

CLASS STRUGGLE

POLITICAL PAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

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ELECTION CIRCUS A DIVERSION FOR WORKING CLASS

The circus is on again. The political acrobats of the parliamentary parties are back on the road asking for our votes. When it is over, back they will be in the House of Commons to take up their positions in a real life Punch and Judy show.

Now, they have geared up their advertising departments, and launched their phoney war. In the end none of it will make any real difference to the working class masses, who become important only when these bourgeois (capitalist) parties are competing for votes. The issue for us is not which bourgeois party, which capitalist party, which imperialist party is in the driving seat. The election is a diversion. The issue for us is to carry on and develop the immediate class struggle of the masses; to make the bosses pay for their crisis; to fight the attacks on our living standards; to fight against the oppression of national minorities and the British imperialist occupation of Northern Ireland; to fight back class against class; to support the international struggle against superpower domination and the struggle of the people and countries of the third world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

LABOUR, TORY - TWO WINGS OF A SINGLE BIRD OF PREY

Both Labour and Tory, the two main bourgeois parties, serve the ruling class. The origins of the two parties are used to perpetuate the myth that the Conservatives represent the capitalists, while Labour which grew out of the Labour and trade union movement represents socialism and the working class.

Labour and Tory politicians maintain this myth in order to trap the masses into supporting one or other party in the parliamentary see-saw, or believing that revolutionary change for the working class can be won through parliament. But both parties in their own way work to protect the system and the interests of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. The system is in real crisis. Labour and Tory both work overtime to give capitalism a new lease of life by forcing the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working class.

LABOUR IS THE BEST BOSSES' PARTY

Class conscious workers are used to regarding the Conservatives as the first party of capitalism. Hatred for the Tories is usual and widespread in the working class, while detestation of the lies and hypocrisy of the Labour Party grows with every passing day. But Labour is still able to hide behind a facade of "socialism" which it presents as state intervention in the capitalist economy. Coupled to this is the activity of the Labour "left" and rev-

LABOUR, TORY - TWO WINGS OF A SINGLE BIRD OF PREY



BOYCOTT THE ELECTION

isionist "C"PGB, who work vigorously to trap the working class into voting Labour, out of fear of Thatcher's threats. It is this connection with the working class movement plus Labour's backing in the TUC which makes the Labour Party better able to deceive the working class and to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working class. Today, Labour is the first party of capitalism. Even the bosses' paper, the *Financial Times* has recognised this by describing Tory opposition to Callaghan's Government as rocking the boat. For class conscious workers it is essential to put the emphasis on exposing the Labour Party in order to destroy its pernicious and treacherous influence in the trade unions and working class movement.

BOYCOTT THE ELECTION

The "choice between Labour and Tory is not a choice between socialism and capitalism. It is not easy for workers to decide not to vote. It is after all a right we fought hard for, particularly for the right of women to vote. But to boycott the parliamentary election now is a matter of taking a political stand against the capitalist parties, particularly the lying and deceitful Labour Party. Only by taking such a stand can class conscious workers address themselves to the only alternative - rebuilding the revolutionary Communist Party of the working class.

MAY DAY

May Day, May 1st, has been the traditional international day of class struggle for nearly 100 years. American and Australian workers started such international struggle by simultaneously striking in 1886 for an 8 hour day. Within 4 years it had spread round the world. A meeting of workers' representatives in Paris decided to call a world strike on 1st May 1890 around the struggle for an 8 hour working day.

100,000 marched in Barcelona; 120,000 in Stockholm, 8,000 in Warsaw, In London 200,000 took to the streets.

This is the history of May Day. It is a proud history of struggle, of international class struggle.

LABOUR SUBVERTS INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Last year, the Labour Government made May Day an official public holiday. Was this really a recognition of the working class tradition of May Day? No! Firstly, because of the large numbers of workers in big industry who struck every year on May Day and marched in the streets, it was already virtually a holiday; particularly because many companies could not operate production anyway with

key sections of the workforce missing. Labour's action was a bowing down to a situation that already existed; tidying it up and making the best of a bad job as far as the bosses were concerned.

At the same time it allowed Labour to place itself as the "champion" of May Day and subvert its international significance. They have "switched" May Day to the first Monday in May. This year it is May 7th. They would never do this with religious festivals (Christmas on the last Monday of December?) which they support solidly. But to them May Day is unimportant. So what if the rest of the world is demonstrating on May 1st. They don't want May Day to be a day of struggle anyway. Last year the Labour Party leadership of the AUEW showed Labour's real intentions. The AUEW journal carried an article on the "history" of May Day. According to them, it is "a tradition of revelry. In Ancient times springtime represented the beginning of nature's year. Seeds in the ground had to be helped to germinate, hence the ritual orgies..." No mention of international strikes and all that "rubbish". They are deliberately trying to replace the working class tradition with an ancient festival.

