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FIGHT THE PURGE!

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THE MARXIST VOICE OF LABOUR AND YOUTH

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TORIES
NOT THE
MARXISTS!**

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SOCIALIST★APPEAL

WHO ARE WE? and WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

Bold measures are required to deal with the coronavirus crisis. Only a clear socialist programme can offer a way forward.

We must have no faith in the Tories or their hangers-on, whose worship of the market has brought the country to its knees.

- No trust or confidence in the Tories and their big business backers!
- Instead of attacking the left, Labour must provide genuine opposition to this shambolic Tory government. Support workers in the fight to put lives before profits!

The bosses and their craven political representatives have shown that they will always prioritise profits over lives.

We demand socialist measures to protect workers, and put health before wealth.

- For a fully publicly-owned and free health service, under workers' control and management. Reverse all privatisation and outsourcing. All private health and care services must be nationalised without compensation, and integrated into the NHS.
- Nationalise the pharmaceutical companies – without compensation – in order to ensure that vaccines are produced rapidly and made freely available to all worldwide.
- Reverse the austerity inflicted upon public services. Launch a fully-funded training programme for doctors, nurses, paramedics, medical staff, and carers, with decent pay and hours, to increase staffing levels across the board. New hospitals must be urgently built.
- Workplace safety should be in the hands of workers' committees and the trade unions. Proper health and safety measures must be implemented, with adequate PPE provided for all workers. The costs for this must be paid by the bosses.

- For safe work or full pay on a living wage. Any future restrictions must be accompanied by measures to provide for workers affected by closures. This means 100% wage support for those furloughed, as well as full sick pay to those required to isolate.

- To fight job cuts and the threat of mass unemployment, work should be shared out without any loss of pay, in order to lower the hours of the working week.

- Fight for the real emancipation of women. Remove all barriers to women working: provide free nurseries, after-school childcare, and care for the elderly. End all forms of discrimination; equal pay for work of equal value.

- Scrap tuition fees and rents, and replace these with free education and full maintenance grants for all. Put staff in control in schools and universities.

- Ban evictions and cancel housing debts. Give local authorities the power to cap rents at affordable levels. And bring empty properties and the assets of the big landlords and management companies under public control.

- Many small businesses are faced with bankruptcy, with banks resisting any extensions of credit. Many are squeezed not only by the banks, but by the big monopolies. By nationalising the banks we can supply these small businesses with the lifeline of guaranteed low-interest credit.

- The financial resources required to fight the crisis must not come from increased taxes or more austerity, but through the nationalisation of the banks and finance houses. Rather than a 'wealth tax', we call for the expropriation of the monopolies.

- Instead of building up the national debt through government borrowing, the money needed should be obtained entirely from

expropriating the accumulated profits of big business.

- If the bosses say they can't afford to pay for workers' wages, we say: open up the books! Let the working class and the labour movement see the accounts! If firms plead bankruptcy, they should not be bailed out, but nationalised under workers' control.

- No to austerity! The working class must not pay for this crisis!

- For the trade unions and Labour Party to organise a mass struggle to bring down this criminal Tory government. Organise the unorganised!

It is clear that the market has failed and capitalism is in a deep crisis. The anarchy of capitalism prevents the planning of society's resources, in Britain and internationally.

We therefore stand for the nationalisation of the 100 biggest monopolies, banks, utilities, landlords and so on – under workers' control and management – and without compensation. On this basis, the economy can be democratically planned in the interests of the majority, and not for the super profits of a few.

A Socialist Federation of Britain should be linked to a Socialist United States of Europe and a World Socialist Federation, in order to plan resources internationally for the benefit of all. This would put an end to the barbarism of capitalism and allow humanity to begin solving the urgent issues of climate change, disease, and poverty that face society and our planet.

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CONTENTS

Labour Party and Editorial

- 4 Socialists in! Starmer out!
- 5 Support the Marxist voice of Labour and youth
- 6-7 Fight the purge
- 8-9 Editorial: Defend Socialist Appeal



Britain

- 10 Lockdown lifted: A Tory gamble
- 11 Violence against women
- 12 Health inequality
- 13-14 Football, racism, and the Tories



Theory

- 15-18 Marxism and the Labour Party

International

- 19-20 Cuba
- 21-22 Afghanistan
- 23 South Africa



Letters, Reviews and

- 24 Review: The Great Post Office Trial
- 25 In Defence of Marxism magazine relaunch
- 26 Letters
- 27 Tell the Truth: The Russian civil war



Trade Unions

- 28 Railways and public ownership
- 29 Tube drivers' strike
- 30 No to deskilling!
- 31 Surveillance of workers



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“YOU CANNOT STOP AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME”

SOCIALISTS IN! STARMER OUT!

Socialist Appeal

The deed is done. On the evening of Tuesday 20 July, Labour’s right-wing dominated NEC voted to proscribe four left-wing organisations from the party, including Socialist Appeal.

This scandalous and cowardly decision is a direct political attack on the whole of the left. Starmer and the right wing have thrown down the gauntlet. The entire left must mobilise and respond with militancy and audacity.

Purge

Statements of support and solidarity flooded in prior to this meeting of Labour’s ruling body – both from high profile figures (including Jeremy Corbyn) and from grassroots activists.

Fears of a wider purge have been strengthened by reports that the bureaucracy already has over 3,000 expulsion letters ready to send out.

Even by the most generous estimates, this goes far beyond the supporter base of the four groups officially banned today.

This shows the real intentions of the right wing: to use these proscriptions as the thin end of the wedge to drive out the whole of the left; as a tool for expunging all traces of socialism and ‘Corbynism’ from the party.

Hypocrisy

While NEC members debated online, hundreds of grassroots members and activists rallied outside Labour HQ to denounce this latest episode in the #LabourPurge.

Speakers from the newly-proscribed groups and from the labour movement spoke to the assembled crowd, highlighting the political motivations behind this attack.

Adam Booth, editor of socialist.net, was one of the speakers at the protest.

“The only ‘crime’ that we are deemed guilty of is that of being socialists,” Adam remarked, discussing the real reasons behind the proscription of Socialist Appeal.

Adam went on to highlight the disgusting hypocrisy of the Labour right wing, who accuse Marxists in the party of not sharing Labour’s ‘aims and values’.

“This is extremely rich coming from the right wing: From the Blairites and bureaucrats who sabotaged the 2017 general election; the people who relentlessly undermined the twice-democratically elected leader for five years; the same people who scrapped Labour’s socialist Clause IV, replacing it with praise for a ‘dynamic market economy’.”

“The right wing accuse us of being ‘organised’; of being ‘entryists’; of being a ‘party within a party’,” Adam continued.

“But are factions such as Progress and Labour First not also organised? And aren’t they well-funded by outside

interests in big business? “Are they not entryists, on behalf of the establishment? Are they not a ‘party within a party’ – a party of Tory infiltrators within our party?”

Marxism

“We won’t be intimidated by their aggression and repression, however,” Adam concluded.

“They can try to ban and block as many of us as they like. But as the great French writer Victor Hugo said: no force on earth can stop an idea whose time has come. And it is the ideas of Marxism and socialism that represent the future.”

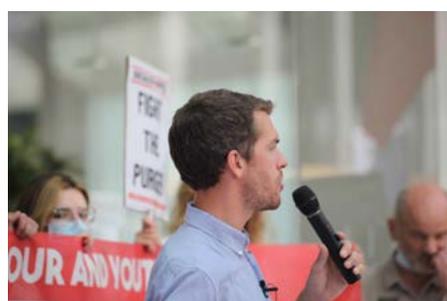
This is the perspective that we must return to. Capitalism is in its deepest ever crisis. Unlike in the Blair era, it is not reforms, but attacks and austerity that are on the agenda. Starmer and the right wing have nothing to offer but patronising flag-waving and appeals to big business.

Sharp class struggles lie ahead, in Britain and internationally. Enormous pressures are building within society, and particularly within the working class. And one way or another, these will burst to the surface, finding a reflection both on the streets, and in the Labour Party and the trade unions.

In this process, the mass organisations of the working class will be transformed and re-transformed. And the ideas of Marxism will become even more relevant.

This is why we are not demoralised or downtrodden by today’s NEC decision. Instead, we are even more determined to set about the task at hand: to build the Marxist tendency – Socialist Appeal, the Marxist voice of Labour and youth.

To all those who have been expelled, or who have left the Labour Party in disgust with Starmer’s leadership, we urge you to join us in this task. ■





SUPPORT THE MARXIST VOICE OF LABOUR AND YOUTH!

Starmers's move to purge Marxists from the Labour Party is part of a generalised attack on the left. Socialist Appeal has been specifically targeted because we have been at the forefront of the fight against the right wing, and particularly due to our leading role in the *Starmers Out!* campaign.

All socialists have an interest in opposing this cowardly purge. Once the most organised and determined section of the left wing has been expelled, the Blairites will inevitably turn against the rest of the left. Their aim is to sever the party from the working class and make it a safe pair of hands for the capitalists.

As ever, the right wing are resorting to bureaucratic maneuvers and expulsions because they would lose any genuine political debate in the party.

The fact that they are launching this purge while workers are suffering and dying as a result of the Tory government's criminal incompetence and corruption speaks volumes. Starmers and the right wing have no answer to the crisis in Britain; in fact they are part of the problem.

In order to fight this purge we will need to bring legal challenges, which will likely incur costly legal fees. Please consider making a donation today to help us cover these fees and take the fight to the right wing.

Big business are happy to pour funds into right-wing organisations such as Progress or Stephen Kinnock's

new 'Renaissance' outfit. By contrast, we rely only on the support of our supporters in the labour movement – and are proud to do so.

There has also never been a better time to subscribe to our paper – packed with analysis and ideas that Starmers and the Blairites are clearly afraid of!

To defeat the right wing, socialists in the Labour Party must get organised.

We would therefore like to make this appeal to all our readers: If you are disgusted by this latest attack on the left, then join us and help to build a powerful Marxist tendency, fighting for a socialist programme for the labour movement.

Now is the time to get involved. Join the Marxists! Fight for socialism! ■



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OR JOIN!**



LABOUR LEFT RESPONDS TO RIGHT-WING AGGRESSION

Socialist Appeal

The decision to proscribe Socialist Appeal, alongside three other left-wing organisations, has provoked uproar online from across the rank and file of the Labour Party, as well as from prominent figures in the labour movement.

Activists and leading lefts alike are rightfully disgusted that the party leadership is choosing to attack grassroots organisations and members simply for being socialist – especially at a time when this criminal Tory government is endangering lives.

Outrage and anger

Key left-wing bodies such as Unite the Union and Momentum have come out against this right-wing aggression.

There is a clear recognition that last Tuesday's NEC decision is the beginning of a wider attack, designed to purge the left from the party and break the influence of the unions.

"Acts of political machismo like this latest move to proscribe groups within the party, neither advance the party with the voting public nor appease the right-wing media which demand them," Unite's statement asserts. "History teaches that this will only be the start."

Similarly, Momentum's official release warns that a "small and detached clique" is attempting to "drive Momentum and the broader left out of the party".

The same perspective was emphasised in a statement from the Socialist Campaign Group of Labour councillors,

who quoted Tony Benn on the question of attacks against Marxists in the Labour Party:

"If the Labour Party could be bullied or persuaded to denounce its Marxists, the media – having tasted blood – would demand next that it expelled all its socialists...to form a harmless alternative to the Conservatives..."

"Thus British capitalism, it is argued, will be made safe forever, and socialism would be squeezed off the national agenda."

Left-wing journalist Owen Jones, meanwhile, has highlighted that the main target of these proscriptions is Socialist Appeal. "With no inspiring vision to offer the country," Jones correctly asserts, "the Labour leadership has settled on kicking the left and nothing else."

Grassroots support

Local Momentum and Labour left groups have also published messages of support and solidarity.

