

CHARTIST

LABOUR'S REVOLUTIONARY VOICE

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IS WILSON TRYING TO SPLIT

THE PARTY?

ON RETURNING FROM the Commonwealth Conference in Jamaica, Harold Wilson met reporters and dropped some ominous rumours about Industry Secretary, Wedgwood Benn. These resulted in headlines suggesting Benn was to be sacked after the June 5th Referendum. In a later T.V. interview Wilson talked in terms of a post-referendum ministerial reshuffle.

BY CLIVE PULLINGER

With himself and not Benn in charge of the National Enterprise Board, Wilson could then operate with a 'One Cabinet...One Policy' style of Government, directed against the Left of the Labour movement. These statements were the climax to a week of hysterical and orchestrated attacks on Tony Benn by Tory (and some Labour) MPs, by the CBI and the capitalist press.

FEAR OF DISASTER

Tony Benn, the Sunday Times claimed, was responsible for "...the situation" in which "industry and the city" had fallen into the grip of "neurotic fear of disaster". On one day alone Benn was likened by Sir Keith Joseph to Dracula, attacked by Shirley Williams for criticising her for wanting a coalition government, and Lord Watkinson, President of the CBI (and Chairman of Cadbury-Schweppes) said his policies were likely to result in a anti-government revolt by the leaders of industry.

WHY ATTACKS?

Why is it that Benn finds himself under these attacks? Has he suddenly put forward radically new policies? Or is Benn correct when he says "I am trying to implement agreed Labour Party policy put to two General Elections." Clearly Labour's election manifesto did not talk about the proposals Dennis Healy included in his budgets that are rapidly leading to one million unemployed. There was talk in the Social Contract of ensuring "that real incomes are maintained".

But leading Labour ministers are talking of the need to reduce workers' living standards. Healy has said "if purchasing power, through high wages, or any other kind of income, ran ahead of what could be afforded, it had to be taken back either by tax or cutting the soc-

ial wage." Wilson, in his emergency TV broadcast following the 25% devaluation of the pound, said, "He is absolutely right." Similarly on the Common Market referendum fight, pro-marketiers like Prentice and Jenkins have been at complete liberty to speak on joint platforms with Tories like Heath and Whitelaw, attack the trade union movement and show complete contempt for Labour movement democracy and the overwhelming decisions of the Labour Party Conference against EEC membership.

Wilson gives these pro-Tory elements free reign whilst trying to put Benn and Co. on a short leash. Above all, Benn is attacked by big business because he is attempting to carry out the manifesto pledge to maintain full employment. Benn has done nothing particularly revolutionary. Huge cash payments to



Prime Minister Harold Wilson; Benn in his sights

Ferranti and British Leyland to keep them afloat are a typical form of reformist state intervention. But at present capitalism wants many of these industries to go to the wall. It

wants mass unemployment to break the organised strength of the working class. Benn's tampering helps prevent this.

It is the duty of all socialists to critically defend

Benn against the ruling class and Tory press. Wilson must be told in no uncertain terms to quit trampling on Party Conference decisions and ignoring the manifesto pledges. Above all, stop attacking Benn; stop collaborating with the same bosses and bankers who are trying to hold down wages, force up unemployment and strangle the economy with a strike of capital

If Wilson wants to unite the Labour Party he should start by bringing the real splitters to heel—Jenkins, Prentice, Williams, who defy the wishes of the Labour movement at every turn.

Where Tony Benn is wrong is in thinking that he can creep up on capitalism and start nationalising industry without a break from capitalist state power. Without a complete break from the capitalist class and a fight for power, not even the minimum Manifesto pledges to secure full employment and price stability can be implemented.

Jones' pay scheme no answer

JACK JONES, Transport and General Workers Union chief and one of the architects of the wage-restraining, social contract, has come up with a new idea for pay. Only a few months after brandishing the big stick of unemployment at workers

who fought for decent pay increases, Jones has decided that he was on the wrong tack. He now wants to see a pay framework to provide for general wage increases on a flat-rate basis. The figures should be related to the movement in the cost of living and linked to average earnings. Jones, the great leveller, says 'this figure should apply to everybody at work, whether MPs, judges, civil servants or workers generally'.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

Jones wants trade unionists to play a full part in combatting inflation and helping the Labour Government to overcome "the effects of the economic crisis". He then spells out his reasoning. "Wages are by no means the main cause of our inflation, but the present trend for wages to increase faster than prices spells economic danger."

Jones' brainchild sounds very fine on first sight, especially as an appeal for the low paid. But what does it really amount to? The first question that must be asked is: 'In whose interests is the Labour Government trying to solve the economic crisis?' Few workers would accept that Healey's Budget packages, which have taxed the poor,

BY MIKE DAVIS

given hand-outs to big business and slashed welfare services are in their interests. Similarly, one million unemployed is certainly not in the interests of the working class—who put Labour in office.

From these measures many workers might be excused for thinking that our Labour leaders are bowing to the pressures of the bankers and industrialists. Jones ignores these facts because quite clearly they are an embarrassment to him.

But there are greater dangers in his novel scheme. Has Jones, along with Premier Wilson, who attacks the 'big battalions' for attempting to keep pace with inflation, forgotten that in April wage rates rose less than a per cent whilst prices rose 3.9 per cent, producing an annual rate, for the first three months of the year, of 34.4 per cent. Wage rises are clearly running behind inflation.

It is obvious that if workers are to maintain living standards, let alone improve them, pay rises of approximately 40 per cent are required. Jones and Wilson



Jack Jones: a flat-rate

appeal for 'one nation' solutions to inflation and argue that this means stronger sections of the trade union movement foregoing decent pay rises to help the low paid. This is dangerous nonsense. As if Henry Ford or some of the press barons would give money saved from wages to the nurses or the pensioners. On this count, miners showed the way forward last year during the nurses pay struggle, when they came out in sympathy strikes in Wales.

Instead of getting down to abolishing the real concentrations of wealth and power in our society—the monopoly capitalists and bankers—as Labour's Manifesto promised,

Wilson and Jones end up blaming their own trade union supporters for the poverty of pensioners, the sick and disabled and the low paid!

But we agree with Jones on one point. That wages should rise with the cost of living, at a minimum. But Jones' flat-rate increases scheme provides no strategy for achieving this. We say to Jones and the rest of our trade union and Labour leaders: if you are really concerned about the plight of the low-paid and conquering inflation, fight for a genuine rising scale of wages, which will unite all workers in every sector.

SCOTTISH TUC

The Scottish TUC at its annual congress in April passed a resolution on 'Cost of Living Safeguards' which called for automatic increases in wages, pensions and other fixed incomes to fully correspond to the increase in the cost of living. Increases are to be based on an accurate consumers price index worked out by Price Committees of trade unionists, housewives and general consumers.

It is on this basis that all living standards can be maintained. Provided our trade union leaders fight for all workers to have a guaranteed minimum wage of £40 then the low paid will not suffer.

We say to Jack Jones, if capitalism cannot pay us a decent wage it is capitalism and its profiteers that must go, not our living standards!

£300 FIGHTING FUND

Time is running out fast for the Fighting Fund now. If we are to reach our target of £300 by the end of June we need to raise over £100 during this, the final month. The Fund now stands at £184.93, so we appeal to all our readers and supporters to give as generously as possible over the next month. Costs are going up all the time and if we are to make technical improvements to the paper it is essential to reach the target. Special thanks last month to AP £2.00, CC £1. Send contribution to: CHARTIST PUBLICATIONS, 82 Loughborough Rd, London SW1.

THE CHARTIST

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Stockpiled British-Leyland cars on an airfield near Cowley, Oxford

Labour and Nationalisation

TORIES, industrialists and bankers have been lathering profusely against what they see as the "groping hand of state socialism". They bemoan the Labour Government's plans to nationalise the aerospace and shipbuilding industries. They rage against the Industry Bill, particularly because of its clauses relating to disclosure of company information. They have opposed the recent Ryder Report on the future of British Leyland. According to the 'Financial Times', the Tories will oppose long-term state investment in unprofitable concerns, especially where it entails virtual nationalisation of companies.

The ruling class have reserved their real venom for Industry Secretary Wedgwood Benn, who, they fear, is putting jobs before profits, and sparking off demands amongst workers for nationalisation and workers' control.

frenzied

But why do the capitalists seem so frenzied in their attacks on Benn? Behind their panic is the economic crisis. As the world crisis of capitalism intensifies, British industries are proving least able to survive in the cut-throat conditions of the world market. The central problem for Britain's capitalists is that they have missed out on the technological and scientific advances of the post-war boom. Industrial equipment, machines, factories — indeed, entire production processes are completely antiquated. In order to rebuild the economy on a new basis, British capitalism requires enormous destruction of uneconomic units of capital, coupled with a massive rationalization programme.