STATE OPPRESSION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES INCREASES IN 1979

The first three months of 1979 have shown a clear pattern of increased state oppression of national minority people in Britain. The means used by the state is its immigration policy: the basis of this policy is racist in the sense that it discriminates against national minorities, particularly against black people. But it can be more or less strictly applied. 1979 has seen much stricter application, legal precedents and changes in policy. The immediate effect is increased oppression for black people. The long term effect is to undermine democratic rights in general for all people.

END OF "AMNESTY"

The so-called "amnesty" for people who had been forced to enter the UK with forged papers or other "illegal" means like jumping ship, ended in 1978. This means that however long someone has been here, regardless of whether his family, work and home is now here, they can be detained and deported. This can and is being done without a court hearing. It applies to people who came here even before the Immigration Acts were passed.

END OF "HABEUS CORPUS" RIGHTS

It was reported in March that two Pakistanis from Birmingham were to be deported. The Home Office has decided their identities are false. The Divisional Court and Court of Appeal refused to investigate the question of identity and the House of Lords has now refused to hear an appeal. In other words, a national minority person in this situation has in practice no democratic right to appeal or challenge Home Office facts which do not have to be produced.

RETURNING RESIDENTS

The Home Office has admitted that new instructions have been issued to immigration officials about people returning to the UK. It applies to people

who have been granted residence in Britain and who have been abroad. Immigration officials have been given greater powers to question and give new time limits to people who have been abroad. This is being used as one more means of harrassing national minorities.

These three examples are in themselves only a small part of a total picture of increased state repression. But they show the need to *fight for democratic rights for national minorities.*

STATE RACISM KILLS

Police are demanding proof from Bengalis in London's Brick Lane area that they are not illegal immigrants before complaints of racist assault are even "investigated". Two people have died and more than 300 wounded in struggles against fascist and police terror in Brick Lane. Official news from Brick Lane depicts the police as the community's protectors. But nothing could be further from the truth. To complain about racist violence means to face a "third degree" inquisition aimed at denying the right of black people to complain.

Michael Andrew Ferreira, a 19-year old West Indian youth was attacked by three fascists on the night of Sunday, December 10th, in Stoke Newington High Street. He was brutally stabbed in the ribs. When taken to Stoke Newington police station by his two mates, instead of immediately calling an ambulance, the police interrogated the youths as to what they were doing on the streets. Meanwhile, Michael lay bleeding to death. The ambulance was called 45 minutes later. He was taken to St. Leonards Hospital, where he died. Michael Ferreira was the fourth victim of racist murder in the area in eight months, but this record meant nothing to the police who by their action aided the death of Michael Ferreira.

DISTORTED

A "VOTE LABOUR" JAMBOREE?

Of course this year they have a bit of a problem. There is a General Election on May 3rd. Doubtless the "left" opportunist face will be shown in a number of towns and cities. They may well march on the weekend before. Who knows? They may even actually come out on May Day in 1 or 2 places! But will we see slogans of international solidarity, and of the class struggle in Britain? From these characters - not a chance. They will only want one main slogan - "Vote Labour!" They will pervert May Day as much as they can into an election rally for the imperialist Labour party - the best bosses' party. And where they do the workers must respond themselves with slogans of class struggle, of mass struggle, of international unity - and particularly with the slogan "Labour, Tory - Two wings of a single bird of prey; Boycott the election".

TRAINEE EXPOSES SKILL CENTRE DISCRIMINATION

In June of last year, I started on a TOPS course in engineering at a Government Skillcentre. I was really looking forward to the training, until I started. I quickly found out that, despite all the pretentious guff dished out on the weekly open day, the whole set-up (in the engineering department, at least) was designed to provide the best service to the bosses, and if all but the most able trainees were lost in the process, that was their bad luck.