Sheffield Labour Left (SLL), for example, have issued a statement condemning the right-wing's proscription proposal.

Furthermore, SLL state that: "The work that supporters of Socialist Appeal have done to promote socialist ideas within the party and their expression of no confidence in the current leadership – that is the real reason for the proposed proscription."

Elsewhere, in a letter sent to left NEC members, Tower Hamlets Momentum correctly say:

"Much of the right wing are demanding that, after Socialist Appeal,

Momentum should be next. If we let this pass, then others will follow...We need to push back hard with the broadest campaign."

Labour lefts in Ealing, London, have also highlighted the hypocrisy of this right-wing move.

"Socialist groups who campaign exclusively for Labour are called 'poisonous extremists', out of line with party values.

"Meanwhile, Islamophobes like Trevor Phillips, and the likes of Peter Mandelson – who openly called for voters to support other parties in the last general election – are welcomed with open arms."

And many more ordinary workers, Labour members, trade unionists, and grassroots activists have expressed solidarity with Socialist Appeal comrades too. Such solidarity and unity is vital in resisting this purge.

Starmer out! Socialists in!

The whole left must continue to mobilise and fight this purge. Alongside the very welcome messages of solidarity, we also call on activists to pass the model motion below in CLPs across the country. This should be submitted as an emergency, if necessary.

Where possible, this should also be put forward as the CLP's motion to the upcoming Labour conference, as part of the campaign to say: Starmer out! Socialists in!

We will not go quietly into the night. Inside and outside of the Labour Party, we will continue to build up the forces of Marxism. ■



MODEL MOTION: NO TO PROSCRIPTIONS!

This CLP is outraged by the NEC decision to proscribe Socialist Appeal and three other left-wing organisations.

This follows an ongoing campaign by Keir Starmer and David Evans against the left-wing membership. Members have been suspended and expelled, including NEC member Howard Beckett and former leader Jeremy Corbyn; and party democracy has been suppressed.

This CLP believes such McCarthyite methods are being adopted in order to attack and shut out Marxists and socialists from the party.

This purge of the left by Starmer's leadership is an attempt to reverse the

socialist policies brought in under Corbyn, and to make the party a safe pair of hands for capitalism.

This CLP declares its solidarity with Socialist Appeal and the other organisations being targeted. An injury to one is an injury to all.

This CLP demands that all proscriptions and unjust exclusions are reversed, and that the attacks on rank-and-file members and party democracy are halted immediately.

Instead of attacking its own members, the party leadership should be using all of its efforts to fight this criminal Tory government on the basis of bold socialist policies.

MESSAGES OF SOLIDARITY

JOHN MCDONNELL MP

“I totally oppose the use of bans and proscriptions to force socialists out of the Labour Party.

“Labour was founded as a democratic socialist party composed of individuals and groups of socialists drawn from a wide range of political beliefs and analyses.

“From Fabians to Co-operators to Marxists, the party of Bevan, Attlee, Laski and Benn has embraced all these traditions and has been stronger for it.

“Members of the party who are supportive of the ideas advocated by Socialist Appeal have loyally worked hard voluntarily for Labour candidates to be elected and have been at the forefront of many campaigns and trade union struggles.

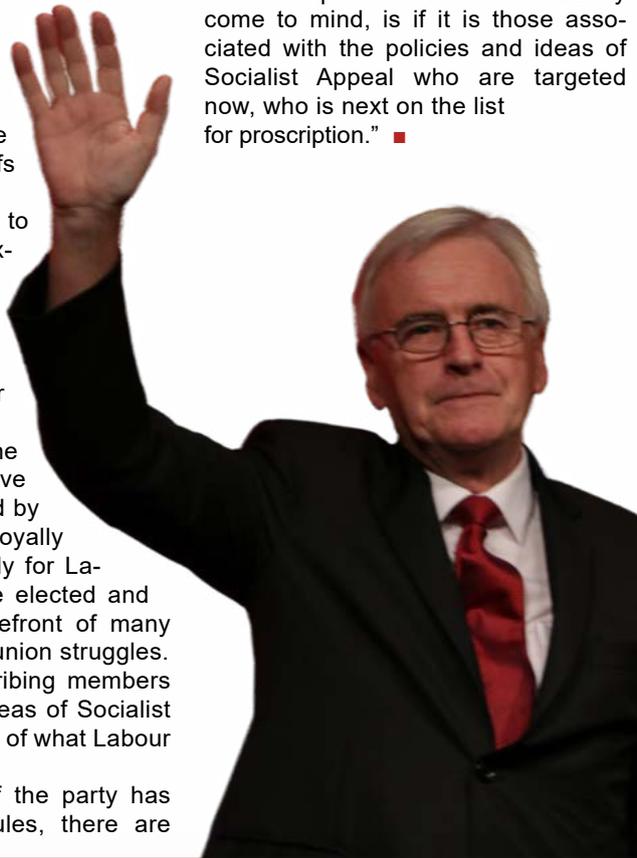
“Banning or proscribing members associated with the ideas of Socialist Appeal flies in the face of what Labour has always stood for.

“If any member of the party has broken the party’s rules, there are

already procedures to deal with this.

“There is no need for this resort to bans and proscriptions.

“The question that must surely come to mind, is if it is those associated with the policies and ideas of Socialist Appeal who are targeted now, who is next on the list for proscription.” ■



IAN HODSON PRESIDENT BFAWU

“Comrades, the attempt to ban Socialist Appeal and other groups, with the aim of expelling them from the party is an absolute disgrace. At the same time as expelling good socialists, Starmer is welcoming former Tories with open arms and shifting the party to the right. We must not allow them to get away with this purge. My union is totally opposed to bans and proscriptions and the return to McCarthyite thought control.” ■



KEN LOACH

SOCIALIST FILM DIRECTOR

“The destruction of democracy in the Labour Party is shameful. Local parties are closed down, their officers replaced or suspended, meetings cancelled, all with little regard for the rule book.

“Good people are being forced out, some made ill with the pressure. The most principled activists are leaving in tens of thousands.

“And all this takes place without a word from the mass media. Why? Because Starmer is their man. They know he will change little or nothing. He makes small debating points,

but on the big principles – ending privatisation, rights at work, protecting the environment, a foreign policy based on human rights and international law – he is silent.

“He wants a smaller party, with no troublesome activists. This attack on party democracy is driven by a determination to appease the power of the establishment.”

“It is a return to the opportunism and support for corporate power of the Blair years.

“But Starmer, feeble and unimpressive, is no Blair.

“The Labour Party is one area of struggle, alongside grassroots campaigns and trades unions.

“The right wing operates in the shadows. Keep telling the truth of what is happening, it is our strongest weapon!” ■



WHAT WE SAY FIGHT THE PURGE!

SOCIALISTS IN!

STARMER OUT!



Editorial board

Socialist Appeal, along with three other left-wing campaigning groups, have been officially proscribed from the Labour Party. This is a direct political attack on the left and the ideas of socialism. The whole left must mobilise to fight this purge.

This scandalous decision was agreed at a meeting of the Labour Party's national executive committee (NEC) on 20 July, where a motion was proposed by right-wingers calling for Socialist Appeal to be declared a proscribed organisation.

The motion cited Chapter 2, clause 1.4.B of the Labour Party rule book, which says:

A member of the party who joins and / or supports a political organisation other than an official Labour group or other unit of the party, or supports any candidate who stands against an official Labour candidate, or publicly declares their intent to stand against a Labour candidate, shall automatically

be ineligible to be or remain a party member, subject to the provisions of Chapter 6.1.2 below of the disciplinary rules.

Furthermore, the motion stated that this clause applies to Socialist Appeal and its activists, making support for Socialist Appeal 'incompatible with membership of the Labour Party'.

The grounds given are that Socialist Appeal has its own programme, membership, and structures; that we are part of an international organisation, the International Marxist Tendency; and that our organisation is a continuation of the Militant Tendency, which was similarly proscribed by the Kinrock leadership in the 1980s.

Finally, the proposed motion suggested that the above clause should apply to anyone who declares themselves a supporter of Socialist Appeal; sells our newspaper, or writes articles for our publications; or runs Socialist Appeal street stalls.

Political attack

All of the above justification for proscribing Socialist Appeal is entirely spurious, designed to distract from the real political motivations behind this move.

The purpose of the constitutional clause above is to exclude people from Labour membership who campaign against the party; and/or who actively support political organisations and candidates who stand against the Labour Party.

Socialist Appeal, however, has always supported the Labour Party and its candidates. We are not a separate party but a tendency within the Labour Party and the wider labour movement, organising

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socialist activists around Marxist ideas. As with groups like Momentum, our activists are loyal Labour members, who have worked tirelessly to build the party in their local areas; and who have enthusiastically campaigned for Labour in every election.

The same cannot be said for other factions within Labour's so-called 'broad church'.

As last year's leaked report demonstrated, large swathes of party officials and of the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) actively sought to undermine Labour's chances in recent elections. Yet to this day, none of these saboteurs have been brought to justice.

Similarly, right-wing Labour groups such as Progress and Labour First consistently and openly wrecked the party under Corbyn's leadership. Why is support for these Blairite organisations not deemed 'incompatible with membership of the Labour Party'?

Guilty of socialism

Whilst this attack is scandalous, it is not surprising. A number of Socialist Appeal supporters were previously caught up in the anti-Corbyn purge of 2015-16, when thousands of left-wing grassroots members and activists were suspended or barred from the party on various trumped up charges.

At this time, one Socialist Appeal supporter took the party to court in order to fight his expulsion. Lawyers representing the Labour Party squirmed in order to justify this 'auto-exclusion'.

In the end, the party's lawyers declared that Socialist Appeal and its activists are not in agreement with Labour's 'aims and values'. The only 'crime' that the comrade was deemed guilty of, in other words, was that of being a socialist!

Battles ahead

The move to proscribe Socialist Appeal is only the latest bureaucratic attempt to purge the most militant fighters from the Labour Party.

And the timing of this latest attack is not accidental. Labour conference is approaching, and the right wing are desperately manoeuvring in order to cement their rule by clamping down on party democracy, shutting down CLPs, and stitching-up the vote.

In this respect, it is clear why Socialist Appeal has been targeted. Our comrades have been at the forefront of the fight to transform the Labour Party – from the campaign to restore Clause IV; to the call to reclaim democracy with a recall conference; to the recent demand to say: Starmer out!

Unlike the Blairites, our 'aims and values' are entirely consistent with those of the Labour movement. We stand for the socialist transformation of society – an aim that was inscribed into Labour's banner with the old Clause IV, introduced in 1918.

With democratic rule changes and votes of no confidence in Starmer being passed in CLPs up-and-down the country, it is clear that the right wing is scared of what lies ahead at this year's conference.

At the same time, it is clear that Starmer and the right wing are determined to expunge socialism from the Labour Party. Their aim is to return the party to Blairism, and make Labour a safe pair of hands for capitalism.

The problem is that the bulk of Labour's membership stands in their way of this. Already, over 100,000 members have left out of demoralisation and disgust. But this is still not enough. In their eyes, the job is not finished until the entire left has been extinguished.

First they came for the Marxists...

This latest McCarthyite move is therefore the thin end of the wedge. First the right wing will decapitate the left of its most militant layers. Next they will come for the rest of the left.

Already, Blairite MPs such as Neil Coyle have demanded that Jewish Voice for Labour and Momentum be purged also.

It is therefore imperative that the entire left mobilise to fight these shenanigans. An injury to one is an injury to all.

A mass campaign should be launched by Momentum, the Socialist Campaign Groups of MPs, and the trade unions against these attacks. As part of this, local Labour left groups and grassroots activists must organise to pass motions of solidarity, denouncing the ban against Socialist Appeal and other left-wing organisations.

This fight should be taken all the way to Labour conference. The call must be: Reverse all proscriptions and exclusions! Let the members decide! Socialists in, Starmer out!