But the Tories and their class are caught in a cleft stick. On the one hand, enormous monopolies like British Leyland and industries such as shipbuilding, steel and so on require state planning and a rational programme of investment. But on the other hand, every step towards state

intervention increases the difficulties of the private sector, making it more dependent on the state.

This is the real crisis of capitalist production. This is why the Tory Party are in such an ideological mess. To maintain profitability, capitalism needs planning. But to plan means to put social needs above the needs of individual private shareholders. And to do that is to call in question the necessity for the capitalist system itself. This is why the employers' mouthpiece, the Confederation of British Industry and its allies are so bitterly opposed to what Benn is doing.

Ryder Report

But what exactly is the Labour Government doing? Let us just examine the Ryder Report on the British Leyland Motor Corporation. This Report proposes a capital injection of a massive £700 millions from the government over the next three years, with £200 millions to be handed over immediately. With the blessing of the Labour Government, shareholders are to be paid 10p a time for shares which were fetching ar-

ound 6p when dealings were suspended on the Stock Exchange on 23 April. Much of the money for these enormous compensation hand-outs will come, no doubt, from the money saved by Chancellor Healey's welfare cuts and from the tax-increases on the working class. The money will go to parasites who have done nothing except scream for rationalization, speed-up and a savage reduction of jobs at Leyland. Already 10,000 jobs have disappeared at British Leyland over the last 18 months and current demands are for another 5,000 redundancies immediately.

The Government, then, will merely be taking a major stake in Leyland, with the Company remaining firmly in the Engineering Employers' Federation — the anti-union private employers' organisation. According to the Report, the cash is to be injected in stages. It proposes, ominously that, "each new stage should depend on evidence of a contribution both by British Leyland workers and its management to a reduction in industrial disputes and increased efficiency." The implication is clear: any organized resistance to speed-up, rationalisation, attacks on manning ratios or agreements or victimisations of militants will be met with withdrawal of state finance and the dole.

proposals

And what of the proposals for industrial democracy? The Report recommends: "a new structure of joint management — union councils, committees and conferences in which BL shop stewards, and senior stewards in particular, will have a major role" providing "a forum in which representatives of BLs workers can contribute effectively to improving efficiency." This is a recipe not for developing real democratic workers control of the car industry but for a policy of collaboration with the very capitalists and managers who have proved totally incapable of running Leyland on a private profit basis.

The message of the Ryder Report is clear. British workers have got to pay indirectly or directly for the crisis of capitalist

production in the car industry. With every fresh bankruptcy, every new company collapse, and every attempt at redundancies workers are demonstrating through sit-ins and strikes that they have the determination to end this anarchy which allows machines to remain idle, factories dormant and millions suffering on the dole queue. The working class is the only revolutionary force with the capacity, will and interest to take over the reins of production and prevent the economy from being wrecked.

The Labour Government should be using the economic crisis and the preparedness of workers to struggle to implement its pledge to maintain full employment and extend nationalisation into "profitable manufacturing industries"... not merely the bankrupt ones. Instead of huge compensation payments to the old owners which act as a permanent drain on production, our leaders should be confiscating these industries, which only the working class has an interest in planning.

independence

To ensure the success of any nationalisation measures, workers must maintain the complete independence of their unions from capitalist boards or any 'participation' schemes, such as are projected for BL. Labour's Industry Bill is ostensibly designed to promote greater industrial democracy and workers' involvement in decision-making, and to provide for the disclosure of company information. The CBI has stated bluntly that companies would provide as much information "as is relevant to employees' needs and wishes, paying due regard to constraints arising out of competitive requirements and confidentiality". In many respects the Industry Bill has accepted these conditions. It contains dangerous clauses threatening workers with jail for divulging 'confidential' information to workers overseas. It is fine for the multinationals to exchange plans for mass redundancies, but not for workers to know about it.

stewards meeting

Shop stewards representing workers throughout the British car industry decided at a meeting in Birmingham on the 23 April to "demand that the employers in the motor industry and ancillary trades open all their books to the workers' committees in each factory in order that the true position can be known by those workers whose lives are affected by short-time and redundancy". This points the way forward for all workers. Benn and co. must ensure that the books of all industries are opened to elected workers committees, that these committees are given the right to veto all decisions, and on this basis implement the pledge to extend nationalisation into the profitable sectors.

Without such a policy, capitalism will continue to bleed the 'public sector'. Nationalisation will remain merely as a prop to a bankrupt system, and the same profiteering managers will be left in control of the economy.

Occupations & Squats — A Criminal Trespass!

THIS MONTH the Law Commission proposals to strengthen the laws of criminal trespass are due to be presented to Parliament. These dangerous proposals will create a new class of criminal and make a whole range of activities a criminal offense.

Factory occupations, student sit-ins, demonstrations and pickets on private or state property, and squatting would be among the present democratic rights to be outlawed.

In these situations, if the people involved refuse to leave immediately when told to do so by the person "legally entitled" to the property, they are liable to arrest and up to six months imprisonment. Owners could also prevent movement about their property. So, for example, employers could stop union meetings taking place on company premises and even prevent shop stewards from moving about a factory.

If these proposals are accepted

by the Labour Government, (the Law Commission should be reporting any time now) they would constitute a further legal onslaught against democratic rights in line with the recent Appeal Court Judges' ruling against non-industrial picketing and the framing of the Shrewsbury Two building workers pickets.

Of fifty-eight sets of proposals from the Law Commission only one has ever been rejected. This was the Night Assemblies Bill which was stopped after a massive campaign against it.

The Tories have been crowing for such a law ever since they started receiving a battering during the Heath government.

Clearly every trade unionist, student, and squatter should throw their weight behind the Campaign against the Criminal Trespass Law (CACTL), publicise the reactionary motive of the proposals so that they never reach the stage of a parliamentary Bill.

FASCISTS IN DISARRAY

THINGS SEEM to be on the move inside the fascist National Front. This organization was set up by a number of long-time Nazis who had decided that they would never get very far parading around in National Socialist uniforms. The NF went out of its way to appear "respectable", playing down Hitlerite traditions and crude anti-Semitism in order to appeal to people on the basis of racialism, anti-Common Marketism, Rates and so on.

This policy has been successful in recruiting large numbers of disillusioned Tories from the far-right Monday Club, who objected to the "liberalism" of the Conservative leadership, e.g. over the Ugandan Asians. The National Front has been discovered popping up in all sorts of local "community" activities — ratepayers' groups, housing campaigns, and even conservation groups.

'POPULISTS'

The new ex-Tory element call themselves "Populists", and are led by Tottenham businessman and ex-Tory candidate Roy Painter. It now seems that this faction have rapidly gained control in the NF. John Tyndall, one of the NF's founders, was hatched from the chairmanship last October. He has now suffered a vote of no confidence as deputy chairman, and the National Directorate of the Front may be about to give him the boot altogether.

The trouble with Tyndall is that he is too vulnerable to charges of being a Nazi, with his past record as a Hitler fan, prison sentences for firearms offences, and wearing National Socialist uniform. Painter & co. hope that by dumping him and his more openly fascist emphasis, the National Front can lose its "extremist" image and recruit from a wider spread of right wingers.

Even Tyndall's old comrade-in-arms Martin Webster is rumoured to have stabbed him in the back and gone over to the new leadership. The latest issue of

MASS ARRESTS OF GLASGOW ANTI-FASCISTS

300 HUNDRED people gathered outside Glasgow's Kingston Hall on 24 May to prevent the National Front from holding a Common Market meeting. The Scottish Immigrant Labour Council sent a delegation to protest also against the Glasgow Labour controlled Council's refusal to ban the racist's meeting.

When a dozen or so of the fascists turned up the police started making mass arrests of anti-fascists in the alley leading to the side entrance. The Secretary of the Scottish Trade Union council said: "They just waded in punching, kicking and grabbing anyone they could."

The Secretary of Glasgow Trades Council, David Bolton, vice-president of the Scottish mineworkers and an official of the TGWU were among the seventy arrested. Some of the seventy later escaped from the police station and rejoined the demonstration to loud cheering.

Chrysler workers resist threat to pull-out

CHRYSLER CAR production in Britain has been at a complete standstill because of the shutdown at the Stoke engine plant in Coventry, where 4,000 men have been on strike since May 9th.

On May 23, Chrysler made an £8 take-it-or-leave-it offer which, whilst meeting the workers' immediate demand for an £8 interim payment, came nowhere near the £15 overall demand. The workers are not due to meet again to consider the offer until after the spring works holiday. The offer was greeted by TGWU convenor Bob Morris as "putting myself and my colleagues in an impossible position. There is no room for negotiation." The Chrysler workers' action is thoroughly justified and is solid despite management manouevers, press witch-hunts and hysteria from Harold Wilson.