I started on a special short course which was supposed to help decide on the course that suited you best - grinding, milling, capstan setting, etc. In reality, this course was there to get rid of you if the instructor didn't think you'd make it. Nothing wrong with this in principle, I suppose, except that you aren't told in the first place, and the way they go about things is dead arbitrary. For example, black workers are given virtually no encouragement, and most give up in despair. If they're "lucky" they might end up doing an unskilled operating job for low wages and long hours. In the same way, if your face doesn't fit, you can expect similar treatment. If you're just out of the forces you've got no worries - I detect a distinct preference for ex-servicemen. To illustrate this, a black worker might get a couple of hours, or perhaps a day, trying a particular machine, only to be told that he had no aptitude. On the other hand, a young ex-soldier I know was allowed three weeks on one machine (of which there was only one), even though he'd already got the OK to take up a full course on that machine. Nobody else had a look in.

In some cases, particularly older workers, people off sick for a week or so were thrown out on the grounds that firms didn't like workers who were sick too often. You were even threatened with the sack for running to the canteen. You could be forgiven for thinking you were in a borstal.

In short, because these places are run in the interests of the bosses, and not in the interests of the workers, there was a lot of unnecessary pressure and unpleasantness. And if you weren't quick to learn, or your skin was the wrong colour, or you weren't in perfect health, or they just didn't take to you, then you might as well pack in and forget it because they won't even try and help you.

A WORKER'S NOTEBOOK

AFTER A FALL, AN EIGHTY-YEAR OLD LIVERPOOL WOMAN lay undiscovered for two days. She died a few days later of bronchial pneumonia. The Coroner said: "Mrs Sherlock was entitled to a Home Help to do her housework, but due to financial cut-backs she had not been visited for some time...had it been possible for Mrs Sherlock to have had a Home Help visitor every day to do a bit of housework she may have been found sooner! Legal rights are nothing when Labour cuts the money to pay for them.

OF COURSE, THE BIG FINANCIERS DON'T HAVE TO WORRY about such cuts. Mr Posgate, a director of the Alexander Howden insurance group has just been given a £1,884 a week pay rise. His salary was already increased last year from £45,000 to £143,000 a year. An American executive in the same group gets £292,000 a year of £5,615 a week. What was that about a 5% limit?

THE ROYAL FAMILY IS DOING PRETTY WELL TOO. DENNIS Healey has just announced this year's pay increases for them. The Queen's goes up from £1,980,200 to £2,134,200; the Queen Mother's from £175,000 to £200,000; the Duke of Edinburgh's from £93,500 to £98,000. A spokesman for Buckingham Palace quickly claimed "In no way can they be accurately referred to as a pay rise. They are not. They are necessary expenditure incurred in fulfilling public engagements."

Well, if that's the case, how come Prince Andrew, a school boy, who has no "public duties" is getting paid £400 a week? Pocket money? Of course, we also pay separately for the upkeep of the palaces (about £5 million a year), plus the Royal Yacht, the Royal Train etc., etc. And the Queen is one of the richest women in the world. Her huge income from estates and investments is, of course, untaxed. It's a hard life for some.

THE ROYAL FAMILY AREN'T THE ONLY ONES WHO DON'T PAY taxes. Sir William Pile, Chairman of the Board of the Inland Revenue, has revealed that they can only check the accounts in detail of 1 in every 35 of unincorporated companies. He reckons that this means that the capitalists are paying £2 billion a year less in tax than they should. Apart from that the Labour Government has been very generous to taxes on capital. In 1978, they accounted for only 2% of total tax collected - half of what it was when Labour came to power!

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT USED TWO OTHER METHODS OF boosting profits. We all know about limiting wage rises below price rises. That's one way. The other way was that, unlike with our wages, they allowed companies to take account of inflation before pricing goods they still had in stock - which are deducted from profits before taxing what is left. So raw materials bought at low cost at the beginning of the year are counted in the books at end of the year prices. Without this swindle, profits would anyway have gone up by 32% in 1976, 20% in 1977 and 8½% in 1978. But with Labour's generous donation, profits actually went up by 36% in 1976, 48% in 1977 and 17½% in 1978.

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LABOUR, TORY - TWO WINGS OF A SINGLE BIRD

LABOUR'S DEFEAT WILL BRING DOWN 'CONCORDAT'

In their desperate efforts to frighten the working class into voting Labour, Callaghan and Co. have declared that the main question is one of "confrontation" or "conciliation". The question must be asked - the "main question" for whom. The working class is not afraid of confrontation with the bosses and their Government. When the miners picked up the challenge of Heath's incomes policy and struck for a substantial wage increase, the Government fell. When workers throughout Britain took strike action in defiance of Callaghan's 5% decree, this anti-working class policy was swept aside. For the working class "confrontation" with the bosses is the only road to success because the bosses give up nothing without a fight. Conciliation, on the other hand, leads to demoralisation and defeat for the working class because nothing worth having is won without fighting for it.