Traditions and history

Socialist Appeal proudly defends the ideas of Marxism and socialism inside the Labour Party and trade unions.

Marxism has a long history and tradition inside the Labour Party: from its inception, under the initiative of the Marxist *Social Democratic Federation*; through to

its influence on famous left-wingers such as Tony Benn.

Unlike the Blairites, our 'aims and values' are entirely consistent with those of the Labour movement. We stand for the socialist transformation of society – an aim that was inscribed into Labour's banner with the old Clause IV, introduced in 1918.

We have openly fought for these socialist goals, helping to launch the campaign to bring back this socialist Clause IV – a demand that was supported by the majority of CLP delegates at the 2019 Labour conference.

It is Blairism and the ideas of the right wing that are alien to the best traditions of the labour movement. Even then, we do not call for these Tory infiltrators to be bureaucratically expelled from the Labour Party.

Unlike them, we call for the most thorough democracy, in order to empower the membership. This includes demands for mandatory reselection; the election of party officials; and an end to all restrictions on democratic discussion and debate.

Struggle for socialism

Alongside these democratic demands, Socialist Appeal calls for Labour to adopt a bold socialist programme in order to transform society in the interests of the working class, the youth, and the oppressed.

It is on the basis of socialist policies – not patronising flag-waving and appeals to big business – that Labour should be fighting the Tories.

Starmer and the right wing, however, are spending more time attacking the left than attacking the Tories. It is they, not Socialist Appeal supporters, who should be shown the door.

We will not be cowed by this repression and intimidation. Instead, we will redouble our efforts to transform the Labour Party along socialist lines; and to fight for a clear socialist alternative to the crisis-ridden capitalist system.

This is the task that lies before us: to build the forces of Marxism; to build the Marxist tendency; to build the Marxist voice of Labour and youth.

We appeal to all our readers to defy the Labour right wing, and to join us in the struggle for socialism. ■



@Number_10/flickr.com

LOCKDOWN LIFTED: THE TORIES ARE GAMBLING WITH OUR LIVES

Nelson Wan

Monday 19 July saw the grand re-opening of the UK economy. Cynically dubbed 'freedom day' by Boris Johnson and the Tories, this official end of the lockdown in Britain saw virtually all remaining COVID-related restrictions removed.

With cases rising rapidly, the Tories are gambling that the vaccine programme will mitigate the worst effects of the virus. But vaccines are not 100% effective. By the law of numbers, therefore, deaths and hospitalisations will inevitably increase.

Meanwhile, the potential long-term health impacts of 'long COVID' are unknown – especially for the youth, who will be going out into society completely unvaccinated. And on top of these risks is the potential for the UK to become a breeding ground for a vaccine-resistant variant.

Added together, it is clear that a COVID catastrophe could soon hit Britain once again.

Chaos

Despite the Tories' aim of reopening rapidly precisely in order to help big business, this latest coronavirus tsunami will also wreak havoc on the economy.

The bosses are already complaining of a 'pingdemic', with hundreds of thousands being told to quarantine after coming into contact with those who test positive, leaving businesses short-staffed.

As a result the CBI (Confederation of British Industry), the voice of UK big business, is calling for self-isolation rules to be overhauled; in other words, for the capitalists' profits to once again be put ahead of ordinary people's health and lives.

And the situation is only going to get worse in the days and weeks ahead. Notable scientists – such as former SAGE member Professor Neil Ferguson – are predicting 200,000 cases per day at the height of this new wave.

Ironically, health secretary Sajid Javid himself recently tested positive, despite being double-jabbed. This, in turn, led to an explosion of anger, as leading Tories who

had come into contact with the health secretary – most notably, Boris Johnson and Rishi Sunak – attempted to dodge isolation regulations.

Once again, as with the Cummings affair last year and the recent Hancock scandal, it is clear that the Tories believe that there is one rule for them, and another for the rest of us.

Pressures

Evidence from several countries now suggests that a significant number of people who are infected are at risk of developing longer-term illness. Some people are still suffering from long-COVID over a year after originally catching the disease.

Healthcare workers, meanwhile, are terrified of the consequences of fully opening up at this stage. Likely pressures on the NHS include: rising COVID hospitalisations; a backlog of over five million other patients waiting

this new business model – making huge profits from selling booster shots to combat the latest variants that arise.

Once again we see the madness of capitalism on full display. For the profiteers, it is not in their interests to fully eradicate the virus.

Profit

From the start of the pandemic, the main priority for the Tory government has been to preserve the UK economy – and, in particular, the bosses' profits – at all costs.

This is what led the government to delay bringing in a national lockdown when the first wave of the pandemic hit Britain's shores, opting instead for a disastrous 'herd immunity' strategy; and then to make blunder after blunder ever since, leading to several more waves of the virus – and, ultimately, to tens-of-thousands of entirely preventable deaths.

From the start of the pandemic, the main priority for the Tory government has been to preserve the UK economy – and, in particular, the bosses' profits – at all costs.

for treatment; and the existing exhaustion and burnout of NHS staff, who have worked tirelessly over the course of the pandemic.

All of this is creating a perfect storm that could push the already underfunded, overstretched, and under-staffed NHS to breaking point.

Resistance

The Tories have also given no thought to the possibility that their reckless actions could be responsible for breeding a vaccine-resistant variant of COVID.

With infections spreading like wildfire, the perfect environment is being created for the virus to mutate and out-evolve existing vaccines – putting us back to square one, after 15 months of anguish and pain.

The capitalists are not gravely concerned by this prospect, however. After all, Big Pharma bosses are looking forward to

This same logic – of putting profit ahead of lives – is now driving the Tories to re-open the economy prematurely, against the recommendations of leading scientific experts, and whatever the cost to society and public health.

The capitalist system and its political representatives have once again proven themselves to be completely incapable of fighting the pandemic. Instead, it will be ordinary working-class people who pay the price.

Whilst the lockdown might have ended (for now), there will be no return to normality, with the pandemic continuing to rage across the world, and capitalism plunging deeper into crisis.

Only with clear socialist policies, on the basis of a rationally-planned economy, can society's resources be fully utilised in order to combat COVID-19 and end the pandemic once and for all. ■

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

CAPITALISM'S ENDEMIC PROBLEM

Olive Ruadh

The past year has been challenging. But it has proven exceptionally difficult for working-class women.

They are more likely to have lost their jobs – thrown back into taking on household duties, and made financially dependent on partners or male family members.

And they have borne the brunt of the coronavirus crisis, which has been accompanied by an increase in domestic abuse, gendered violence, and femicide.

For most people, home has been a safe haven during the pandemic. But for many women, it is the opposite.

'Epidemic of violence'

Fourteen women in the UK were killed in just the first three weeks of lockdown. Even before the pandemic, 1.6 million women experienced domestic abuse in the year leading up to March 2020.

This is alongside the 153,136 rape and other sexual offences recorded by police, in which the victim was female in 84% of cases.

Such abuses are likely to have increased since the pandemic, with a 65% increase in reports to the national domestic abuse hotline. No doubt, many more incidents go unreported.

This has led to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS) warning of an 'epidemic of violence against women' in an interim report.

This report calls upon all government institutions to "work together" to combat the issue. The HMICFRS calls for this question to become an "absolute priority" for government, policing, the criminal justice system, and public sector partnerships – all backed by sufficient funding.

Part of the problem

Unfortunately, more police powers and tokenistic extra funding from the Tories will do little to tackle this epidemic. The government has already allocated more money to tackle domestic abuse, but there is still an estimated £200 million shortfall.

And as the killing of Sarah Everard demonstrated, the police themselves are

part of the problem. Those in law enforcement are far more likely to be abusers and far less likely to be convicted.

Meanwhile, 75% of domestic abuse cases reported to police never result in charges. Keen to close cases, police routinely pressure women to drop cases against their abusers.

The report's recommendations, then, are at best a surface-level response to an issue that is deeply rooted in capitalist society.

This system cannot protect us, when it is the same one that is killing us. More radical solutions must be sought.

Capitalism to blame

Demands for increased funding for shelters, community-based services, greater mental health, and economic support for victims have all correctly been raised.

But why are such essential services not already more widely available? Clearly not for lack of need; nor for any lack of campaigning.

The blame lies with the crisis-ridden capitalist system. Whilst big business

and tax-dodging billionaires have made massive profits, services for working-class women have consistently faced deep cuts. Indeed, services that vulnerable people rely upon have often been the first to be chopped under austerity.

Nor can we rely on women in power to tackle the issue. Home Secretary Priti Patel is happy to tweet in support of victims – but her own party has been responsible for the decimation of the already limited services available to women.

Break the law, not the poor

Unfortunately, right-wing controlled Labour councils have not stood up to these cuts. Whilst leading voices in the party may oppose violence against women in words, in practice they accept the need for austerity, which is responsible for exacerbating this scourge.

Instead, Labour councils should take inspiration from class fighters of the past, such as the Poplar Labour councillors, who took as their motto: "It is better to break the law than break the poor".

The same is true today. The wealth exists in society for all of these vital services and more.

But as long as we live in a society based on profit, not need, such safety nets will continually be pulled away; crisis and austerity will erode jobs, wages, healthcare, and housing; uncertainty and precarity will mount for the most vulnerable; and more and more women will be forced to rely on abusive partners.

Struggle for socialism

From allocated housing, to mental health support, to women's shelters: in the struggle to meet our needs, we constantly come up against the barrier of profit, competition, and capitalist crisis.

Only by smashing through this obstacle with mass, united class struggle can we begin to build a society – a socialist society – based on planning and production for need.

Only by overthrowing this whole oppressive system can women be properly supported, and the inequality of the sexes be done away with altogether.

Only when we can all live as independent human beings – free from domestic drudgery and wage slavery – can we talk of real freedom for women: free from men, and both free from capital. ■



POSTCODE LOTTERY REVEALS HOW CAPITALISM IS KILLING US



Dr Raj Mistri

BMA

(personal capacity)

Recent research by the University of Cambridge has revealed that the factors driving major health inequalities haven't changed since the Victorian era. Despite promising great improvements to living standards, capitalism has been unable to resolve social issues such as overcrowding, malnutrition, or employment in the gig economy.

In maps recently created by the Populations Past project, glaring similarities can be seen between the spread of fatal Victorian-era childhood disease like measles, whooping cough, and diphtheria, and the distribution of COVID deaths across Britain today.

Regions such as south Wales, the north of England, and parts of east London all suffered from the highest rates of infant mortality in the 1850s, and now reflect the highest rate of COVID deaths.

In London, areas like Newham, Barking and Dagenham (dubbed the 'COVID triangle') have both the highest rates of overcrowding, and the highest death rates from COVID. In Newham, child poverty was 67%, and overcrowding was the worst in Britain.

'Victorian slums'

The spread of COVID has exposed clear class divides in our society. With overcrowded housing and insecure employment, millions of workers are incredibly vulnerable to infectious diseases. During the January peak, the COVID infection rate was 50% higher in poorer areas of the UK.

The most densely populated areas of the UK have had 70% more cases of COVID infections than the least densely populated areas. In conditions similar to Victorian slums, workers and families live in cramped rooms, often unable to self-isolate

with COVID symptoms due to risk of loss of income.

In health economics, the 'inverse care law' states that those that need healthcare the most receive it least relative to need. Evidence shows that COVID disrupted the access of marginalised and vulnerable to healthcare most of all.

Inequality before COVID

Even before COVID, non-communicable diseases such as heart disease, lung cancer, and strokes are disproportionately high in certain areas: south Wales, northern England, east London.

This is the infamous 'postcode lottery': where you live determines the healthcare you receive. In Kent, seven out of nine hospitals are rated as 'needing improvement', while the county also has the lowest number of 'good' resident and nursing homes in the country.

In part, this is due to a healthcare employment crisis. As recently as 2017, 60% of GP jobs in the north east of England were unfilled. Compounded by a vacancy rate of 1 in 10 nurses, this is a recipe for disaster.