Like the rest of the car industry, Chrysler is in an acute financial situation. Figures for last year indicate a loss of £17.7 million as against a profit of £3.7 million in 1973. Chrysler UK chairman, Gilbert Hunt, admitted recently that the firm had had two large injections of cash in as many months from its USA parent company. Now, it appears,

Spearhead, which Tyndall personally owns, has been circulated in the NF with articles written by him ripped out. For his part, Tyndall has been organising NF faction meetings of his supporters on his national speaking tours.

What we have to point out is that whatever new image the NF might want to put over, its basic character as a fascist organization out to smash the working class will remain just the same. Even Hitler's Nazis used "Populist" and "Socialist" rhetoric to fool backward workers and middle class people into supporting their movement. The NF will continue whipping up racist filth in order to split and divide the trade unions.

BY BRYNLEY HEAVEN (Kelvingrove YS)

Unusually, the police received a very bad press and most of the Scottish Sunday papers led with stories of the police riot, knocking Scotland's soccer defeat into second place. The Sunday Mail's reporter quoted a policeman as saying: "If you come back, we'll show you what we think of trade unionists."

National Front chairman, Kingsley Reid hurled abuse at the picket and gave several Nazi salutes. Judging from a picture in the Sunday Mail, Reid was speaking to an audience of less than ten people!

Thus the handful of National Fronters who got into the hall suffered a humiliating defeat. Their attempts to establish a credible working relationship with sections of the Orange Order here have been further embarrassed. This front for fascists will not hold another public meeting in Glasgow for a good while yet.

GRAEME ATKINSON

this source of cash has dried up and the parent company has announced that it does not intend to pour any more money into its ailing British subsidiary.

Disclosure of this information has given rise to a two-pronged strategy by the Chrysler management. Firstly, they have gone cap in hand to the Labour Government



STRIKE LEADER BOB MORRIS

to ask for a loan of £15 million. Secondly, they have attempted to divert attention from the real issues in the strike, by trying to foist a spurious "workers' participation" scheme on the labour force. The announcement of the latter proposal was clearly designed to split the strikers. So far, despite the fact that Scanlon, Jones, Len Murray and Coventry TGWU officials have all voiced approval for the scheme, it has not had the desired effect on the workers, whose shop stewards rightly suspect management's motives.

The management has offered no suggestion of what its 'participa-

tion' scheme means and the fact that it only discovered the idea about two days before the strike is enough to write it off as a diversion and a ploy. Like drowning men, though, the leaders of the TGWU and AUEW have grabbed at this straw and urged a return to work while the employers proposals were being discussed. Harold Wilson, too, used the managements' proposals as a rod to beat the strikers. Speaking to a very select audience of overfed employers at the Confederation of British Industry's annual dinner, Wilson launched into a torrent of invective against the Chrysler workers, describing them as "politically motivated" and pledging that the firm would not be nationalized. This, in a situation where jobs can only be guaranteed through the nationalization of this bankrupt structure!

TREACHERY

More than anything, it illustrates the treachery of the Labour leaders when confronted with the unpleasant truth that workers will take industrial action to defend jobs and wages against the rising inflation and unemployment. What is required in Chrysler is workers' control of production with shop stewards determining manning levels, track speeds and productivity. Equally, the firm's books must be opened to inspection by the stewards' committee and not by a group of hired accountants. In this way, the fight for nationalization can be prepared.

The omission of such demands from the stewards' struggle can only open up the workforce to an employers' counter attack.

ASTMS Confence: opposition to White Bill... but little else

THE 7th Annual Policy Conference of ASTMS, held at Bournemouth during May, was opened by the President, Len Wells. In a critical speech he angrily attacked the Labour Government's Budget for its incorrect priorities and firmly underlined the importance of ASTMS as a union struggling for women's rights.

Winning a wide response from the Conference of over 900 delegates he said, "We should not complain about the Gnomes of Zurich (or Brussels), we should complain about successive Labour governments' failure to deal with them."

Unfortunately, the next two days of conference failed to formulate any really effective policies which might have expanded the President's opening remarks. The left in general proved unable to utilise Len Wells' opening statements to develop a clear policy to defeat the Labour governments' retreats. This was hampered by the leadership's manouevres which prevented any fighting programme being accepted against inflation, cuts and redundancies.

A general inability to carry the points across to conference allowed the NEC to succeed in defeating, or gaining remittance of, the more positive motions. One such

BY GLYN BEAGLEY (Delegate S.E. London Medical Branch—in a personal capacity) motion came from Charing Cross and if passed would have given wider scope for work to the National Women's Workshop.

Other motions committing the union to struggle for a sliding scale of wages and opposition to the Social Contract were either lost or remitted.

Not until the later stages of Sunday did the proceedings warm up with the NEC winning support for a motion opposing the James White Abortion (Amendment) Bill. The most urgent need now is for the union as a whole and the NEC in particular to bring to heel the five members of the ASTMS Parliamentary Committee who voted in favour of the reactionary White Bill, and to mandate them to future opposition or face non-adoption at the next General Election.

The final session of conference, on Monday morning, passed a crucial motion against NEC advice opposing private practice both inside and outside the NHS. It further committed the union to fight for elected committees of trade unionists, Health Service workers and consumers to examine the day to day running of hospital affairs.

GLC CUT BACK ON HOUSING

KEN LIVINGSTONE has been recently sacked from his position as Housing Vice-Chairman on the Greater London Council, by the Labour leadership. His crime? Opposition to rent increases. We asked him about the sacking, about the cuts which the GLC is making in housing expenditure, and about the increasing interest charges the Council is paying.

CHARTIST: Why have you been removed from your position on the GLC?

KL: Over the last year, the Labour leadership on the GLC have gone back on all our major election pledges. They've increased fares by 35%, they've agreed to a 50p a week rent increase, and they've sacked from positions those GLC members such as David White (Croydon Central) and myself who opposed their policies. I was asked to give a specific undertaking that I would support the rent increases, and was told that if I gave that undertaking, I would be allowed to retain my job. I wasn't prepared to, so they sacked me.

CH: What caused the GLC leadership to go back on their manifesto promises?

KL: Basically, well-organized pressure from the press and the Tories that the ratepayers were being asked to subsidise commuters and council tenants.

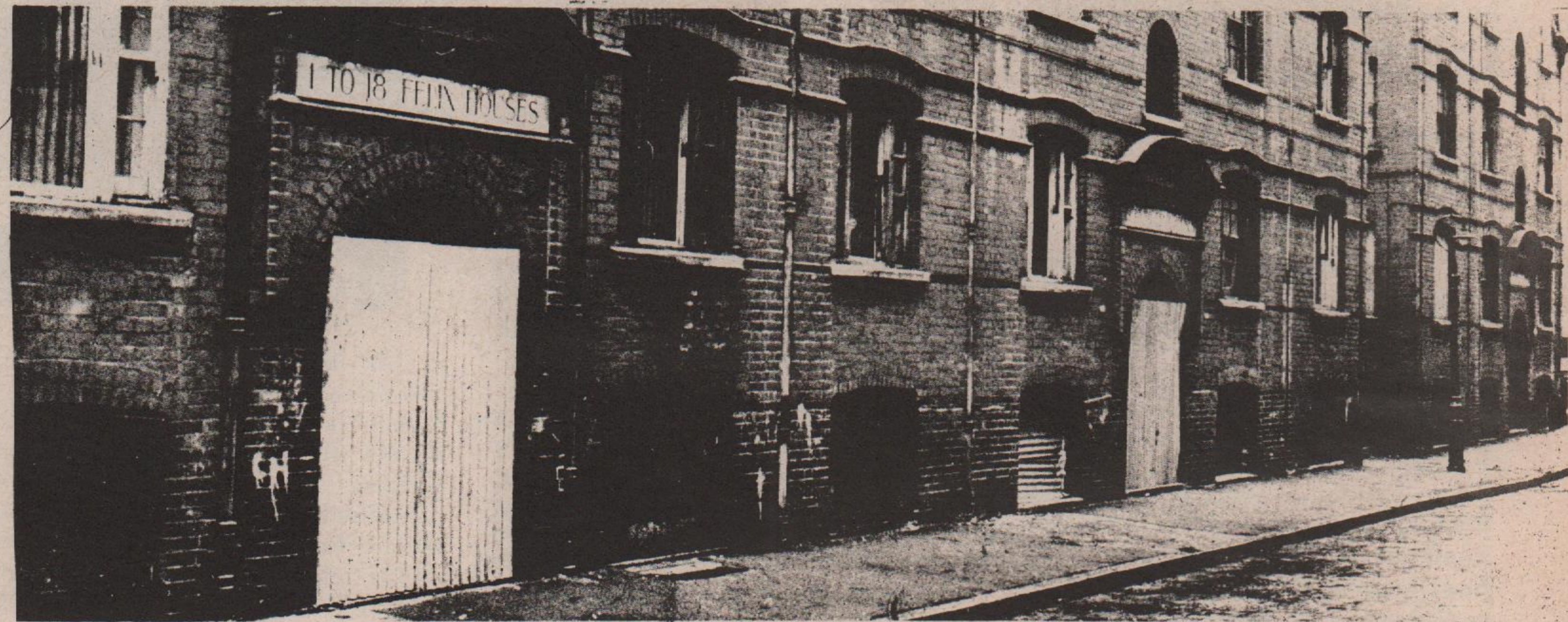
CH: What's the position of the government in all this?