The issue of "confrontation" or "conciliation" which Callaghan poses is only a way of describing the different measures Labour and Tory use to attack the economic and political interests of the working class.

ANTI-WORKING CLASS AIMS THE SAME

Thatcher has got on her high horse and declared that the Tories will stop social security payments to the wives of workers on strike. Callaghan and Murray have declared in mock horror that this gives more rights to the wives of convicted murderers. What hypocrisy! During the Ford workers' strike, claims for social security benefits by the families of Ford workers at Dagenham were surrounded with so

LABOUR RACISM CAN'T BE COVERED UP

The Labour Party, backed by the leadership of the Anti-Nazi League (ANL), will call on workers to vote for it as an anti-racist party. The rank-and-file of the ANL will be hitting back at the fascist scum of the National Front who have embarked on a vicious campaign of terror against national minorities in Britain. A vigorous movement against these racist thugs is fine, but the ANL misleaders seek to use this movement as a cover for Labour's own, more subtle, racism.

THEY WANT US TO FORGET

Labour apologists will want us to forget that during this Labour Government, the police have stepped up their racist attacks on national minorities. They will want us to forget Asian workers like the four Virk brothers who were imprisoned for defending themselves against National Front thugs who set upon them whilst repairing their car. The Virk brothers were arrested after they called the police themselves and charged with grievous bodily harm. While the Virk brothers got up to seven years, the racists were set free.

They will want us to forget the police harassment of black communities and the arrests, like the arrest and imprisonment of George Lindo for a crime he could not possibly have committed. They will want us to forget the wholesale police invasions of black communities in "searches" for "illegal immigrants" and the detention for months on end without evidence, trial or appeal for all those accused of being "illegal immigrants". In London's Brick Lane, scene of National Front racist attacks, the police demand proof that the victim of such an attack is not an "illegal immigrant" before they will ever "investigate it".

They will want us to forget that the police has such powers by courtesy of a Labour Government. They will want us to forget that Labour brought in the 1968 immigration laws, and never repealed the Tory 1971 immigration act, which they had themselves denounced as racist when they were the opposition party. They will want us to forget that Tory immigration policy is based on a unanimous report written by a parliamentary committee half of which was Labour, half of which was Tory and which was chaired by Labour "anti-racist" Sidney Bidwell, MP. They would like us to forget the outrageous "virginity" tests carried out on Indian women coming to Britain. They would like us to forget that like the National Front, Labour argues for immigration controls by blaming immigrants for low wages, homelessness etc.

THEY WOULD LIKE US TO FORGET - BUT WE WON'T!

much red tape that claims were greatly delayed or impossible. This put pressure on the Dagenham Ford workers to return to work which split the solidarity of the oppressive procedure for Dagenham Ford workers claim. DHSS was agreed with union officials.

Thatcher's justification for stopping social security to the value of £9 is that it will compel the trade union to clamp down on strikes in order to avoid paying. She knows the trade union opportunists well. Their strategy is that they have their own way of sabotaging strike struggle which they know is more effective.

THE "CONCORDAT" IS A PLAN FOR CORPORATISM

Labour is following in the footsteps of Mussolini by rigging up a corporate system. A major component of the "Concordat" which is a first step in incorporating the state structure to act as policemen for the bureaucrats over the heads of the workers. That the Party was prepared to institute a "legally" enforced system whilst attacking democracy in the unions both in practice and in words - as Callaghan did in a recent TV interview.

We must respond to Labour's corporate attack with a struggle from the opposite direction to turn the unions into fighting class organisations and make the bosses pay for

Labour, Tory - Two Wings of a Single Bird
Boycott the Election

Labour is the Best Enemy

Make the Bosses Pay

Turn the Unions into Fighting Organisations

Build the revolutionary Communist Party

Stop paying Labour to

The opportunist misleaders in the trade union side any consideration of Labour's relentless policy over the last five years in order to push the capitalist crisis onto the backs of the working class. Most of them are in the Labour Party, and part in sabotaging the workers' resistance. Ford workers, and many others in the TGWU, have personally handed over £150,000 of the election fund. The AUEW has already donated £100,000. The total given so far is

And if you think that's all - not a bit! regional and district committees will be set up. local Labour Parties and unions will also be set up individually. It's sickening! But there's

- 1) You can fight in your union to stop doing this.
- 2) You can organise a campaign to contract your factory or work place. Demand that your shop steward makes "contracts".
- 3) Most important - Be active. Fight in your union by an opportunist clique. Build a struggle to turn the unions into fighting class organisations. In the struggle, our unions are our weapons, not collaboration.