Funding is also a systemic issue, however. Tory cuts to NHS budgets in the Midlands and the north of England have been deeper than the south. The areas which saw the highest rates of COVID were the hardest hit by austerity measures.

In the poorest areas of England, the average lifespan is seven to nine years shorter than in the richest areas. The last years of workers' shorter lives are also spent with more illnesses.

If you are travelling on the Jubilee line on the London Underground, for every stop eastbound from Westminster, the average male life expectancy of the local population drops by one year.

These patterns and inequalities highlight the hypocrisy and callous nature of the ruling class. Workers are the source of the capitalist class' profits, yet are treated as disposable.

Socialism: good for your health

These inequalities are an inevitable product of the profit system. Capitalism fails time and time again to provide safe, liveable conditions for the workers it exploits.

Workers are kept on subsistence wages, stumbling between bills, debt, and the risk of losing their jobs during the pandemic. Outdated, overcrowded housing is the perfect setting for the spread of deadly diseases

The argument for a nationalised planned economy is bolstered by examples like Cuba. Since the 1959 Cuban Revolution, infant mortality has dropped from 37 to 4 deaths per 1,000 live births, which is lower than the mortality rate in the USA.

But of course, a planned economy must be under the democratic control of the working class, on a world scale, in order to really flourish.

Fight for socialism

While workers suffer the consequences of overcrowding, homes lay vacant. While NHS trusts fight to stem the tide of increased admissions, private sector parasites swim in pools of cash.

With the warning signs of a third wave ignored by the Tory government, this matter is all the more pressing.

Housing and healthcare must be democratically planned according to need, not profit.

The labour movement must organise around a bold, socialist programme of demands.

Only by rallying around these measures can we end the postcode lottery and ensure, regardless of where you live, you are guaranteed high-quality healthcare.

- Fully renationalise the NHS! Expropriate the private sector parasites with no compensation!
- End the gig economy and provide safe, secure jobs for all!
- Bring the banks and construction sector under public control! For a mass council-housing construction programme! ■



FOOTBALL AND RACISM: DON'T TRUST THE TWO-FACED TORIES!

**Steve Jones
and Fiona Lali**

In the wake of the England football team's loss in the Euros final, enormous anger erupted over the shocking racist abuse posted online.

Disgusting remarks were particularly targeted towards three black players – Marcus Rashford, Jadon Sancho and Bukayo Saka – who failed to convert penalties in the shootout against Italy at Wembley.

A mural dedicated to Rashford (and his campaigning around child poverty) was also defaced after the game.

These rotten acts of racism were met with huge outpourings of solidarity towards England's abused players.

Dog whistle

Feeling this public pressure, leading Tories such as Boris Johnson and Priti Patel came out in defence of the England trio, condemning the racist abuse that they have received.

This condemnation from Johnson and co. stinks of hypocrisy, however.

"All racists should crawl back under the rock where they come from," stated the Prime Minister – a rock that the Tory leader must be well acquainted with!

At the beginning of the competition, Boris Johnson and the Tories were

consistently partaking in dog-whistle racism, with the PM undermining players who chose to take the knee before games.

Similarly, at the start of the tournament, Priti Patel stated that she also did not support taking the knee, describing it as a "type of gesture politics".

When asked if she would criticise fans who booed England players, the Tory home secretary replied: "That's a choice for them, quite frankly."

Elsewhere, another Tory MP, Lee Anderson, said that he would refuse to show support for the England team as long as they continued to take the knee.

Others in the right-wing press started spreading the line that the whole England camp was infected by Marxism; and that manager Gareth Southgate was a "tool of deep woke".

Cynical U-turn

The Tories were clearly and cynically using this opportunity to further their divisive and distracting culture war against the Black Lives Matter movement and the left.

With the England team playing well and winning matches, and the public rallying behind them, however, the Tories switched tack. Sensing the possibility of a summer of flag-waving, parades, and knighthoods all round, suddenly

Johnson was donning an England shirt and applauding the players.

The government saw England's success in the Euros as a chance to cultivate a mood of patriotism and 'national celebration' – providing the great advantage of keeping other news (such as the rapid rise in COVID cases) off the front pages.

Suddenly, it seemed, the Tories were the England team's biggest fans. After all, why should people worry about the impending health crisis, when you could be in the pub singing *Three Lions*?

According to reports, Boris Johnson had even planned on hosting the England team at Downing Street. But hearing that the players planned to reject any such invite, the dinner was unceremoniously cancelled.

More recently, under pressure, some Conservative MPs have called for the party to go further and officially support taking the knee. "No one wants to see us starting fights with Marcus Rashford," asserted notorious Brexiteer backbencher Steve Baker.

Mask slips

Nobody believes this Damascene conversion by the Tories, however. Given their history, statements from Johnson and Patel against online racist abuse

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are rightly seen as being completely two-faced.

One England player, Tyrone Mings, summed it up accurately when he posted a tweet in response to Patel saying:

“You don’t get to stoke the fire at the beginning of the tournament by labelling our anti-racism message as ‘Gesture Politics’ & then pretend to be disgusted when the very thing we’re campaigning against, happens.”

Despite Johnson and Patel’s apparent volte-face, however, it seems that not all Tory MPs received the memo about the new party line.

Conservative MP Natalie Elphicke, for example, stated that Marcus Rashford should have spent less time “playing politics” and more time playing football – a clear reference to his campaign against the government over the issue of free school meals.

Elphicke later apologised for her comments. Nevertheless, here we see the real face of the Tories and the establishment.

Racist establishment

Of course, the Tories’ whipped-up culture war and dog-whistle racism did not begin this summer.

Boris Johnson, for example, has a long history of making racist ‘jokes’: referring to niqab-wearing Muslim women as ‘letterboxes’; and describing black people as ‘piccaninnies’ with ‘watermelon smiles’.

In truth, the Tory Party is riddled with racism – as, indeed, is the whole establishment.

It is this racism from the ruling class that percolates down into the rest of society – all fed by the reactionary gutter press, of course.

The racism received by the three England players on Sunday night would no doubt have been familiar to them – and to all black people in Britain.

One group of young black footballers told BBC 5 Live that they were not even surprised to see the abuse levelled at Rashford, Sancho, and Saka, such is the level of racist abuse they face each day.

Sadly, despite all the slogans about ‘kicking racism out of football’, the ‘beautiful game’ also has a long tradition of failing to tackle racism.

For decades, including in recent years, racist remarks and actions on the pitch have just been ignored by the

entirely: just look at those fans who stayed behind to clap the players on Sunday; or those who went out in the rain to repair the Rashford mural.

In truth, racism is a virus created and cultivated by the ruling classes: constructed during the age of Empire to justify colonial oppression; and continually used to this day to divide the working class.

This is what lies behind the Tories’ so-called ‘war on woke’ in recent years. This hysterical ‘culture war’ against the BLM movement – and in defence of slave-owner statues and the Union Jack – is cynically designed to set workers against one another, and to distract from the establishment’s crimes.

Unfortunately, Keir Starmer and the Labour right wing have played into the Tories’ hands on this question, attempting to outflank Johnson and co. when it comes to patriotism and flag-waving; and distancing themselves from anti-racist activists.

Instead, the left and the labour movement must fight to expose the hypocrisy of the Tories and the rest of the establishment when it comes to the question of racism.

We should join the likes of Tyrone Mings in focusing the blame for racism – like the online abuse experienced by England’s players – firmly on the

In truth, racism is a virus created and cultivated by the ruling classes: constructed during the age of Empire to justify colonial oppression; and continually used to this day to divide the working class.

authorities, and little has been done to counter any racism coming from the terraces.

Where gains have been made, and attitudes have been changed, it is down to pressure from supporters’ groups, alongside the campaigning efforts of working-class players who have struggled against the odds.

Unite and fight

Some snide commentators have tried to suggest that racism is embedded in the working class, and therefore in football, attempting to paint all fans as ‘hooligans’.

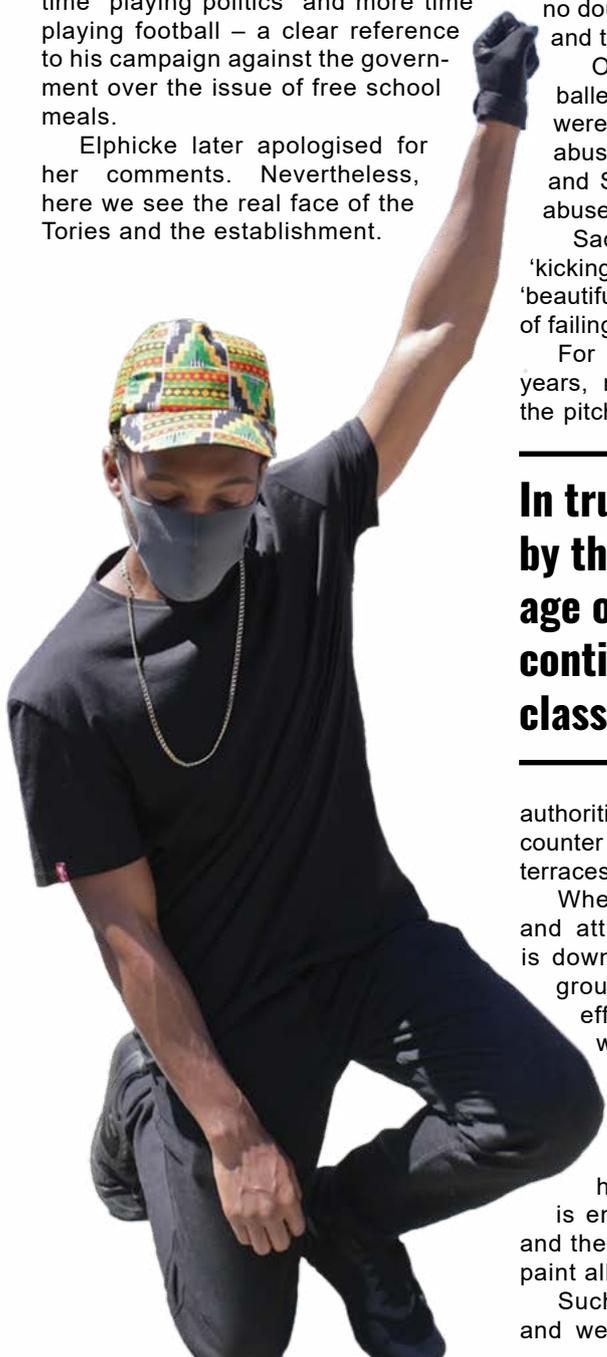
Such slanders are blatantly false, and we must reject these assertions

establishment, in general; and on Tories such as Johnson and Patel, in particular.

At the same time, we must reject the ruling class’ attempts to rally people together behind the England flag, with appeals to show ‘national unity’ in the face of such disgusting displays of racism and abuse.

We must tell the truth: There can be no unity between workers and youth, on one side, and the rotten capitalist establishment and their two-faced political representatives, on the other.

The unity we must strive for is the unity of the working class – black and white – in the fight to kick out the Tories, and to overthrow the racist capitalist system that they defend. ■



MARXISM, THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE WITCH-HUNT

Rob Sewell

The decision by Labour's national executive committee (NEC) to ban *Socialist Appeal* and expel our supporters from the Labour Party is not a new idea. It is part of a long history by the right wing to try and eradicate Marxism and its influence from the party.