KL: The government all along have been pressuring the GLC to increase rents and fares by even more. Tony Crosland's latest statement about rents would suggest that the GLC will be asking for a £1 a week increase next year. Also the latest threat from the government to cut down the transport grant they give us means the GLC Labour group have voted to put up fares by another 25% in November, and 20% next summer, with the obvious implication that there would be another increase after the GLC election in 1977.

The other great problem which caused the sacking of Mrs. Dimson, was that having increased fares and rents and cut growth in services two years running under Labour and Tory government pressures, there's nothing much left to attack but



Livingstone: no compromises



Housing in East London boarded up against squatters.

year, if we do nothing else at all, and don't start a single new council house—just provide the existing services—the interest debt will be dramatically increasing.

RESTRICTION

The government introduced a restriction which stopped us borrowing money abroad, because they felt that would endanger the pound. This year our capital programme was going to come to £500 million of expenditure, but then it became obvious that the money the government was prepared to give us, and the money we could raise on the domestic market would still leave us £150 million short. The Labour leadership went and asked the government to help out, and they benignly offered us the £150 million—at 1% over the normal rate of interest. The left wing said we should accept the money and

agree the terms afterwards, but the leadership wanted cuts. This means that the land acquisition programme and the municipalization programme have had £50 million in cuts.

So a Labour GLC is now cutting the housing programme—the key central aspect of Labour's role in local government. It's a foretaste of the fact that we will be decimated, I think, at the next election, because absolutely nobody is going to point to any difference between us and the Tories.

'If we just provide existing services...the interest payments will be dramatically increasing'

housing itself. True to form, their beady eyes fell upon the housing budget; what brought this to a head was that the GLC have been borrowing money for years past at fairly low rates of interest—5% and 6%—but now many of those debts are falling in, and we have to borrow more money to refinance them, which of course is at 12%, 13% or 14%. Now each year we have to pay the interest charges on that, which we get from rates, rents, and government grants, so each

'THE PARTY'S OVER'

THOSE CUTS in housing and social services which the Labour government councils to accept are just the beginning. As a direct result of government bring dramatic increases in fares, rents, social service charges. New peoples' homes, etc. will come to a dead stop. House building and buying government pay will be held back, and yet rates will still rise!

This is the meaning of cabinet minister Crosland's speech in Manchester "The Party's over".

On this page, we examine in an interview with Ken Livingstone, GLC are working in practice.

The local election results give a grim warning of what is to come, unless Labour Councils up and down the country REFUSE to implement Croslands cutbacks, and DEMAND that the government take over the banks and insurance companies to smash the stranglehold of the moneylenders over Council services.

Squatting: 'A last resort'

THE HOUSING crisis in Lambeth is one of the worst in London. Squatting has been one of the methods adopted to fight the appalling situation whereby thousands of houses stand empty while families walk the streets.

We interviewed Lenny and Isabelle Byrne, and Annie Wade who has three children and a grandchild. They were squatting in 16 Shakespeare Road, Herne Hill.

Q Why did you take to squatting?

A Lenny: We were married over a year ago, and have a child with nowhere to live. I was told by the Council that I had more chance of winning the pools.

Annie: I was living in one room and took to squatting as a last resort after continually hassling with the Council.

Q Do you belong to any specific squatting organisation and how do you organise?

A We are active around the squatters in the Brixton Women's centre. Our group policy is mainly to takeover and squat in private premises. Only as a last resort do we take over Council property.

We help those people without homes and on their last legs. About 70% cannot wait and are literally homeless and on the streets.

Q What is the attitude of the Lambeth Labour Council to the squatters?

A They have a policy of evicting squatters from their properties and at the moment have over a hundred outstanding eviction



orders.

Q Has your squatters organisation developed any links with the local working class movement?

A Yes. A number of us have joined the local Labour Party and there is a Labour councillor, John Boyle who is a squatter. We have also links with two local Tenants Associations. We have managed to get agreement from two local trade union (Fire Brigades and the Electricians) not to be party to any evictions.

Q What do you aim to do in the Labour Party?

A To make the Labour Party act in the interest of all ordinary people and get councillors who are prepared to fight. There are too many right wing middle class people in the Labour Party.

Annie and her children have now been rehoused after a long fight. Nearby however, at 21 Spenser Road, police helped bailiffs evict squatters, including a number of children, at 5.30 am. An earlier attempt had been foiled.

Private landlords, encouraged by the eviction, are expected to carry out others shortly.

ER'

nt has forced local policy next year will very provision, old will slow down. Local

when he announced:

councillor, how the cuts



ANTHONY CROSLAND

FIGHT THE RENT RISES

WHERE ARE the great cries of anger from Labour councils about the cuts the government is forcing them to make? While all the election promises are being broken, hardly a whimper of opposition has come from the councils. Occasionally, it's true, a delegation goes to see a minister about some particularly harsh cutback. But that's as far as it goes: There's no general opposition to this attack as a whole.

What they should be doing is condemning the government for going back on their election pledges of a redistribution of wealth, ORGANISING support in every locality, REFUSING to implement any increases, and DEMANDING that the government take over the banks and insurance companies, and cancel the councils'

debts.

The rent increases of around 50p a week which some councils have agreed to, is only the first step. Next year increases will probably be £1. For Labour's Housing Subsidies Bill, successor to the 'Fair Rent Act', is in many cases actually LESS generous than the Tory measure.

A rent increase is for many councils the next attack that they will be administering on the government's behalf. It must be opposed in every borough: once the door is opened by this comparatively small increase, the way is clear to annual rises of £1 or more.

BY PAUL MOORE

DEFEAT FOR LABOUR

MAY DAY was Disaster Day for the Labour Party in the north of England. With one third of the councillors being elected in the Metropolitan District Council Elections, there were heavy swings to the Tories.

● In Leeds, the Conservatives became the largest party on the Council.

● In Calderdale, the Conservatives gained control from Labour.

● In Rochdale, Labour lost overall control.

And the parties of the extreme Right were busy, too. In the Bradford and Keighley area there were eight National Front candidates. And the notorious racist, Merrick, standing on the Campaign To Stop Immigration Platform, polled 1,050 votes in Bradford

Moor, only 280 votes less than the winning total.

These defeats for the Labour Party are not just the inevitable result of 'election swings.' They could have been avoided if the Labour Party, locally and nationally had stood up and fought for the working people who returned them to office, there would have been a tremendous response at the elections. But in the face of massive rate increases and swingeing attacks on their living standards, most workers stayed away and refused to vote.

These election results are only a grim foretaste of what will happen at a General Election, unless Labour changes its course - very quickly!

BY GRAHAM BASH

NO FUNDS FOR LAND PURCHASE

LABOUR politicians at national and local levels are now pursuing measures which, according to the Tory press, amount to outright "land robbery". But are these measures really land nationalisation?

At the present time, a Bill is going through Parliament which is intended to bring development land into community ownership - in other words to allow local Councils to make the profit out of development instead of speculators. It does not help solve the problems of the big cities; so two other measures, relating exclusively to housing, have been put forward. Frank Allaun's Private Member's Bill on the requisitioning of empty properties would enable Councils

to take over empty property, with compensation on the basis of rateable value. The Labour London Boroughs are also pursuing a less ambitious scheme for requisitioning. Both measures are opposed by the Labour government.

All these measures would be a step in the right direction. But there is an omission. In practice private capital will flourish through the exorbitant interest rates local authorities will have to pay in order to realise that ownership. And anyway, where precisely are Councils supposed to find the funds to finance these proposals, when the government is telling them to cutback?