WILL BRING DOWN 'CONCORDAT'

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THE "CONCORDAT" IS A PLAN FOR CORPORATISM

Labour is following in the footsteps of Mussolini and is bent on rigging up a corporate system. A major component of this is the "Concordat" which is a first step in incorporating the trade unions into the state structure to act as policemen for deals signed by the bureaucrats over the heads of the workers. That is why the Labour Party was prepared to institute a "legally" enforced closed shop, whilst attacking democracy in the unions both in practice, and in words - as Callaghan did in a recent TV interview.

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Turn the Unions into Fighting Class Organisations!

Build the revolutionary Communist Party of the Working Class!

Stop paying Labour to attack workers

The opportunist misleaders in the trade union hierarchy are falling over each other to give the Labour Party our money. They have pushed to one side any consideration of Labour's relentless attack on our wages and conditions over the last five years in order to shift the burden of the capitalist crisis onto the backs of the working class. It's hardly surprising most of them are in the Labour Party, and have played their treacherous part in sabotaging the workers' resistance. Moss Evans has betrayed the Ford workers, and many others in the TGWU, by breaking the record when he personally handed over £150,000 of the union funds to Labour's central election fund. The AUEW has already donated £102,400; the GMWU £100,000; ASTMS £100,000. The total given so far is £484,400.

And if you think that's all - not a bit of it. The bulk of the union regional and district committees will be giving generous hand outs to local Labour Parties and unions will also be sponsoring particular MPs individually. It's sickening! But there's plenty you can do!

- 1) You can fight in your union to stop donations going to the Labour Party.
- 2) You can organise a campaign to contract out of the political fund in your factory or work place.
Demand that your shop steward makes "contracting out" forms available.
- 3) Most important - Be active. Fight in your local branch against control by an opportunist clique. Build a struggle from the bottom up to turn the unions into fighting class organisations, so that in the class struggle, our unions are our weapons, and not the home of class collaboration.

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LABOUR - AN IMPERIALIST PARTY

Britain is an imperialist country. The Labour Party as a party of capi-
talism is, therefore, a party of imperialism. The Labour Government has con-
tinued to back up British imperialist interests in Ireland, with the brutal
rule of the armed forces on the streets of the north. It made no bones
about fully backing the US agent, the Shah of Iran.

When Iceland declared, alongside the bulk of the third world, a 200 mile
fishing limit, the imperialist Labour Government sent in gunboats. Met by
the heroic struggle of the Icelandics, the British imperialists and their
Labour Government had to admit defeat and establish a similar European 200
mile limit. This was correct. But what happened then shows the other side
of Labour - its appeasement of Soviet social imperialist aggression. The
Soviet Union arrogantly ignored the fishing limits, and extended its plunder
of European waters. Did Labour stand up to this aggression like Iceland? No.
The Soviet trawlers were left alone.

As another boon to Soviet expansionism, and reliance on US imperialism,
Labour has consistently sabotaged European unity which is a force in the
world against superpower rivalry and hegemonism.

**Wings of a Single Bird of Prey;
Boycott the Election!**

The Best Bosses' Party!

Bosses Pay for Their Crisis!

Boycott Fighting Class Organisations!

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Higher Unemployment Forecast

Promises are cheap at election time. Callaghan has de-
clared that Labour's "job creation" programme will cut
unemployment and that the "Concordat" will enable him to
cut inflation to below 5% in three years. Even though
unemployment just about doubled under a Labour Govern-
ment after 1974, the Tories are declared to be the party
of unemployment and inflation by the Labour twisters.

This neat little picture is not the view of one-time
treasury adviser Dr Wynne Godley a Cambridge economist.
In a report published March 29th this capitalist econo-
mist let the cat out of the bag by warning that unemploy-
ment could reach 3½ million during the 1980's and infla-
tion be between 15 and 20 per cent, no matter which
party wins the election.

The publication of these figures was reported in the
Daily Mirror of March 29th. But apart from this they
have been ignored by Labour and Tory politicians who
continue to mask the real crisis of capitalism behind
promises and illusions that they can "solve" capitalism's
insoluble crisis.

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**BOYCOTT
THE ELECTION**

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A PAMPHLET OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

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examines the history of the Labour
Party, the role of the two parties
in propping up capitalism, and
exposes the parliamentary charade.

It points out that the immediate
task is to fight to turn the
unions into fighting class
organisations; to make the
bosses pay for their
crisis and build the
vanguard organisation
of the working class -
the revolutionary
Communist Party.