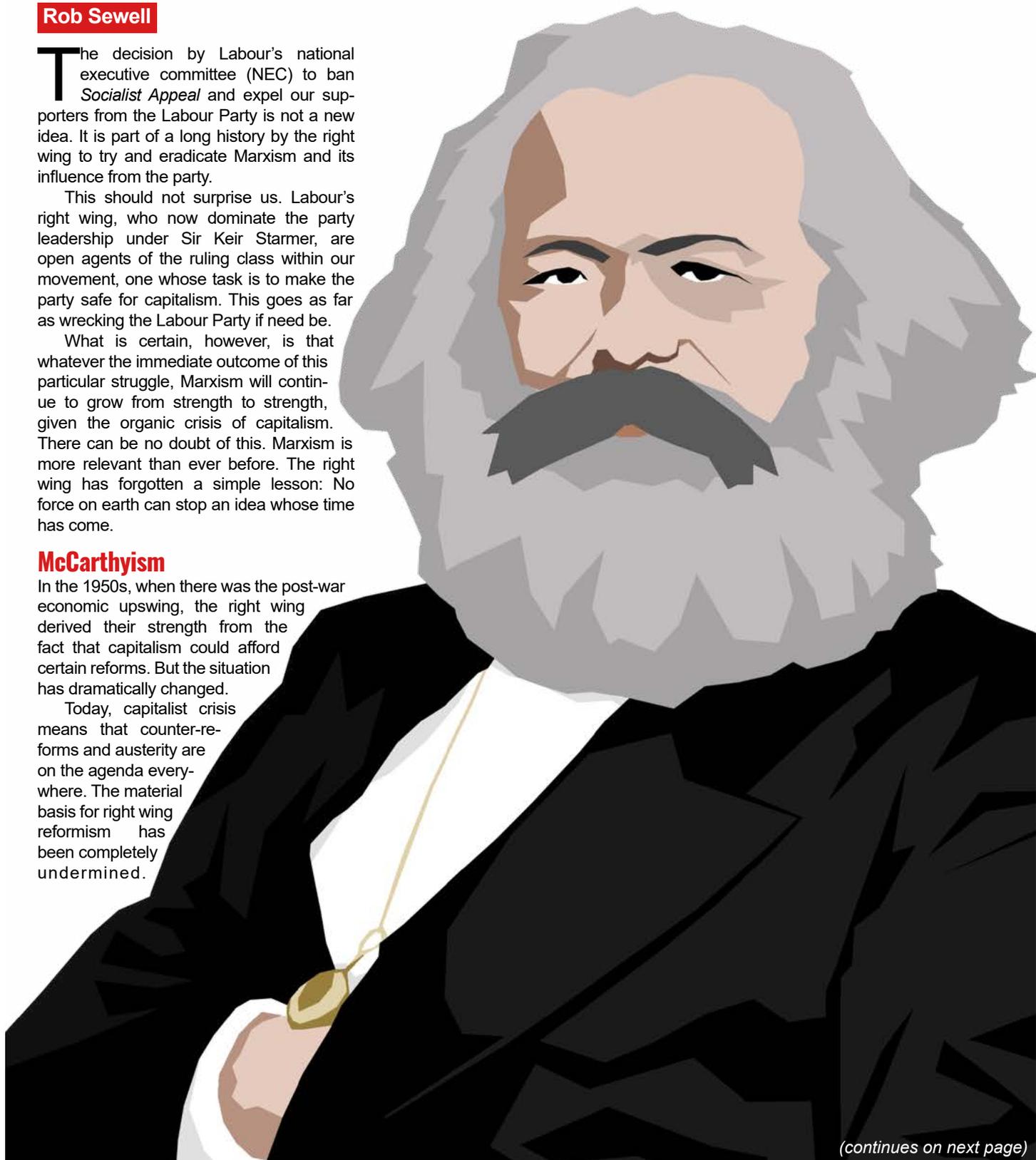
This should not surprise us. Labour's right wing, who now dominate the party leadership under Sir Keir Starmer, are open agents of the ruling class within our movement, one whose task is to make the party safe for capitalism. This goes as far as wrecking the Labour Party if need be.

What is certain, however, is that whatever the immediate outcome of this particular struggle, Marxism will continue to grow from strength to strength, given the organic crisis of capitalism. There can be no doubt of this. Marxism is more relevant than ever before. The right wing has forgotten a simple lesson: No force on earth can stop an idea whose time has come.

McCarthyism

In the 1950s, when there was the post-war economic upswing, the right wing derived their strength from the fact that capitalism could afford certain reforms. But the situation has dramatically changed.

Today, capitalist crisis means that counter-reforms and austerity are on the agenda everywhere. The material basis for right wing reformism has been completely undermined.



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This will provoke crisis after crisis. At a certain stage, the right wing's domination will inevitably collapse.

Marxism, according to our detractors, is 'toxic' or 'poisonous'. This is a reference, we presume, to our steadfast opposition to capitalism, which is anathema to Labour's right wing. For them, all opposition to the market economy and the rule of profit is 'toxic' or 'poisonous'. What do you expect when they worship at the altar of capitalism?

Behind their attacks on the Marxists lie the establishment and the ruling class – the masters who they faithfully serve. Their aim in expelling Marxists and left-wing members is to make the Labour Party safe for capitalism; nothing more, nothing less.

Sir Keir Starmer, our knight of the realm, is proposing to introduce bans and proscriptions on the left on a scale not seen before. Now you can be 'auto-excluded' on the evidence of a scoundrel or bureaucrat, with no right of appeal. The democratic rights of Labour members are to be scrapped forthwith.

No doubt stooges will be sent to spy on and photograph *Socialist Appeal* stalls, selling socialist literature, so as to compile expulsion lists.

These are the notorious methods of McCarthyism in the United States,

which introduced the blacklist. Just like the recent scandal of blacklisted construction workers, *Socialist Appeal* supporters are on Starmer's blacklist.

History and traditions

It is not we who are 'toxic', but these right wing saboteurs and stooges for the ruling class.

Marxism has a long history in Britain, longer than even the Labour Party. Unlike Starmer, Clement Attlee, a past leader of the Labour Party, gave credit to the Marxist pioneers of our movement.

"[Marxism's] adherents showed immense courage at a time when socialist propagandists were often met with physical force," explained Clement Attlee before the war. "It lived adventurously, and its members took a prominent part in the industrial struggles of the eighties and nineties. Its pioneer work was invaluable..." (Attlee, *The Labour Party in Perspective*)

In fact, one of the first working-class parties in Britain was the Social Democratic Federation (SDF). It was established in 1881 as an openly Marxist party, almost 20 years before the founding of the Labour Party. Its members played a central role in building mass trade unions in Britain.

"The most prominent leaders [of the unions] were members of the Social Democratic Party," again writes Attlee, "and it is perhaps in this field that the Federation did its greatest service to the British Socialist movement".

In 1900, the SDF helped found the party of which Starmer is now leader, and was given two permanent seats on its national executive.

Unfortunately, the SDF leaders had a sectarian outlook, which had been criticised by Engels before his death.

This led to the Marxists leaving the party when it failed to adopt a complete socialist programme.

Starmer attacks us for belonging to the International Marxist Tendency (IMT), composed of Marxist groups all around the world. But we have nothing to apologise for our internationalism, which is a vital part in the struggle for world socialism.

In 1907, the Labour Party itself affiliated to the Second International, an openly international Marxist organisation, which

brought together the socialist parties of the world.

The Labour Party's affiliation was proposed by none other than Karl Kautsky and seconded by Lenin, who viewed it as "the first step on the part of the really proletarian organisations of Britain towards a conscious class policy and towards a socialist workers' party." (Lenin on Britain, p.97)

In 1916, the SDF had evolved into the British Socialist Party – a Marxist organisation that became affiliated to the Labour Party. Its most well-known figure was John MacLean from Glasgow.

Under the impact of the Russian Revolution, in 1918 the Labour Party adopted a socialist constitution containing the famous Clause 4, pledging the party to the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

This was scrapped by Tony Blair in 1995. However, it was *Socialist Appeal* that inaugurated the *Labour4Clause4* campaign to fight for its reinstatement, which was supported by 62% of delegates from local delegates at the 2019 Labour Party conference.

In 1920, the newly-formed British Communist Party, which had absorbed the British Socialist Party, voted to affiliate to the Labour Party. But this request was turned down, in part by the way it was formulated which invited rejection.

Despite this, Communist Party members could still be individual members of the Labour Party up to the Liverpool conference in 1925.

The right wing, including the trade union leaders, were determined to draw a line by the imposition of bans and proscriptions.

Expulsions

Ever since then, the Labour Party's right wing have considered the Marxist left as a threat to their pro-capitalist policies. Those it could witch-hunt were then expelled for their views.

Stafford Cripps MP was expelled by the NEC in 1938, who was then followed by Aneurin Bevan MP and George Strauss MP.

Later Michael Foot and Sydney Silverman, both Labour MPs, had the whip withdrawn, as with Corbyn today. In this on-going witch-hunt, others were also expelled and left-wing papers banned.

"If every organised effort to change party policy," wrote Bevan, "is to be described as an organised attack on the party itself then the rigidity imposed by party discipline will soon change into rigor mortis."

He warned that the Labour Party should take care not to transform itself into "an intellectual concentration camp".

It is ironic that the right wing still feel the need to praise Aneurin Bevan, the founder of the National Health Service. But as

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Michael Foot wrote in his biography, "He [Bevan] was a convinced Marxist."

"He accepted the Marxist stress on the need for a full theory of social change and went so far as to accept the Marxist analysis of the weakness and disabilities associated with social democratic leadership." (Foot, *Aneurin Bevan 1897-1945*, p.150)

Marx and Engels

In 1947, the Labour Party went so far as to reprint the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, with an introduction by Harold Laski, to mark the document's centenary. The foreword explained:

"In presenting this centenary volume of the *Communist Manifesto*, with the valuable Historical Introduction by Professor Laski, the Labour Party acknowledges its indebtedness to Marx and Engels as two men who have been the inspiration of the whole working class movement.

"The British Labour Party has its roots in the history of Britain...But British socialists have never isolated themselves from their fellows on the continent of Europe. Our own ideas have been different from those of continental socialism which stemmed more directly from Marx, but we, too, have been influenced in a hundred ways by European thinkers and fighters, and, above all, by the authors of the *Manifesto*.

"Britain played a large part in the lives and work of both Marx and Engels. Marx spent most of his adult life here and is buried in Highgate cemetery. Engels was a child of Manchester, the very symbol of capitalist industrialism. When they wrote of bourgeois exploitation they were drawing mainly on English experience."

Of course, making a few complimentary remarks about Marx and Engels was one thing, but allowing Marxists to organise in the Labour Party was quite another. They even came to regard the Labour Left as a threat.

Despite being lauded for creating the NHS, the right wing leadership were determined to once again expel Nye Bevan and his 'Bevanite' supporters. While he narrowly escaped expulsion in 1951, the Bevanite organisation was banned.

There is no doubt that Nye Bevan would today be up for expulsion in Starmer's Labour Party.

Tony Benn

In the 1980s, the *Militant* was branded as a 'party within a party' and banned. But this was simply a precursor for a general purge of the left under Kinnock and preparation for a shift to the right in the party, ending up with Tony Blair and New Labour.



Militant was attacked not because it was organised – after all, the right were and are well organised – but because it was so successful.

They started by expelling the editorial board. This was followed by 220 further expulsions.

Tony Benn, although not a Marxist, nevertheless rose to *Militant's* defence. "I believe that no mature tradition of political democracy today can survive if it does not open itself to the influence of Marx and Marxism," stated Benn.

"The *Communist Manifesto*, and many other works of Marxist philosophy, have always profoundly influenced the British labour movement and the British Labour Party, and have strengthened our understanding and enriched our thinking.

"It would be as unthinkable to try to construct the Labour Party without Marx, as it would be to establish university faculties of astronomy, anthropology or psychology without permitting the study of Copernicus, Darwin or Freud, and still expect such faculties to be taken seriously."

Tony Benn also made reference to Trotsky's vital contribution:

"Trotsky should be remembered as the first and most significant Soviet dissident, hunted and later murdered by Stalin. His critiques of Stalinism merit respectful study and his contemptuous exposé of the milk-and-water socialism of some Labour leaders in the 1920s in his book *Whither Britain*, entitles him to a place in our history."