BY SALLY HUMPHRIES

N. IRELAND : Loyalist menace gathers behind Convention

COLIN KENNEDY

AS EXPECTED, the elections to the British Labour Government sponsored 'Constitutional Convention' have proved an unmitigated disaster for the nationalist population in Northern Ireland. The candidates of the Paisley-Craig-Powellite United Ulster Unionist Council (UUUC) received 35% of the votes of the electorate, romping home to take the position of being the majority political alignment in the new Convention. The moderate parties, ranging from the Faulknerite Unionists, the Alliance liberals, the Northern Irish Labour Party and the Social Democratic Labour Party, managed to collect only 23% of the total of those eligible for voting. A huge proportion of the nationalist electorate, 37% decided to take the advice of the militant republican organisations by choosing to boycott the poll altogether.

BACK TO STORMONT

The Westminster Labour Government has now managed to create a situation in which the reactionary forces of Ulster Loyalism can totally dominate the work of the Convention as it proceeds to draw up a constitution for the government of Northern Ireland. The only thing that will be produced from this body in six months time is a scrap of paper reading 'back to the good old days of Stormont... back to the total Loyalist control of the affairs of the Irish people in the six counties... back to the establishment of the hated 'Protestant Ascendancy'.

The threat of the physical annihilation of the catholic community in the north is posed by this state of affairs. The majority of the population in four of the six counties of the British colony are catholics. After having suffered the last six years of crisis in the north, and having succeeded in establishing a real challenge to the anti-democratic Loyalists, these people will not go back to merely accepting their former status of the second class citizens of Northern Ireland. The inevitable resistance of the nationalist community to whatever comes out of the Constitutional Convention, will be met with the demands of the Loyalist bigots to 'smash the fenians' of such areas as the Bogside in Derry or East Belfast, once and for all.

TROOPS OUT CONFERENCE

A Labour movement conference called by the Troops Out Movement and supported by several leading Labour Party MPs was called at the end of last month in order to discuss the urgency of the situation in Northern Ireland. The bulk of the discussion was directed towards broadening out the current campaign of the Troops Out Movement within the ranks of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party. Prominent speakers, including an Irish Labour Party member of the



Loyalist leader Ian Paisley

Diall (Irish Parliament), Leo Abse MP, and Eamon McCann, author and commentator on the situation in the six counties, centred the discussion on the role of the British army in bringing about the present crisis situation. The Conference, 325 delegates from trade unions and Constituency Labour Parties, heard how, over the last six years, the army has been engaged in operations that have effectively disarmed the nationalist community, while placing 20,000 guns in the hands of the Loyalists of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment. The point was made time and time again that the overall effect of the British army's involvement in Ireland has been to boost the confidence and the cause of the UUC, the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force. The notion that the army is there to 'keep the peace' exposed as false by a whole series of quotations on army policy that have come from high ranking officers, together with the evidence of such actions as the internment of prominent republicans and civil rights figures, the murder of 13 civil rights demonstrators on 'Bloody Sunday' 1972, and the role played by the army during the Ulster Workers' Council action of May of last year. Eamon McCann pointed out the only way to disarm the Loyalist reactionaries was to remove the main prop to their power and influence in Ulster which is the British Army.

TOM ACTIVITIES

Over the summer, the Troops Out Movement will be holding a number of important activities, which include a week of action to be spent lobbying Labour MPs surgeries in 13 - 19 July, a mass demonstration on the need to remove restrictions placed upon campaigners on the Irish situation, including the ban on their use of Trafalgar Square for rallies and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and finally, preparations leading up to a mass rally of the Troops Out Movement to be held in the Royal Albert Hall sometime in November. The Socialist Charter will also be campaigning, along with TOM, to ensure that the issues of Troops Out, self-determination for Ireland, and the repeal of the anti-working class 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' is placed before the Labour Party National Conference this autumn.

PORTUGAL: AFM tightens grip

ONE THING IS clear in Portugal at the moment. Despite the heavy 38% vote making the Socialist Party (PSP) the best supported in the recent elections, real power remains in the hands of the radical Armed Forces Movement (AFM). The PSP vote represented conflicting tendencies: on the one hand, workers genuinely seeking progress towards socialism, on the other hand, middle class and peasant elements seeking a 'lesser evil' to the Communist 'Red Peril'.

The PSP leadership is coming increasingly into conflict with the AFM, which remains largely in cahoots with the Communist Party (PCP). It poses as a guardian of 'freedom' against them, in practice lining up as the last-ditch defender of Portuguese capitalism and the 'Western Alliance'. Yet this is to some extent against the wishes of its own rank-and-file. The military regime under Costa Gomes and Vasco Goncalves has recently (16 April) taken over transportation and the Portuguese-owned steel, electrical and petroleum industries. It has also (24 May) nationalised the country's largest industrial group, the Companhia Uniao Fabril, which employs 30,000 and represents about 20% of Portugal's industry. Such measures, especially after the failed right-wing counter-coup in March, are highly popular with the masses.



PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES PREMIER GONCALVES

The AFM has been compelled to take these measures by the overwhelmingly popular mood of the Portuguese masses. The nationalisation of these important sections of industry undoubtedly poses a threat to the existence of capitalism in Portugal.

What is also plain is that the PCP has no intention of allowing this process to continue on the basis of direct democratic control by the working class. On the contrary, it has relied mainly on bureaucratic measures FROM THE TOP, taken ON BEHALF of the workers (while being prepared to rally them when necessary against the right wing).

It is in this context that we have to see the closing down of the only pro-Socialist newspaper, 'Republica'. Even assuming that the PCP and AFM were overthrowing capitalism, and admitting that the PSP leaders have been putting over a right wing line, the working class movement

by Martin Cook

should be able to CONTAIN political disputes between ALL tendencies of the labour movement in free and open debate, as in the Russian soviets of 1917. The fact that the PSP leaders including Mario Soares are now threatening to quit the cabinet shows how little weight their electoral support carries with the AFM.

Meanwhile in the ex-Portuguese colonies of Southern Africa, things are heading for a new flare-up. The new Mozambique Government under Frelimo's Samora Machel will be providing the apartheid South African regime with electricity from the massive Cabora Bassa dam. Yet it will also be providing large new base areas and training facilities for the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and blockading the main rail links of Ian Smith's white-supremacist system. Across Africa in Angola, clashes have been developing between the pro-imperialist (US backed) FNLA of Holden Roberto and the more leftist MPLA of Agostinho Neto. The FNLA are being supplied by Gen. Mobutu's Uncle Tom regime in Zaire, while the MPLA are more in favour with Portugal's AFM. The Portuguese Government which still retains control in Angola, has now imposed virtual martial law to quieten things down.

Repression mounts in Argentina

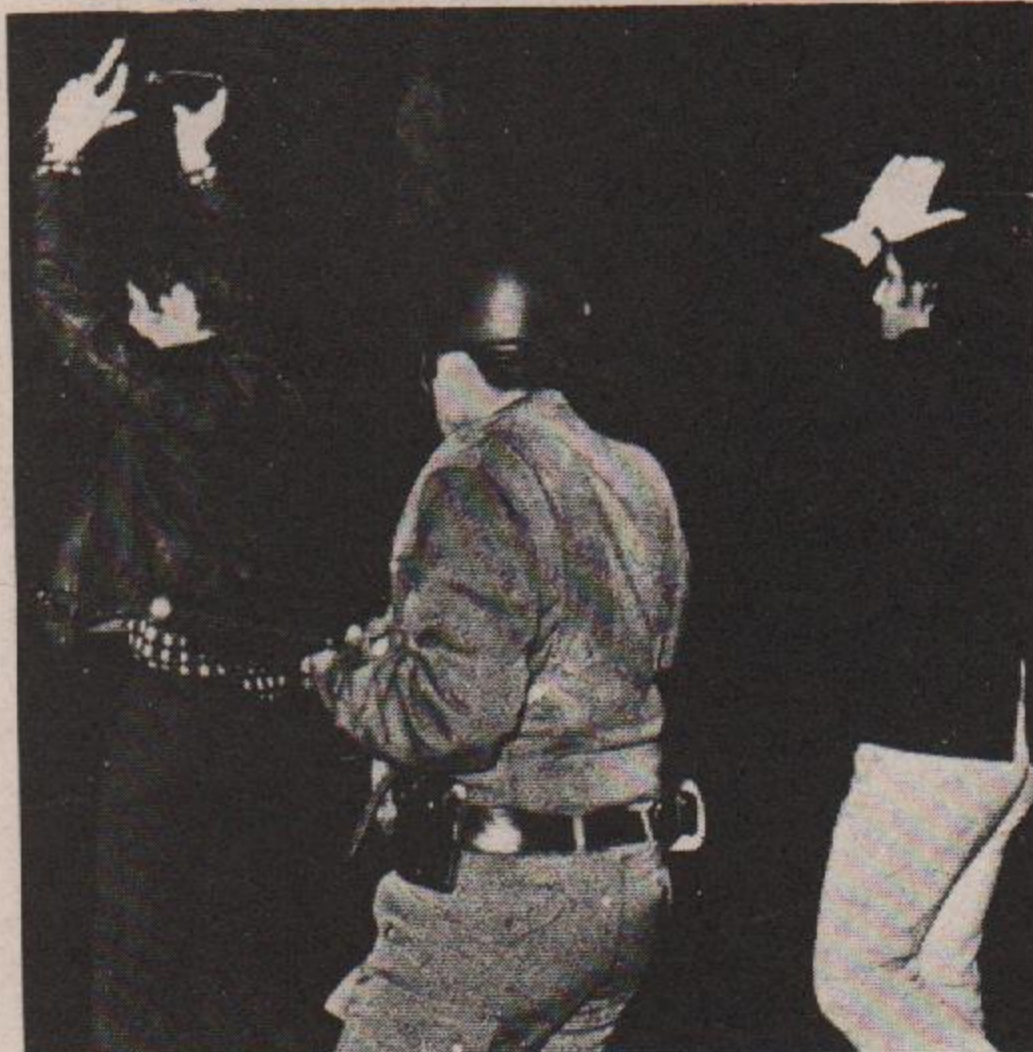
IN ARGENTINA today it is an everyday occurrence for trade union and socialist activists to be taken away by armed gangs under the eyes of the police and never be seen again except as a bullet riddled body. Sometimes, militants are arrested by the police, only to be released some hours later — into the custody of the fascists.