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On a bright and sunny Easter Monday in 1916, a brave and determined force of 750 patriotic Irish men and women marched through Dublin and took control of key points. Unfurling the Irish tricolour flag from the Dublin Post Office, they proclaimed an independent Republic of Ireland and read out a manifesto containing the following words: "We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefensible." The rising was suppressed after a week of fierce resistance. The British Government, the colonial master of Ireland, ordered reprisals against the civilian population and the summary shooting of the rebel leaders, including the socialist James Connolly. Already wounded, James Connolly was propped up in a chair before being shot by the firing squad. Although the rising was too far in advance of the mass movement to succeed in capturing power it nevertheless heralded a great upsurge in the Irish struggle and was the first spark of the revolutionary fire that was to blaze through Europe.

BRITISH RULING CLASS MANOEUVRE

Before the First World War, the British ruling class was trying to stem the rising tide of nationalism in Ireland by buying off the new Irish capitalist class. They did this in order to continue their plunder of Ireland through their monopoly of trade and their firm alliance with the big pro-Empire industrialists in the north east of Ireland.

This policy did nothing for the poor people of town and country. Their burden was as heavy as ever - producing cheap goods and hard labour for the British capitalists. Knowing that British imperialism

EASTER RISING

was at the root of their troubles they supported militant nationalist organisations like the Irish Republican Brotherhood, or James Connolly's Irish Citizen's Army. Both these organisations relied on the peasants and workers and aimed to drive out British imperialism through armed struggle.

The Liberal Party was in power in Britain at the time and they introduced the Home Rule Bill, a limited measure of devolution that would leave British rule intact. However, faced with revolt both at home and abroad, the British ruling class were themselves seriously divided. The Conservative Party favoured a policy of open repression and opposed the Bill. Together with the industrialists of north-east Ireland, they organised the Ulster Volunteer Force and prepared for an open revolt against Home Rule. A wave of indignation swept through Ireland and an Irish Volunteer Force was formed to ensure Irish freedom, which rapidly grew in size and strength. The terrified Liberal Party backed down and proposed that the north east of Ireland should be excluded from the already weak Home Rule Bill. In the midst of this acute crisis the First World War broke out.

JAMES CONNOLLY OPPOSED IMPERIALIST WAR

James Connolly bitterly denounced the world war. He called it "the war of the kites and the crows" and showed that it meant the slaughter of millions for the enrichment of a few. It also increased the impoverishment and suffering of the Irish people,

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

In Britain, democracy means the phoney choice of voting for a Labour or Tory Government in a General Election every five years. However, since both parties are merely different wings of the same capitalist class, there is no choice at all for the working people. Either way the capitalist state wins, and continues to oppress working people to ensure the capitalists' profits. In reality, it isn't democracy at all, but a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

In China it is a different picture altogether. There the working class hold state power. It is a dictatorship of the working class, the proletariat. By maintaining dictatorship over the capitalist class and reactionary elements, the Chinese people have freed themselves from the yolk of imperialism and have the most extensive democratic system in the world.

Once, so it is told, a British Baroness, proud of our parliamentary system, asked Zhou Enlai (Chou En-Lai), "We have elections every five years in our country, how often do you have them in China?" Zhou Enlai is reported to have answered, "Everyday, madam, everyday."

THE WORKERS ARE THE MASTERS

In China proletarian democracy exists in all areas of life. While workers have little if any say in the running of factories in Britain, in China, there exists the opposite situation.

Obviously, faced with the great task of socialist modernisation, each factory needs a management which is both red and expert, capable of handling the complex problems of modern technology and organisation. However, this hasn't prevented workers from playing a great role in running the factories.

At the Chungking Iron and Steel works, for exam-

ple, workers are divided into teams. Each team elects a leader and eight officers responsible for political propaganda, attendance and wages, welfare, economic accounting, quality control, safety, repair and maintenance, raw material consumption and production records. Every Monday, the elected officers and the teams meet to discuss issues that have arisen during the week and pass on points to higher levels of management.

The Section and Plant level directors are again elected by the workers, with due regard being paid to the candidates ability to play a leading role.

Production in China is not determined by the anarchic laws of the market which produces misery and unemployment, but by democratic discussion. After the national economic plan is developed by central Government, it is discussed at provincial and even factory plant level and then passed back to the centre with proposed amendments. A recent innovation has been to hold workers' congresses at a company wide level so that the workers themselves take part in the working out of the plan, and in other major decisions.