He concluded: "...I am profoundly opposed to any attempt to outlaw, expel or excommunicate the followers of Leon Trotsky from the Labour Party."

According to Michael Foot's biographer, Kenneth Morgan:

"Both [Michael Foot and Tony Benn] pay tribute to the inspiration of Marx,

whose role in British socialist thought had been virtually ignored during the Cold War years. Even if neither was seriously a Marxist socialist, Marx had been an influence on both over the years.

"Both adopted Marx's view of historical necessity and the centrality of class. Foot, as we have seen, spent time reading through the Marxian dialectic in his Socialist League days, and instructed Barbara Betts in the fundamentals of Marx's message. Benn discovered Marx much later in life, and first read *The Communist Manifesto* in his fifties." (Morgan, *Michael Foot*, pp. 407-8)

Although it is true that many of those influenced by Marxism later went off in different political directions, and even became hostile, it nevertheless clearly indicated the importance of Marxism as an influential trend in the history of the British Labour Party.

The main reason for Marxism's attraction was it explained the class nature of society, the economic crisis of the thirties, and provided a coherent explanation of what was happening.

The British Labour movement generally had a disdain for theory, and relied heavily on pragmatism. This was its prime weakness, as this provided the strength for reformist ideas and class collaboration.

Strength to strength

Starmer, as an agent of the ruling class, is now determined to continue in the footsteps of the same fine witch-hunting tradition as Orwell's thought police. He has become the new Witchfinder General, determined to cleanse the party of 'toxic' revolutionaries.

He is under orders to clear out the left. The ruling class was horrified by the victory of Corbyn. For the first time, they lost control of the Labour Party. Their only bases of

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support were the careerists in the PLP, the party bureaucracy, and a residue of local councillors.

Through the sabotage of the right wing they battled, using foul means, to take back control of the party. Having regained control under Starmer, they are determined that such an experience is never repeated again. This is the reason for the present purge, which has only just begun.

The right wing accuses *Socialist Appeal* of being the 'continuation of Militant'. Well, there is no denying that we have supporters who, more than 30 years ago, were proud supporters of *Militant*. We never abandoned Marxism. It is therefore a fact that today we represent the Marxist tendency within the Labour Party and the movement generally.

It is not we who are the 'entryists', but the right wing careerists and saboteurs who infest the Parliamentary Labour Party and act as a prop for the establishment.

Socialist Appeal has been going since 1992, some 30 years, without being banned or proscribed. The reason that this is happening now is due to the successes of *Socialist Appeal* in the recent period. We have gone from strength to strength.

This substantial growth has had an increasing impact on the Labour left. As a result, we have become a real thorn in the side of the right wing.

We will never give up. Above all, we will continue to argue for a bold socialist programme that aims to do away with capitalism. This is the only solution to the problems facing the working class.

Such ideas are gaining a real echo – not only in Labour's ranks, as indicated by the support for reintroducing Clause Four, but amongst workers and youth generally.

Tide of history

The problem for the witch-hunters is that you cannot expel an idea whose time has come. Capitalism is experiencing its greatest crisis for 300 years. Marxism has never been more relevant.

The ban on *Socialist Appeal* will be a temporary setback. But it will certainly not cow us. And it is certainly not the last word. In fact, it will cause us to redouble our efforts!

The deep crisis of capitalism will radicalise consciousness and shake up the whole situation, again and again. We are in a period of sharp and sudden changes.

In the process, the mass organisations will be transformed and re-transformed in the years that lie ahead. What we saw in the Corbyn years will be nothing compared to what is going to happen.



The problem for the witch-hunters is that you cannot expel an idea whose time has come. Capitalism is experiencing its greatest crisis for 300 years. Marxism has never been more relevant.

The left will reemerge – renewed, hardened, and steeled; and on a much higher level. Marxism will emerge as a powerful tendency in the British Labour movement and the youth.

Unlike the reformists, Marxism takes the long view of history. We are not mesmerised by this or that local difficulty, but seek to uncover the underlying contradictions in the situation which will sooner or later break through to the surface.

This is the whole essence of dialectics, which sees things not as static entities, but as contradictory processes.

The whole history of the labour movement has reflected the ebb and flow of the class struggle. With the defeat of Corbynism, the left have been in retreat. This is largely their fault.

Rather than appease the right, which they did continually, the left should have gone on the offensive. This weakness simply emboldened the right. After all, weakness invites aggression. And the best form of defence is attack.

The deepening of the capitalist crisis, however, will open up a fundamentally different period, which will transform the situation and transform the left. Marxism can build a powerful position under these circumstances. On the basis of events, the right wing ascendancy will be shattered. History is against them.

Forces of Marxism

We will not change our orientation towards the mass organisations, the Labour Party, or the trade unions, in which the class struggle will sooner or later find its expression.

Whatever the right wing does, there is no way that Marxism can be separated from the Labour movement.

Of course, we will not adopt a sectarian attitude. History is littered with the wreckage of small sectarian groups, who have attempted to mould the workers' movement around their preconceived plans, and have failed.

The urgent task now, the overriding task, is to fight this witch-hunt. However, this must be linked to the struggle to build up the forces of Marxism, in order to intervene decisively in the turbulent events in front of us, and to prepare for the future.

Whatever the subjective wishes of this or that MP, union, party leader, or bureaucrat, there is no power on earth that can stop the growth of Marxist ideas.

We will participate decisively in the struggle of the working class to eradicate the capitalist system, and to create a better life, free from exploitation, greed and conflict.

We therefore appeal to all those who want to carry on the fight: whatever happens in the Labour Party – join us and build the forces of Marxism. That is the real answer to this witch-hunt. ■



PROTESTS IN CUBA: DEFEND THE REVOLUTION!

Jorge Martín

The situation in Cuba is serious. On Sunday 11 July, there were protests in various towns and cities in Cuba that have enjoyed widespread coverage in the international media (how could it be otherwise?) Where do these protests come from? What is their character? How should we, as revolutionaries, respond?

The immediate motivation for the protests, which brought hundreds of people to the streets in San Antonio, were prolonged and constant power outages.

But this factor must be added to an accumulation of problems, which have become particularly serious since the beginning of the pandemic: shortages of basic products, shortages of medicines, the fall in the purchasing power of wages.

Added to all of this is the worsening of the pandemic in recent days, with the arrival of new, much more contagious variants.

Clearly, there was a genuine component to the protest in San Antonio that grew out of the real hardship facing the people. The slogans that brought hundreds of people out to the streets in San Antonio were “we want vaccines” and the demand for a solution to their immediate problems, which was put to the local authorities.

But we would be blind if we did not see that there was also another factor. For days there has been an intense campaign orchestrated by counter-revolutionary

elements on social networks under the slogan #SOSCuba. The campaign has two aims.

One, try to create a social uprising, through the dissemination of exaggerated, biased or directly false information (for example about the health situation in Matanzas, the area most affected by the pandemic) and the abstract call to protest in the streets.

Two, with the excuse of the health emergency situation (partly real, partly ex-

manufacture them, are now demanding that the Cuban government open a “humanitarian corridor”!

A serious situation

At the protest in San Antonio de los Baños, some raised the slogan that has brought together the counter-revolution in recent months: “homeland and life” (“patria y vida”, in opposition to the slogan of the revolution of “homeland or death – we will win”).

It is clear that even in a very difficult situation of hardship and scarcity, the Cuban revolution still has a broad social base of support that, seeing the revolution come under threat, is prepared to take to the streets to defend it.

aggerated) to promote the idea of the need for a “humanitarian intervention” by foreign powers to “help Cuba”.

This hypocritical campaign is a clear attempt to justify a foreign imperialist intervention against the revolution, under the cover of humanitarian aid.

We could not imagine a greater degree of cynicism. The same powers that apply a blockade against Cuba, which prevent it from trading on the world market, from purchasing medicines and supplies to

But according to reports from comrades there, they were not the majority.

Very quickly, the information about the protest in San Antonio de los Baños spread through social media networks, and was distorted and amplified by counterrevolutionary elements that were calling for similar protests to take place in other parts of the country.

There are many rumors about this, and as is often the case, many of them are

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false, but it seems that there were protests in a significant number of cities and towns across the island.

In these cases, the counter-revolutionary component (in terms of slogans, the people who encouraged them, etc.), was much more dominant than in San Antonio de los Baños. Apart from “homeland and Life”, they shouted “down with the dictatorship”, “freedom”, and so on.

Another comrade described the events in Santa Clara, where two groups of no more than 200 people surrounded the police station and attempted to take over the headquarters of the Communist Party. Another group of about 400 people organised to repel them.

According to this report, the protest was mainly composed of very young people, teenagers, and quite a few marginal elements. The slogans were “down with communism”, against Díaz-Canel, but many of those present only made an appearance, without shouting any slogans.

President Díaz-Canel appeared in San Antonio de los Baños, from where he made statements and later addressed the country in a televised address, in which he called on the revolutionaries to take to the streets to defend the revolution.

This call was answered in various parts of the country, including in Havana. The international media obviously do not care to show this, because it does not fit with the idea that they want to convey.

It is clear that even in a very difficult situation of hardship and scarcity, the Cuban revolution still has a broad social base of support that, seeing the revolution come under threat, is prepared to take to the streets to defend it.

What do these events represent?

It must be said that these protests are significant. Beyond the exaggerations of the imperialist media, these are the largest expressions of protest in Cuba since the 1994 maleconazo. And they come at a time of deep economic crisis in which the leadership of the revolution does not have the same authority as it had back then.

What are the causes of the economic and social crisis that Cuba is experiencing today? A series of historical problems are combined with other more recent ones. Among the first: the blockade, the isolation of the revolution in a backward country, and the bureaucracy.

The problems are serious – very serious. But in order to give consideration to their solution, we have to understand their causes.

First among these causes is the blockade. Second: the totally unequal relationship between the Cuban planned economy and the world capitalist economy. Thirdly: the



In the struggle that is opening up in Cuba, we are unconditionally on the side of defending the Cuban revolution.

pandemic and its economic and health impact. And finally, the impact of the bureaucratic management of the economy in terms of waste, inefficiency, indolence, etc.

Faced with this situation, what position should we as revolutionaries take?

In the first place, it must be clearly explained that the protests called by Luis Manuel Otero Alcántara and other related elements are openly counter-revolutionary, although they try to capitalise on a sense of malaise that emanates from the very difficult objective conditions.

The problems and hardships are real and genuine. But the protests, under the slogan “homeland and life” and “down with the dictatorship”, are counter-revolutionary.

There are confused elements participating, to be sure. But in the midst of the confusion, it is inevitable that those who dominate these protests are, from a political point of view, counter-revolutionary. They are organised, motivated and have clear objectives. It is therefore necessary to oppose them and to defend the revolution.

If those who promote these protests (and their mentors in Washington) achieve their goal – the overthrow of the revolution – the economic and health problems suffered by the Cuban working class will not be solved, but on the contrary, will be aggravated. You only have to look at Bolsonaro’s Brazil or neighboring Haiti to convince yourself of this.

In the struggle that is opening up in Cuba, we are unconditionally on the side of defending the Cuban revolution. Already, all the *gusanos* in Florida are demanding a military intervention in Cuba. In a press conference recently, the mayor of Miami, the mayor of Miami-Dade County, and Commissioner Joe

Carollo (the former mayor of Miami), jointly requested Biden to intervene in Cuba “within the framework of the Monroe doctrine.”

But our unconditional defense of the Cuban revolution does not mean that we are uncritical. In the debate on the most effective way to defend the Cuban revolution, we clearly defend a class-based and internationalist perspective and are for workers’ democracy.

Secondly, it must also be clearly stated that the methods that the bureaucracy uses to try to face the problems confronting the revolution are inadequate, and in many cases counterproductive (see for example the Economic Reorganisation).