Over the past year the offices of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party and the "Working Class Politics" Organisation have been bombed or broken up by the police several times, many of their militants, along with those of the Communist Party and the class struggle wing of the Peronist youth and union movements, have been murdered.

In 1973 the military dictatorship in Argentina was no longer able to hold the working class back. The capitalists called Peron back in the hope that his brand of bourgeois nationalist reformism could serve this purpose better. But the apparatus of the police-military dictatorship was not dismantled and as Peronism is shown to be incapable of controlling the workers the police and army officers have taken up the struggle against the workers through the systematic murder of the leading militants, calling themselves for this purpose the "Argentine Anti-communist Alliance."

The present campaign of terror started last year when seven militants of the S.W.P. were killed in quick succession. Then it was the turn of the "Workers' Politics" group. In one instance,

two of their militants from the Miluz paint factory were taken at gun-point from the home-bound bus by men who a few minutes



STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS ARRESTED IN BUENOS AIRES

earlier were making a friendly conversation with a group of policemen, who then conveniently disappeared. Some time later their bodies were found full of bullets. One of the men had been convenor of the factory and when another member of the same group was elected to that post he too was murdered a few weeks later.

Following these murders the AAA gained confidence and have begun to operate more openly: instead of kidnappings and street shooting they have gone on to actions such as the machine-gunning of left Peronist union militants in a cafe, killing seven.

Apart from these murders the police are trying to break up left wing organisations by pulling random groups of militants into prison on trumped up charges

and taking advantage of their time in custody to torture and rape them or hand them over to the AAA for the same purpose to break and demoralise them.

The Socialist Workers Party and the "Workers' Politics" group have appealed for international solidarity. Socialists and trade unionists who protest against this repression can have an effect and save the lives of many Argentinian workers.

Already the Portuguese Socialist Party, the French National Teachers' Union and several Labour MP's have taken up this question. It is vital that the broadest possible layers of the British Labour movement add their voices. Furthermore, we must be clear that not only must we denounce the AAA but the Argentine government's deliberate policy of allowing their police and army to participate in the AAA more or less openly.

All socialists must take this up and attempt to get their CLP's MP's and union organisations to send protests to the Argentine embassy, with copies to the Argentine unions, and messages of solidarity to all those suffering under the repression.

At the Labour Party Young Socialist conference, an emergency motion condemning the repression in Argentina was passed unanimously. Now this decision must be translated into action. Information must be spread around the Labour Movement and the widest possible support must be organised.

Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons — an Appeal

ACCORDING TO a recent Hsinhua News Agency dispatch, "war criminals just released by special amnesty numbered 293 in all, including 290 war criminals who originally belonged to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, two war criminals from the Japanese puppet regime in Manchuria and one war criminal from the puppet "Inner-Mongolian Autonomous Government." This means that all war criminals held in jail have now been released." (19 March 1975, Peking.)

But no similar amnesty has ever been declared in the case of those revolutionaries, in particular the Trotskyists, who were arrested in the course of a nationwide raid on the night of 23-24 December 1952. Altogether 200 persons were seized. No indictment was ever made public. No public trial was ever held. Those arrested were refused contact with their relatives and friends.

It is therefore impossible to say with any certainty what happened to those Trotskyist militants since. We do not know what "crimes" they were charged with. We do not even know how many of them are still alive. What little information we have indicates that most of the younger ones are now living under supervision after five years or more of imprisonment, and are barred from employment. The older comrades continue to rot behind bars.

WHO ARE THEY?

Who are these Chinese Trotskyists Mao judges more dangerous to his regime than Kuomintang counter-revolutionaries? They include:

1. Cheng Ch'ao-lin: a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, a leader of the 1925-27 revolution. A prominent writer and translator. Assuming that he is still alive, Cheng will be 74 years old. He will have spent 30 years in jail - seven under Chiang Kai-shek, twenty-three under Mao.
2. Chinag Tseng-tung: a leading activist in the Shanghai labour movement and a participant in the Shanghai general strike and uprising of 1927. If still alive, he would now be about 65.
3. Ho Chi-shen: a student leader in Peking in the early twenties, who joined the Chinese Communist Party shortly after its formation. Together with Mao, Ho played a leading role both in the 1925-27 revolution and in the revolutionary movement in Hunan Province after its defeat. Like Cheng Ch'ao-lin, Ho will have spent seven years in jail under Chiang and twenty-three under Mao, his old comrade-in-arms. If alive, he will now be 79 years old.

We therefore appeal to all workers' organisations to take up this issue throughout the labour movement and to campaign for the immediate release of all Chinese Trotskyists and other revolutionaries still in Mao's jails.

FROM GREGOR BENTON

BOOK REVIEW: 'The Black Jacobins' by C.L.R. James

'THE BLACK JACOBINS'

How the Negro slaves of San Domingo rocked revolutionary France and won their freedom

by Don Flynn

'IN 1789 the French West Indian colony of San Domingo supplied two-thirds of the overseas trade of France and was the greatest individual market for the European slave-trade. It was an integral part of the economic life of the age, the greatest colony in the world, the pride of France, and the envy of every other imperialist nation. The whole structure rested on the labour of half-a-million slaves.'

'In August 1791, after two years of the French Revolution and its repercussions in San Domingo, the slaves revolted. The struggle lasted for 12 years. The slaves defeated in turn the local whites and the soldiers of the French monarchy, a Spanish invasion, a British expedition of some 60,000 men, and a French expedition of a similar size under Bonaparte's brother-in-law. The defeat of Bonaparte's expedition in 1803 resulted in the establishment of the negro state of Haiti which has lasted to this day.'

(FROM 'THE BLACK JACOBINS' BY C.L.R. JAMES PUB. BY VINTAGE BOOKS)

PART ONE

San Domingo was the French, western half of the old Spanish colony of Hispaniola. The Caribbean island itself is a giant amongst the West Indian islands, being approximately the same size as Ireland. The western area, from Cap Francois in the north, to Port-au-Prince in the south, were the most fertile and prosperous. In 1754, there were 559 sugar and 3,379 indigo plantations. After the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the Seven Years War with Britain, the plantation owners were exporting over 120 million pounds weight of raw and refined sugar, a million pounds of indigo and two million pounds of cotton, large quantities of hides, molasses, cocoa and rum. The colony was a treasure trove of tropical produce, so rich that a crop like cotton would grow naturally, even without care.

The real foundation of the prosperity of the colony was the slave labourer. Tens of thousands of these people were taken from the west coast of Africa, to end their lives in some cruel and wretched fashion, worn out and broken by the harsh toil of the plantation.

BARBARISM

The cruelty of the white slave owners has passed into history as being amongst the most extreme example of human barbarism. From official reports in the French Colonial archives numerous forms of torture which were commonly used could be quoted. The whipping of a slave might be interrupted in order to pass a piece of hot wood over the buttocks of the victim; salt or pepper, citron, cinders, aloes and hot ashes were poured on the bleeding wounds. Mutilations of limbs, ears, and sometimes the genitals, were resorted to as punishments. Between the ceaseless toil of the plantation and the terrors of the dreadful beatings and tortures, the black slave population of San Domingo was never able to reproduce its own numbers. More and more labour had to be recruited from the African continent. In 1789, of the half million slave population of the French colony, more than two-thirds were native born Africans.