THE PARTY GIVES OVERALL LEADERSHIP

The overall leadership in the factory lies with the Party Committee. In the Chungking works, 7,000 out of the 40,000 workers are Party members. Every two years, after discussion with non-Party people, they elect the Party Committee to give overall leadership in the factory. There are also quarterly meetings of all Party members to ensure criticism and self-criticism to lay a firm basis to democratic inner Party life. General meetings of all workers are called by the trade unions.

To carry out efficient and competent management, there is a system of division of responsibility. The

LANDMARK IN IRISH PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE



The Irish Citizen's Army drills outside Liberty Hall, Dublin.

used as cannon-fodder for the British Empire. He also foresaw that no real freedom could be won for Ireland unless the working class and peasantry took the lead. That is why he joined forces with the Irish Republican Brotherhood in launching the Easter Rising. He knew that this rising would be a rallying call not only for the Irish struggle, but also for the oppressed millions throughout the world.

We can learn many lessons from the Easter Rising, but above all, it teaches us the great part to be played by the national liberation movements in the struggle against British imperialism. Genuine revolutionaries in Britain have always actively supported the struggle of the Irish people because they have realised that the struggle for self-determination in Ireland and the fight for socialism in Britain are two barrels of the same gun pointed at the British ruling class. Like Connolly, we must learn to see through the lies and treachery of people like Mason, the Secretary for Northern Ireland, and firmly unite with the people of Northern Ireland in their struggle against the barbarism of the SAS and the RUC and stand up for their right of self-determination.

AT WORK IN INDUSTRY

director and deputy directors take charge of the day to day running of the factory, under the leadership of the Party Committee. Most of the directors and deputy directors throughout China are selected from among the workers.

Not only worker participation in management is encouraged, but also cadre participation in physical labour. This ensures close links between workers and administrators and organisers. Again at the Chungking works, company level cadres (leading personnel) must do at least 60 days a year labour on the shop floor. Plant level cadres must do at least 100 days, and all section and workshop cadres work full time on the shop floor.

The present system of democracy is still being improved and discussed and new improvements are occurring all the time. At the Tianjin Xinhé Shipyards, workshop directors, section and group leaders have all been elected by the workers themselves. Now, the workers have also nominated the director and all six deputy directors to be appointed by the Ministry of Communications to replace the former weak leadership of the yards. This trend towards electing directors from the grass roots level is increasing.

THE NEW SYSTEM IS BETTER

Before the Cultural Revolution, the system of one-man management was copied mechanically from the Soviet Union. The factory director had absolute power on all major issues relating to finance, personnel, production plans and technical problems, overruling even the decisions of the Party Committee. This was a thoroughly undemocratic method.

This system was overthrown during the Cultural Revolution, and in its place a system of Revolutionary Committees was established to lead enterprises.

These were composed of members of the People's Liberation Army, the Party, and representatives of the masses. In practice, faced with complex problems of administration and politics, the Revolutionary Committees fostered ultra-democracy and anarchism. They couldn't provide the basis of a unified production command and give competent overall leadership which is so necessary to the running of a factory, as no one took individual responsibility. They also negated the leading role of the Party. So, under the new Constitution, while Revolutionary Committees are maintained as bodies of Government administration, with the new system they have become redundant at the factory level.

The new system of management ensures both democracy and centralism, giving more and better leadership in building a great and modern socialist economy, more able to serve the aspirations of the working people. With the closest possible link between itself and the masses, the Party Committees in the factories are ensuring that the revolution is put in command of production. It ensures a very wide democracy indeed among the working people.

It is clear that compared to Britain, elections are held everyday in China. The workers are masters in their own country and through the leadership of their Communist Party exercise control over industry and the state. While the capitalist press in this country spread lies and rumours of a return to "one-man management" to discredit China among the working people, the reality is plain to see. Democracy in China is not serving the capitalists' interests, but the interests of the working people in building a new and modern socialist society.

VIETNAM CHANGES TUNE

"There are no Vietnamese troops stationed on Kampuchean soil".

"There is no such thing as a Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. There is only an internal uprising".

That's the Vietnamese tune we all know so well. It's what Vietnam claimed in its propaganda. It's what the Soviet Union claimed. The fake "Communist" Party of Great Britain sang the same song, and the "New Communist Party" joined in the chorus, too.

But they had a problem.