Pro-capitalist measures weaken planning and state ownership, as well as increasing social differentiation and strengthening the capitalist elements on the island. This creates the social base for these protests. The absence of workers’ democracy, in addition to disorganising the economy, feeds indolence, disinterest and inefficiency.

The methods used by the bureaucracy in response to counter-revolutionary provocations are also in many cases themselves counterproductive. Censorship, bureaucratic restrictions, and arbitrariness do not serve to defend the revolution when what is needed is political discussion, revolutionary ideological rearmament, accountability and workers’ democracy.

- Our slogans must be:
- Defend the Cuban revolution!
- Down with the imperialist blockade – hands off Cuba!
- No to capitalist restoration – for *more* socialism!
- Against the bureaucracy – for workers’ democracy and workers’ control! ■



AFGHANISTAN: US DEFEAT, RETURN OF THE TALIBAN, AND THE THREAT OF CIVIL WAR

Adam Pal

Afghanistan is hurtling towards yet another civil war as US and allied forces withdraw after two decades of bloody occupation. The withdrawal of imperialist troops, announced by Joe Biden, is set to be completed by 31 August this year. However most US forces have already left, or are in the process of hurriedly abandoning the country while the Taliban is advancing in many areas.

The fact that US imperialism and other allied forces have been forced to withdraw is being presented as solely due to the Taliban. The fact, however, is that the US intervention and occupation of Afghanistan over the last two decades was also met with strong opposition by the local population.

There is widespread and burning hatred towards this imperialist war, which has killed tens of thousands of innocent people and plunged the whole country into devastation, instability, and barbarism.

It may well be true that on many occasions, in particular in rural Pashtun areas, the hatred towards western imperialism meant that the local population would either passively accept, or even on occasion help facilitate Taliban attacks.

However, this does not mean to say that the majority of the population had or has any deep-seated sympathy for the arch-reactionary and obscurantist forces of the Taliban.

Humiliation

The tragedy of the situation is that the power vacuum left by the US is being filled in many areas mainly by the Taliban, with its thousands of men under arms, and with the tacit backing of several foreign powers.

After two decades of war, at a cost of more than \$2tn, the US ruling class has signally failed to achieve any of the aims it announced to the world at the start of the war.

After killing countless civilians, carpet bombing many regions, and devastating the lives of millions, the US is leaving after reaching a humiliating agreement with the Taliban. In this so-called peace agreement, signed last year in Doha, Qatar between the Trump administration and the Taliban leadership, the US ceded to all the latter's demands.

The weak and corrupt Kabul government, now led by President Ashraf Ghani, and supported by US imperialism and other allied forces, is rapidly falling to pieces as US forces withdraw. That is because it is hated by large sections of the masses for being a puppet of imperialism.

US intelligence reports suggest that this government will barely survive six months after the withdrawal. Going into the war, the imperialists claimed they would eventually transform Afghanistan into a modern democratic state. The result has been a dismal failure.

Puppet government crumbles

Only thanks to the support from Iran, Pakistan and other imperialist powers have the Taliban been able to organise and fight back. This has been helped along by the corruption and brutality of the US installed regime, which particularly in Pashtun areas has pushed a layer of the rural population into the arms of the Taliban.

We should also not forget that these reactionary, Islamic fundamentalist forces were also backed and promoted by US imperialism in the past. And once these reactionaries then turned against US imperialism, they became a useful bogeyman to justify any US military intervention in the region.

Now the imperialists are exiting the war in what can only be termed a humiliating defeat. For all the objections of some Pentagon generals who wish to continue the war, it has become a thorn in the side of US capitalism, which is faced with an economic, social and political crisis of historical proportions and a population deeply weary of never-ending wars. What is left is an Afghanistan ravaged by backwardness, misery and devastation.

The fact remains that, in spite of being propped up by these powers, the Kabul government failed totally to garner mass support nationally. After

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two decades of massive assistance and billions of dollars in aid, it is now suspended in mid-air.

The puppet government and all its institutions are crumbling to the ground as the hated war comes to an end. The artificial state apparatus imposed on Afghanistan by the imperialist powers is collapsing, with the 200,000-strong Afghan National Army and other security forces in the process of rapid disintegration.

The Taliban are now reportedly advancing in many districts across the country, and claim to control 85 percent of Afghan territory. This might be an exaggeration, but they certainly occupy at least 40 percent of the country's districts, while contesting the Afghan National Army's control of another 42 percent.

In many cities, the Afghan National Army is abandoning its positions, either without a fight, or surrendering to and even joining the Taliban. The Taliban are taking hold of many of the abandoned posts, seizing the ammunition and artillery of the departing American forces, and capturing their supplies, although they still lack the numbers to take hold of many large areas.

In the last few weeks, the Taliban have captured some areas in the north of the country, including some districts in the Badakhshan province bordering western China. These are mostly populated by non-Pashtun nationalities, and were traditionally considered to be strongholds of anti-Taliban forces.

These few victories have been played up by the supporters of the Taliban, including Pakistan, as a big development, signaling the imminent takeover of Kabul. But a complete Taliban takeover seems implausible, as they lack the overwhelming support of the masses across the whole country. It would seem more likely that the Taliban would have to form a coalition with a ragtag of other groups.

Such a perspective is however far from certain. Instability is built into the situation.

Horror without end

If, eventually, the Taliban successfully take over Kabul, this will be a weak and unstable regime. Infighting and splits will begin, along with the resistance of opposition forces, consisting of local landlords and tribal leaders.

Social instability is built into the foundations of this poor country, a problem that cannot be solved via the heroin trade and other criminal activities. Neither will financial support from China, Russia,



It is time to draw the necessary lessons from this ongoing mayhem and build a revolutionary alternative on the basis of the genuine ideas of revolutionary Marxism.

Iran, Pakistan and others be sufficient to alleviate the main cause of instability, the extreme poverty and misery of the masses.

It is worth recalling how the billions of dollars coming from US and allies in the last two decades only had the effect of filling the coffers of the warlords, tribal chiefs and NGOs and of course US civilian contractors.

Iran, Russia, and China all following their own narrow interests, want to stabilise Afghanistan. They want to avoid instability spilling over into their own countries and they want to secure a new regime which is friendly to their interests. But there is no prospect of real stability returning to Afghanistan anytime soon.

Revolutionary alternative

The situation has also exposed the real character of so-called 'leftists' and 'nationalists' in the whole region, who have been supporting US imperialism for the last two decades.

If a class war had been waged simultaneously against US imperialism and the reaction of the Taliban 20 years ago, as the Marxists advocated, things would have been entirely different today. A revolutionary alternative would have been available to the masses in Afghanistan.

A class war could have been fought with the support of the working class of neighbouring countries, especially Iran and Pakistan. Eventually, they would have sought the solidarity of the workers of the whole world, including the US. But the ex-leftists and nationalists denied such a possibility, and grasped the bloodstained hands of one or other imperialist power, and the latter led the whole country into an abyss.

It is time to draw the necessary lessons from this ongoing mayhem and build a revolutionary alternative on the basis of the genuine ideas of revolutionary Marxism. Only the working class of the region has the potential and the will to defeat all the reactionary forces in Afghanistan and bring peace and prosperity to this war-torn region.

On the basis of capitalism, all roads lead to ruin and destruction, which will throw the next generations of Afghans into a spiral of conflict and destruction.

The socialist transformation of Afghanistan is the only way forward, and this is linked with the fate of the revolutions in Iran, Pakistan and other countries in the region. All efforts must be made to build a revolutionary force on the basis of these ideas. Only this will end the perpetual war in Afghanistan, and put an end to this bloodshed once and for all. ■



RIOTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE POOR LASH OUT

Ben Morken

Revolution South Africa (IMT)

From 9 to 17 July, two of South Africa's most economically important provinces were rocked by widespread rioting.

Riots in Kwazulu-Natal and Gauteng have been fuelled by anger, desperation and frustration over deepening poverty and the economic impact of COVID-19 restrictions.

The riots started after the imprisonment of former president Zuma for defying a constitutional court order to give evidence at an inquiry investigating high-level corruption during his nine years in office. Sporadic protests started in KwaZulu-Natal, with Zuma's supporters calling for his immediate release. The protests soon escalated.

Large crowds, describing themselves as Zuma supporters, blockaded freeways and torched 28 trucks. However, the immediate issue around Zuma was very quickly pushed into the background.

The rioting since Sunday 11 July was very different in character to that of the previous Friday. It came after the government announced the extension of strict lockdown measures, which have hit some of the poorest in society especially hard. It was these layers that lead the riots.

The country is currently going through a devastating third wave of the pandemic. For the poorest layers, who suffered the brunt of the lockdown measures, this was the final straw.

The character of the riots and the composition of the rioters changed again since Sunday. The main targets were now shopping malls, supermarkets, warehouses and shopping centres.

In other words, these riots were about hunger. They were acts of desperation fuelled by the severe damage the lockdown measures have caused.

A young man told a television news crew: "I'm really not concerned about Zuma. He is a corrupt old man that deserves to be in jail. I'm taking things from the shop for my mum." This represents the real character of these protests.

More than 212 people were killed during the unrest. At least 2,554 people have been arrested, while shops, petrol stations, banks and government buildings have been forced to close.

On Tuesday 13 July, the state deployed thousands of soldiers to Durban and Johannesburg as police seemed helpless in the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng.

The scale of the riots was reminiscent of scenes from the 1980s, during the fight against apartheid. The port city of Durban, where the riots started over the weekend, was engulfed in riots for days. The country's largest crude oil refinery, which is situated there, was forced to close.

These riots had been years in the making. They are a reflection of the depth of the poverty thousands of South Africans continue to live under day to day.

The economy is struggling to emerge from the damage wrought by Africa's worst COVID-19 epidemic, causing repeated restrictions on businesses to be imposed, which have harmed an already fragile recovery.

Growing joblessness has left people ever more desperate. Since the pandemic, more than 2 million workers have lost their jobs.

Unemployment rose to a new record high of 32.6% in the first quarter this year.

Youth unemployment is the highest in the world, at 60%.

The crisis has widened the gulf between the rich and poor. The wealthiest one per cent own 67 per cent of all wealth, the top 10 per cent own 93 per cent of wealth, while the remaining 90 per cent own a meagre 7 per cent.

All this amounts to a powder keg that was waiting to explode. Over the last period, there has been an ebb in the movement of the working class.

In the absence of a major push over the last few years from the advanced workers, other elements have come to the fore. The riots of the last few days are part of this phenomenon.

These riots are a serious warning to the ruling class. They are a sign of the deep-seated anger and rage that is bubbling just beneath the surface, which is waiting for an outlet.

But ultimately these riots will lead to a blind alley. The destruction of malls, supermarkets and shopping centres will do absolutely nothing to solve the problems of the working class and the poor people in society.

In fact, it will harm workers who have been caught up in the destruction. Some businesses may close down, leading to more job losses. The main victims will be the poor people and the rioters themselves. The poor will remain poor after the riots are over.

It also gives the state and the media the excuse to criminalise the poor and demonise everyone who fights for a revolutionary way out. In fact, these riots are expressions of impotent rage.

The solution to the crisis of South African society is not to destroy supermarkets but to take them over together with the rest of the commanding heights of the economy under the democratic control and management of the working class. ■

REVIEW:

THE GREAT POST OFFICE TRIAL



Phil Baker

The *Great Post Office Trial* is an ear-opening 11-part BBC podcast. Recounting a true story, this audio series is a must listen for anyone who wants to know the depths that a bureaucracy can reach to defend its personal interest, wrecking the lives of honest workers in the process. This from such a national institution as the Post Office.

The podcast also shows the level of courage and organisation a group must muster to fight back against a mighty corporation.

There remain many unanswered questions, however. No one has yet been held accountable for one of the UK's biggest miscarriages of justice of recent times.