The San Domingan slaves had risen up against their masters in the past; under the leadership of escaped slaves such as Mackindal and Boukman.

But the greatest leader of the enslaved masses of the French colony emerged in the insurrections of 1792, as an

organiser of men and women, a revolutionary politician, and a creator of an army which was capable of routing the pride of Europe. His name was Toussaint, a slave from the Breda plantation, and he became known as L'Ouverture or the Open Door, on account of his genius as a military strategist.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was an exceptional man, who from his early youth, had been inspired with a desire to end the misery of his people. His search for weapons in this fight led him to the revolutionary literature that, in Europe, was to act as the herald of the great revolutions of the 1780s to the turn of the century. He discovered the work of the Abbe Raynal, a Frenchman whose studies of commerce and trade in the East and West Indies had arrived at the conclusion that a slave revolution was necessary in order to end the existence of the wasteful and parasitic class of monarchist bureaucrats who administered the human misery of the colonies in the interests of the French monarchy. Toussaint read the great lines which called for a revolutionary leader for the black masses: "Everywhere people will bless the name of the hero who will have reestablished the rights of the human race; everywhere will they raise trophies in his honour".

OPPORTUNITY

The opportunity for the overthrow of the slave-owning colonists came in March of 1791; two years after the outbreak of the Great Revolution in France. Two regiments of French soldiers landed in Port-au-Prince, in order to put down troublesome agitation and protest by the small white land-owners who were objecting to the domination by France of the trade of the colony through the "Exclusive" trading obligations.

But the soldiers came into the town flushed with the revolutionary ardour of the events in France. They gave the fraternal embrace to the Mulattoes (mixed-race small landowners) and to the negro slaves and they told them that a representative Assembly of the people had been convened in France and that it had declared all men free and equal. At many places near the capital of Port-au-Prince, the slaves began seizing arms and rebelling. By August, the Northern plain was alive with the revolt of the negro slaves.

But Toussaint knew that the liberal leaders of the Girondist Party, who formed the Government in Paris, could not be relied upon to secure the freedom of the negro slave. In the early months of 1792, he set about recruiting an army from amongst the thousands of ignorant and untrained slaves in revolt; one that would be capable of fighting European troops. Using, and inventing, modern tactics of guerilla warfare, the first battles against the French soldiers and the colonists were fought out.

The events of the next year followed swiftly and



The spread of revolution: Toussaint Louverture, 1715-1803, leader of the successful slave revolution in Haiti and the first great Negro revolutionary of modern times.

the fact that the fight to maintain the gains of the early slave revolts of 1791 were continued throughout this period under the leadership of Toussaint, prepared the way for the great events of the next year.

In France, the right wing leadership of the revolution had gone back on its promises of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity to the French workers and peasants. In April 1793, the "Girondin" leadership in France plunged the country into a war with Austria. They had refused to take the action demanded of them against the monarchy and when it was discovered that Marie Antoinette was sending the war plans to the Austrians, they proposed to let the King and his Queen escape from the capital. The anger of the French workers and peasants knew no bounds. They immediately struck out to prevent the Royals' removal and embarked on a massive demonstration against royalty, tyranny, reaction and oppression of all types. In the onrush of revolt, the grey masses of Paris struck a deep and profound common cause with the black masses of San Domingo. The Paris workers declared for an end to the "aristocracy of the skin"; they declared for the abolition of slavery, and at once became the truest and most determined allies of the slave people of the West Indies.

But in San Domingo, the white population gave limited support to the bourgeois Revolution in France only. They hoped that it would end the 'exclusive' trade obligations with the home country, which prevented them from selling their produce on the world market. But they did not support the revolutionary slogans of the Paris masses: "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity".

The blacks wanted the Revolution to go beyond

granting the plantation-owners their property rights, to sell on the dearest market and so on. They wanted to see the revolutionary abolition of the human being as a piece of property, as a slave. This meant that, in San Domingo, the black slaves and the revolutionary sections of the mulatto population were now compelled to take up a struggle against the government of the French Revolution in order to achieve their liberation from slavery.

The black slaves armies of Toussaint, together with Jean Francois and Bissou, decided that an alliance with the Spanish colonial army from the east of the island was an expedient move. So, paradoxically, while fighting behind the slogans of loyalty to the Spanish king against the "Godless Republic", Toussaint waged a war on the French government, intent on forcing the abolition of slavery from the Revolution in Europe.

VACILLATION

But the counterrevolutionary vacillations of the Girondist Party, both in Government in Paris, and through the personage of their chief agents on San Domingo, the Commission of Sonthonax, Polverel and Ailhaud. These men had arrived in San Domingo intending to investigate into the reasons for the slave revolts and the extreme disorders between all sections and all colours of the population. They found that the rich, white plantation owners had adopted the tack that the whites and the "free men of colour" (the mulattoes) could govern side by side; but as for the black slaves, "We have not brought half-a-million slaves from the coasts of Africa to

make them into French citizens"; they stated through their spokesman, the white mayor of Cap Francois. A counter-revolution was under way.

In August 1793, the French Government appointed a new Governor to the colony; Galbaud, himself a landowner on San Domingo. He was wildly acclaimed on his arrival in the Northern Province by the whites as the new leader of the overthrow of the revolutionary gains of the Mulattoes, who had won the right to participate in government, and as

the man to completely stamp down on the long-lasting slave revolution.

The man appointed by France to investigate the disturbances on the colony, Commissioner Sonthonax, recognised this danger to his efforts to bring peace to the island and retaliated by stripping Galbaud of his position and returning him to France. But the whites flocked to the new Governors' side and, upon his landing, threw up an armed force that turned the Commissioner out of the city of Cap Francois. Sonthonax had to resort to one measure in order to save the situation from complete overthrow and reversal of all the revolutionary gains of the previous two years. And that was to immediately arm the black slaves from the nearby plantations and call upon them to crush the white reaction.

RABBLE ARMY

Returning from their victories over the Commissioners' forces, the white rabble army of Galbaud, drunk with wine and pillage, were suddenly set-upon by 10,000 blacks, swooping down from the hills onto the city. The counter-revolution fled for the harbour, leaving all behind them. Galbaud had to throw himself into the sea to get to a boat, and to complete the royalist discomfiture, fire broke out and burnt two-thirds of the city to the ground. Ten thousand refugees crowded into the vessels in the harbour and set out for the United States of America — the great majority never to return. It was the end of white domination of San Domingo.

Two things had been learnt by the insurgent black and mulatto people of the colony. Firstly, not to place absolute confidence in the European representatives of the French Revolution on the island, including the Commissioner Sonthonax. He had spent many months trying to appease the counter-revolutionary whites, thus placing the entire gains of the revolution in dire jeopardy. The formal act of abolition of slavery on the island on 29 August 1793, recognised the debt that Sonthonax owed to the blacks, and also, the fact that the black ex-slaves were now armed, and they would not easily give their weapons up.

From the Spanish half of the island, the natural leader of the Slave Revolution, Toussaint L'Ouverture, noted these things as he considered the course of coming struggles. In the next paper, we shall explain how Toussaint, in maintaining the right of independent action for the slaves, actually waged war on the Commission in the name of Spain, in order to arm and enrol the entire negro population of the island into a vast army of liberation. Ten years of warfare remained to be fought, and the San Domingo Revolution would need all the arms it could get.

young socialist NEWS

Free Desmond Trotter campaign

JOAN LESTOR REFUSES TO ACT

DESMOND TROTTER must hang! This is essentially what Joan Lestor at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office told a delegation from Norwood Young Socialists who presented her with a massive petition demanding his release. "It would be quite improper for Her Majesty's Government to intervene..... it would be for the Governor of Dominica to decide," she said.

Desmond Trotter is a 20 year old activist in the Movement for a New Dominica (MND), organising to change the impoverished conditions in which the people of Dominica are being forced to live. The MND was therefore challenging the British owned Van Geest company which reaps the profits from the agricultural workers in citrus and bananas, El Rose (Cadbury-Schweppes), who extract lime juice in Dominica, process it in Britain and resell it at exorbitant prices in Dominica. In taking on this struggle Desmond Trotter was also challenging the Dominican Government which is servile to the companies which are massively exploiting the Dominican people. It was for this reason that Desmond Trotter was framed with the murder of a white American tourist and sentenced to hang by a nine man jury which consisted of members or servants of the island's business community and one member of the special police.

Joan Lestor is meant to be a left-winger, a member of the "Tribune" group of Labour MPs. She knows very well that the

proposed execution of Desmond Trotter is a political act by the rotten 'Labour' administration of Dominica. As for the fact that it is the Governor of Dominica who has the power, we can only ask to whom is he responsible?