100,000 Vietnamese troops got bogged down in a people's war of resistance by the people of Kampuchea (Cambodia). Whilst the Vietnamese invasion forces held on to most of the main towns, they were completely encircled. The roads were cut, and supplies couldn't get through. If they withdrew the puppet regime they installed would collapse overnight, and so would their dreams of an Indo-China Federation under the domination of Vietnam, and in turn its own master Soviet social imperialism. So they have stepped up the aggression even further. Everyone who can carry a gun is being drafted into the Vietnamese army. (Apart from those who successfully escape). Vietnam has sent 50,000 more troops in. 25,000 of them were ferried in by Soviet transport planes to Battambang and Siem Reap airports. The invasion is so big, and has gone on so long that now they have to change their tune and sing new ones instead.

NEW LIES FOR OLD

"Oh yes?" they now admit, "Vietnamese troops are involved", but we were invited by the Government!"

Amazing! They were "invited" by the puppet Government that they installed with their own army. Now, the revisionists will have to excuse us, but we really have to ask the question: *"How did the Government invite you, when you had not installed it until January 7th, 13 days after you had carried out the invasion of December 25th".*

The Soviet U.N. representative had a ready answer.

SS-20 missile threat to China and Europe

The Soviet Union has developed a mobile intermediate range nuclear missile - the SS-20. Each missile carries three pre-targeted warheads, each of immense destructive power, with a range of approximately 2000 miles.

About 50 to 60 have been deployed on the Chinese border. The Chinese Government has taken great precautions to protect her people from this threat. Large complexes of tunnels link factories and those in turn lead to the countryside so that the workers can escape if need be. In addition, industrial and military installations have been dispersed to ensure their survival in the event of an attack.

It is estimated that at least 70 SS-20s are aimed at Europe. The much touted SALT-11 agreement does nothing to protect Europe. It will only reduce the danger to the USA and Russia as it only covers "strategic" (long range) missiles. The two superpowers have only one intent - to control as much of the world as possible with as little danger to themselves as they can arrange. It is the people of the world who are expected to bear the cost of their hegemonic ambitions.

"The agreement was signed in secret in advance"! Then it wasn't a Government that invited you, but a tiny puppet clique which you had only set up two months earlier! Ah! No Reply!

(Of course, such an argument by the Soviet social imperialists is a declaration of the arguments it will use for the invasion of any country. It only needs a revisionist clique inside the country, and the agreement is ready to be signed. And they certainly exist already.)

"But", the Soviet social imperialists will reply, "forgetting all this nonsense about "self-determination" and "non-interference" and "detente" (who said that), the people of Kampuchea wanted the new Government. It's in their interests (and ours)".

Well, that's an argument the Trotskyites agree with whole-heartedly. But if that's the case, we'd like to ask another question, *"Why are 100,000 Vietnamese troops so isolated that another 50,000 have been sent to help? And why are they besieged in the towns? And how can the real socialist Government led by Pol Pot and the Communist Party of Kampuchea still control the bulk of the countryside - despite an invasion force of 150,000 - if it doesn't have the support of the people?"*

We're still waiting for a reply to that one.

CENTO COLLAPSE

CENTO (the Central Treaty Organisation), the US dominated military alliance has collapsed. This is a blow particularly to US imperialism, but also to its junior partner in the alliance - British imperialism. In the last couple of months, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey have pulled out leaving Britain as the only full member along with the USA, whose dominating role was covered up under the title of "associate member". Iraq had already withdrawn in 1958.

The new Revolutionary Council in Iran signalled the beginning of the end for CENTO, declaring it to be a tool of foreign domination. Pakistan followed quickly. Finally, on March 15th, Turkey tore up its part of the treaty. Turkish Government leaders, however, expressed the hope that Iran, Pakistan and Turkey would co-operate even more actively through regional organisations free from big power influence.

When CENTO was set up, US imperialism was the unchallenged master of that part of the world, and indeed most of it. British imperialism used it to protect its interests too. CENTO was aimed at holding back the Soviet Union, at that time just beginning to emerge as an expansionist rival. It was also aimed at holding down and stifling the revolutionary national movements inside the CENTO countries.

But the US and Britain can no longer call the shots. Iran's Revolutionary Council is hitting back at US domination. Pakistan and Turkey have also taken steps against the US superpower.

The fall of CENTO reflects the decline of the US as the most aggressive power in the region. The US is losing military influence, while the Soviet Union has just signed a military alliance with the Government it installed in Afghanistan and has carried out other manoeuvres to increase its military presence.

In Ankara, a Turkish official pointed to the dangers. "The countries of our region can certainly determine their own destiny. We do not need the US and Britain to tell us what to do...nonetheless, we must also see that there are other pressures in the region and deal with them accordingly."