s future is uncertain after 1975-76.

An action committee, backed by the council, has been set up. But will this committee go ahead with united action with other steelworkers from Shotton, Stanford, Elbow Vale, East Moors, on a clear basis of out the hours, not the job, a 30 hour week with no loss of pay?

Or will it fall into one of the many blind alleys that have diverted other action committees? Straining to prove ‘viability’ of ‘their’ mill (and never mind about anywhere else.....) Asking for an inquiry to prove ‘viability’? Relying on MFA to do it all? Waiting to vote Labour at the next election?

Hartlepool has one of the highest rates of unemployment in the country. Steelworkers cannot afford any blind alleys in their fight against redundancies.

MIKE EDWARDS

RENTS: SCOTLAND TAKES THE LEAD - SIX REBELS

In SCOTLAND six councils are taking a stand under the Housing Finance Act. CLYDEBER BANK has set a new rent level and other councils will follow its lead. In BIRMINGHAM, BOLTON, BIRMINGHAM, and MANCHESTER, Tenants Action Committees have been set up. In various districts, noted that rent strikers had faced in many areas, and resolved to work towards a total rent strike in October.

For news from Clay Cross, see page 3. Liverpool councillors, Teesside council, London, etc.

Dear Sir,

If your letter re ‘Housing Finance Act 1972’ did not have such serious undertones, it would be

laughable. You state that you are carrying out the provisions of the Act under protest, but what form of protest are you going to the trouble of carrying out?

Why don’t you take a lead from the Clay Cross Council in Derbyshire, who have been fighting the so-called Fair Rents Act for quite some time...? They have organised Tenants Associations and have instructed their tenants not to pay the rent rise, and not, as you have done, taken the easy way out and sent everyone these nasty little letters informing them that you have to implement the Act but under protest.

The difference between the two councils brings to mind a simple but effective story I once heard about two men who were about to be executed for something they hadn’t done.

The first man said “I hope you understand where you are wrong in what you are doing”, but, alas, he was still executed.

The second man, whilst awaiting execution, got some friends organised to fight his life by the best means they knew, that they managed to smuggle a gun to him. When he was led up to be executed, he said exactly the same as the first man, and then drew his gun and shot the executioner, and he got away with his life.

Who in your opinion is the right, the first man or the second? JOHN BRYANT

250 teachers, members of the millitant ‘Rank and File’ group, met in London on 10th and 11th February. A main item of discussion was action over the current pay claim and over the London Allowance. 80 schools in London will be called out officially for three days as from 25th February. Dockers, members of the ILA, will follow. 90% of teachers balloted had voted for strike action.

The ‘Rank and File’ conference declared its support for a national strike of the National Union of Teachers, and a joint demonstration with the CGPSPA, on 27 February. It also called on local committees uniting members from different unions against the freeze, and for local conferences against the freeze (see p. 1 for discussion conference).

The main issue discussed in the conference was ‘Rank and File’ policy on democracy in schools. About a third of the conference called for a change in the established policy. They pointed out that there was a contradiction between Rank and File policy of opposition to Margaret Thatcher addressing union conferences, and support of teachers’ participation in joint governing bodies with Loc- cal Education Authorities ‘within the framework of national education policy’. Rank and File’s approach could lead to teachers taking responsibility for reactionary govern- ment policy in the name of ‘democratic rights’. A clear, consistent line for the independence of trade unions from the employers and the L. S.S. State.

The majority favoured continuing established policy, but without doubt discussion in Rand and File will continue.

JOHN BLOOM, CYNTHIA BALDRY

HACKNEY: NUT-GPSA ALLIANCE

The hypothetical clash of the ‘for- ces’ price-rising, wage-frozen ‘Flea’ has passed even those workers previously least millitant into action.

On 12 February 28000 civil servants, men and women of the Civil & Public Service Association and the Society of Civil Servants, started an overtime ban, in support of a claim for 30% pay rise. There is to be a one-day stoppage on 27 Feb- ruary, to be followed by selective strikes of no longer than one week’s duration in the strongest areas.

This selective strike tactics may be all right for the ‘special case’. But even now everyone’s ‘special case’ is part of a general problem; the fight against Phase 2. Is it vital for civil servants to link up with other workers combating 1974-75?

Already in Hackney (London) a joint-CPSA-NUT action committee has been formed. This action should serve as a spur to the union leadership towards all-out action, united with other unions against the freeze.

STEWART WOODLING
Gasmen from Britain's National Union of Public Employees have launched an all-out indefinite strike in protest at cuts in temporary labour. This is the first time in the history of the NUPE to strike in such a way, and it is expected to last for six months or more. The strike is supported by all sections of the union, from the rank and file to the national officers. 

The NUPE has warned that the cuts in temporary labour will lead to a worsening of working conditions and a decrease in living standards. The union has also threatened to take further action if the government does not reverse its policy. 

The strike is expected to have a significant impact on the economy, with many businesses facing difficulties in finding staff. However, the union is determined to fight for its members' rights and will not back down until their demands are met. 

The NUPE is not the only union to have taken strike action in recent months. Other unions, such as the RMT and the TSSA, have also launched strikes in protest at cuts in public services and wage freezes. 

The government has been under pressure to reverse its austerity measures, but it has so far refused to do so. The opposition parties have called for a general election, but the government has so far refused to call one. 

The strike is expected to continue for some time, and it will be interesting to see how the situation develops.