If Joan Lestor really is a



Joan Lestor: 'It would be quite improper for the Labour government to intervene.'

socialist then she must believe in the international solidarity of the working class, farmworkers and peasants struggling for a better deal for themselves.

Joan Lestor and the Labour Government could stop the hanging of Desmond Trotter if it put on pressure. More than this, they should stop bolstering up corrupt right-wing governments like Dominica with 'aid' that gets no further than a bureaucrat's pocket.

VICTORY AT KINGSTON

"MODERATION GOT us into this mess, militancy got us out of it," commented one student on the victory won by Kingston Polytechnic students in maintaining the autonomy of their welfare service against interference by their directorate.

Several months of "leadership" from the 'moderate' union president had allowed the directorate to split the students of the old Poly from those of Gipsy Hill College of Education (recently merged with the Poly.) over allocation of hostel places. The directorate were well on the way to using the merger to erode the quality and the autonomy of the Polytechnic Welfare which offers confidential counselling and other services which don't exist at Gipsy Hill.

The resignation of the Welfare staff stirred the union to action. It demanded the service be maintained, extended to Gipsy Hill and the right to veto future

Such was the level of support that during the occupation the problem was finding enough floor space for those willing to stay the night. The canteen staff also came in early to feed the occupiers, while 14 colleges sent in telegrams of support.

It won't always be so easy. But now the students can look forward with optimism to more difficult battles ahead on accommodation and education cuts.

BY BERNARD MISRAHI (SURBITON YS) appointments to ensure the next Welfare officer had as much fight as the previous one.

On Monday the union decided to occupy the directorate offices indefinitely around the clock. The 'moderate' president resigned, allowing the socialist president-elect to take over effective leadership. On Tuesday Gipsy Hill students were persuaded to change their minds and fight as a united union. By Thursday the directorate had conceded everything.

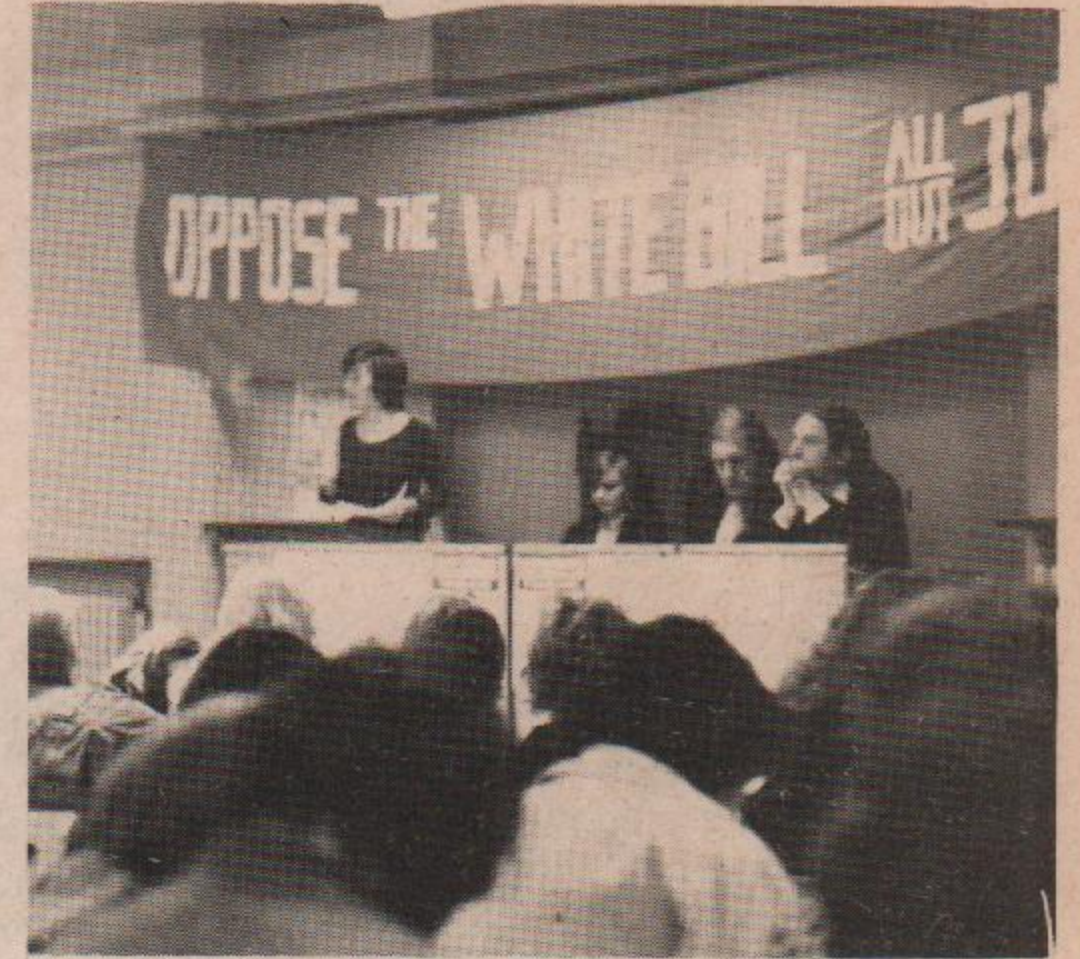
STOP THE ANTI-ABORTION BILL

ALL OUT JUNE 21!

BY LIZ ADAMS
(EPSOM & EWELL YS)

THE TUC celebration of International Womens' Year was marked by a demonstration through London on May 25th. Four thousand trade unionists, two thirds of whom were women, took part in the march, calling for equal pay and job opportunities for women.

While indicating a desire to push forward with equal pay demands etc. the TUC leadership revealed their remoteness from the militancy of the rank and file marchers by refusing to take up the question of the fight against the anti-abortion James White Amendment Bill, presently going through parliament. This was despite the fact that a large number of the marchers chose to follow the banner of the National Abortion Campaign (NAC) and supported the slogan of "Abortion - a



LPYS speaker at Labour Movement Conf.

woman's right to choose!"

A recent one day conference organised by the Labour Party Young Socialists and the NAC reinforced this point. Labour MP Chris Price, a doctor trade unionist, the Abortion Law Reform Association and the LPYS, all attacked the White Bill, which will stop most working class women getting legal abortions. The conference readily endorsed this view, calling for massive support for the demonstration organised by the NAC against the Bill on June 21st.

FIGHT YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

BY YVETTE LUPTON (STOCKPORT N. YS)

THE DECAY of capitalism is graphically demonstrated by the system's inability to offer workers any future. This is especially true of working class and student youth. In the boom period young workers had the choice between a dead-end job or dole queue. Now with unemployment reaching the million mark, working class youth are offered no alternative but the dole queue.

Back to 1930s

This year unemployment amongst youth is higher than at any time since the 1930s, and school leavers are particularly hard hit. Already, 22,000 of this year's school-leavers are unemployed, and by summer this figure is expected to have trebled. In the North East there will be only 2,000 jobs waiting for the 12,000 school leavers anticipated. In Liverpool the prospects are even worse, with an estimated 6,000 teenagers chasing only 200 jobs. Not only will school leavers bear the full frontal attacks of the capitalist crisis, but also students leaving colleges and universities are finding it increasingly difficult to get jobs.

International

Nor is this situation confined to Britain. As we know it is an international economic and social crisis that is reproduced in all the metropolitan countries. The once booming economies of France and Germany are now afflicted with the same disease.

'better qualifications'

What solution does the Labour Government intend to provide for the thousands of school leavers who will not be able to get jobs this summer? John Fraser, Under Secretary for Employment stated in Parliament that an "important guarantee against unemployment" was to get better qualifications in school. This is clearly no solution at all. Last year the school leaving age was raised to 16 in an attempt to hold back the tide of

unemployment. This year thousands of 16 year-olds will be pouring out of schools looking for work. The ailing capitalist industries can see no way of accommodating this flood of labour. The only plans which the Government can put forward is the provision of an extra £50 million for training developments over the next two years —training for jobs which no longer exist!

action

The slogan 'Youth on the Dole— We Will Fight!' emblazoned the platform of the Easter Conference of the LPYS. These words must now be turned into action and linked to a massive campaign to fight unemployment and defend the right to work. The National Committee of the YS in conjunction with the trade unions should begin an immediate struggle in every area around the following demands:

- Jobs and training facilities for all youth!
- Cut the working hours with no loss of pay to make jobs available!
- TUC take responsibility for unemployed youth! Win the youth to the unions!
- Full adult unemployment benefit for jobless school leavers!
- Equal pay for equal work for youth! A guaranteed £40 minimum wage!

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