Falsely accused

The story starts when a local journalist comes across a cab driver who tells him that his pregnant wife has gone to jail for a crime she didn't commit. She was one of 736 branch postmasters prosecuted by the Post Office between 2000 and 2013 for balance shortfalls.

All this happened after the £1bn Fujitsu IT system, Horizon, was introduced to track Post Office payments. Incredibly, no link was made between the sudden rise in shortfall anomalies of up to £208k and the introduction of the new IT system.

All of the accused were told that the computer system was never wrong, and that they were the only ones with the problem. Both lies!

Horrific personal accounts explain how the accused were subject to hours of interrogation by multiple members of the Security Team, all without the need to produce evidence or for public prosecutor involvement. This is since the Post Office itself is a 'public prosecutor', dating from the days of mail highway robbery.

Stitched up

In 2010, the victims came together for the first meeting of the Justice for Subpostmasters Alliance. With the help of MPs and solicitor friends, they finally pushed the Post Office into an independent investigation.

The first report concluded that Horizon had many bugs, and that those prosecuted were treated unfairly.

This is the point where the Post Office terminated the investigation. They were grilled by an MP select committee, and

SHAMEFUL BUREAUCRATIC LIFE-DESTROYERS

found themselves in desperate need for political cover. This came in the form of the National Federation of Subpostmasters – a pseudo trade union supposed to support and represent postmasters.

When questions were put to general secretary George Thompson, he told a committee that there was absolutely nothing wrong with the Horizon system. He argued that unfortunately a few postmasters had tried to exploit the system for their own gain.

It seems like those seeking justice were back to square one. But struggles don't ever move in straight lines. The group was gaining experience and public interest.

The next leap came in the form of a gritty BBC Panorama episode in 2015. Whistleblowers and internal documents revealed that prosecutions of theft were made with no evidence; and that, contrary to what the Post Office had been claiming, Horizon was externally accessible.

It still took the victims, now 550 in number, a year to find a law firm and funding to take the Post Office to court.

Damning

The first hearing was damning, concluding that the Post Office had intentionally delayed justice to wrack up costs. The second hearing uncovered that Horizon needed an army of external engineers to solve on-going system bugs.

It was later revealed that an internal Post Office document had confirmed this in 2013, yet it was kept secret. And that the head of security ordered all meeting notes to be shredded.

In the end, the Post Office gave up and agreed a settlement of £57m. After paying legal costs, this only gave the subpostmasters around £20k each.

Some of these workers had been in jail for up to 18 months. They had their lives ruined by bankruptcy and 20 years of carrying criminal records, which were only finally quashed this year.

Sadly this was too late for those that did not live long enough for justice. As we go to press, a dozen more subpostmasters have now had their convictions overturned. More will follow.

Workers' control

The Post Office knew Horizon could make money disappear. But the bosses chose to hide this for their own protection, while wrecking workers' lives and using the corporation's huge wealth to hinder justice.

No one has yet been held personally accountable. We await with baited breath for the results of the government's statutory enquiry.

Meanwhile, the Post Office Chair and CEO still have their jobs. Indeed, the previous CEO Paula Vennells was given a CBE and a comfortable job as Chair of Imperial College NHS Trust.

The supporters of capitalism will say lessons have been learned, and that – due to our great democracy – justice finally won out.

But workers are learning that the cards are heavily stacked in favour of the rich and powerful. Only with workers' control can we run things for the many, not the few. ■

In defence of **MARXISM**

The **NEW**
THEORETICAL
MAGAZINE
from the
IMT



ARM YOURSELF WITH REVOLUTIONARY THEORY!

Socialist Appeal and the International Marxist Tendency proudly present the relaunched *In Defence of Marxism* theoretical journal.

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Or you can choose to subscribe to our digital editions, which will land directly in your email inbox. The new magazine will be available from 16 July, but you can subscribe today!

Struggle for theory

The theoretical struggle is a key component of the class struggle. As Lenin explained, without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Capitalism is facing the deepest crisis in its history. The ruling class can offer no real way forward for the vast majority of people.

That is the reason they spread a whole array of confused and reactionary ideas. Racism, sexism and all forms of oppression are used – along with the ideas of Postmodernism in all its guises – to divide and confuse working-class people and youth; to turn us against each other and atomise the class struggle.

Some of these ideas are openly reactionary. Others are given a ‘radical’ cloak.

Engels explained that, alongside the economic and political struggle, there was the equally important struggle for theory. The *In Defence of Marxism* magazine is joining this struggle, as a tool and a weapon for revolutionary class fighters all over the world, offering a serious Marxist analysis on theoretical questions and burning issues of the labour movement.

Only the ideas of genuine Marxism can act as a guide to action in the struggle to overthrow capitalism on a world scale.

Marxism vs postmodernism

The first article, and the theme of the issue, is therefore devoted to *Marxism vs Postmodernism*. By denying the existence of objective truth, Postmodernism inevitably leads to a skeptical, pessimistic viewpoint. After all, if it is impossible to understand human society, it must therefore also be impossible to develop a scientific method for changing it.

The second article, ‘*Left Narratives*’ or *Class Struggle*, explores the poisonous role that these Postmodern ideas play in the labour movement today.

If, as the Postmodernists claim, there is no objective truth, then all we have are our own subjective experiences and ‘narratives’. Changing society is therefore reduced to the language gamaramatic events to come! of changing our ‘narrative’, or how we talk about society.

In this article, we explore the destructive consequences of this idea, which is substituted by some on the left for the politics of class struggle.

The Greek masses in particular, through the experience of the Syriza government, have already come to experience the baleful results of these ideas.

Lastly, we take an in-depth look at the *Bavarian Soviet Republic* of 1919. We explore the rich lessons of one of the most inspiring (yet less-well-known) events that occurred during the revolutionary wave in Germany in 1918, in which the working class seized power in Munich and the surrounding towns in Bavaria, southern Germany.

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The *In Defence of Marxism* magazine is a must have for all advanced workers and youth who wish to arm themselves with the revolutionary philosophy and method of Marxism.

Subscribe today to get your copy at socialist.net/newspaper-subscribe or click the link below. Read and study it with your comrades, workmates or classmates. And prepare for the titanic events ahead! ■

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LETTERS

NEWSDESK@SOCIALIST.NET

TRIBUTE ACTS

Dear Comrades,

Just wanted to wish you total solidarity in regard to the witch hunt against you.

I wrote this poem about the various witch hunts I have experienced. I was expelled from the Labour Party in 1991. Feel free to use the poem as an act of my solidarity.

*Warmest wishes,
Kevin Higgins*

Tribute Acts

Each witch hunt is a tribute act to the last. There is always a committee of three. The gravity in the room is such they struggle to manoeuvre the enormity of their serious faces in the door.

Except in the TV version, there is hardly ever a microphone. Though they will usually give you a glass of water and, if you ask, tea in a slightly chipped cup.

The better quality of witch hunt will provide you with a plate of sandwiches which, these days, would likely include coeliac and vegan options.

One member of the panel interviewing you is always a man with a shaky voice who obviously doesn't know what he's doing. His wife thinks he's at the garden centre.

Another is a woman trying on a posh accent for size who looks like she's dreaming of killing you in some way that would give her special pleasure.

It is written, somewhere deeper than law, that no such committee shall ever be constituted unless it contains at least one ex-hippy.

There is always the moment when a pile of typed pages emerge from an already opened envelope,

and one of them asks you: *how, then, do you explain this?*

And the three of them sit there, pretending it's a real question.

And you realise this committee is history paying you the huge compliment of making you (and people like you) the only item on the agenda;

that in asking you about what you said, did, or typed on the mentioned dates, they reveal themselves like the black tree at the bottom of the garden that only shows its true self in winter.

A POLITICAL PURGE

Dear comrades,

I am writing this in response to the proposal at today's party NEC to 'auto-exclude' certain members. The very phrase 'auto-exclude' is something out of Orwell's 1984, not the traditions of the Labour Party that I have been a proud member of since I joined at the age of 17 in 1974.

In 47 years of continuous membership of the party, I have NEVER voted for any other party; NEVER advocated voting for any other party; ALWAYS opposed deals with other parties whose aims do not share those of the Labour Party – transforming society along socialist lines.

As a youngster I served for four years as national chairperson of the Labour Party Young Socialists – a vibrant campaigning organisation with over 500 branches, until it was effectively destroyed by the bureaucratic measures of Tom Watson.

Like many, sickened by the Iraq war and the importation of capitalist free-market economics into the party, I was less active during the Blair years. Also like many, the fire of socialism was re-kindled with the election of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the party.

If I am 'auto-excluded' for the crime of supporting a socialist newspaper, Socialist Appeal, a paper which has never campaigned against Labour, I ask comrades of all sides of the party to ask yourself: Is this really what our party is about? Unite and other trade unions think not.

Let us call things by their right names: expulsions on spurious organisational grounds (I and Socialist Appeal have never stood against or argued for support for other parties against Labour) are in reality a political purge.

This purge is because, after the fright of Jeremy Corbyn so nearly winning the 2017 general election, the ruling class and their acolytes inside the party leadership have determined that the party has to be 'made safe' for capitalism – able to serve as a 'second eleven' when this corrupt Tory government's days are over.

I stand proudly as a lifelong socialist and a Marxist. Marxism has always been a component part of the traditions of the party.

This attack on Socialist Appeal is not because it is a tiny 'sect'. If it were, there would be no point to a purge. No, it is precisely the opposite; it is because the ideas of Marxism – the recognition that capitalism as a system has no future to offer working people – are growing in support in all areas of the labour movement, as capitalism lurches on a world scale from crisis to crisis.

Individuals may be 'auto-excluded' – but ideas whose time has come will never be cut off from the labour movement.

*Kevin Ramage
Labour Party member 1974 – ?*

RIGHT-WING COUP

Dear editor,

Truro and Falmouth CLP's Executive was this month taken over by a small group of right wingers, following an intervention by the South West Regional Office.

The Regional Officials took over the meeting, excluding prominent left wingers, including Jennifer Forbes, the recent Parliamentary Candidate.

The delegation to the LP conference was reduced in number order to exclude left wing members. No members were allowed to speak against this proposal in the "interests of efficiency".

Many Corbyn supporting members of the party had been suspended or had left the party prior to the meeting. This dramatically reduced the number of left wing members.

Starmer's anti-democratic crackdown continues, he has no wide support so attacks the membership to strengthen his position.

While we fight on a local level our so called left leaders in the trade unions and Labour Party sow illusions of unity with those who sabotage the party.

We need our so-called left leaders in the party and unions to stand up, speak out and mobilise the membership to kick Starmer out or see the party fall into obscurity.

Alex

TELL THE TRUTH



BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

In mid 1918, under the command of Winston Churchill, Britain would launch an undeclared war against the Soviet Union for over two years.

Tens of thousands of British troops, armed with aircraft, tanks, and poison gas, were sent to fight in theaters as far spread as the Arctic, Siberia, the Baltics and Crimea. They were sent in service of one aim: to destroy the October revolution and reinstate capitalism in Russia.

However, the political ideas of Marxism, the dogged determination of the Red Army, and the unflinching international solidarity of the working class would send British imperialism packing with its tail behind its legs. Those responsible then tried to erase the 'Northern Expedition' from the history books altogether.

The intervention began in March 1918, when a small contingent of British troops in Murmansk, initially invited by the Red Army to help guard supplies in case of a German invasion, overthrew the local soviet and sided with the Whites in the civil war.

Meanwhile, in Archangel the Social Revolutionaries launched an insurrection under the banner of 'Soviets without Bolsheviks'. They were quickly greeted by the British. This slogan was then transformed into a military dictatorship under the control of British imperialism and the White Army.

Allied troops from France, Canada, the United States, and New Zealand soon flooded in to support the British invasion.

On paper the Allies had all the advantages one could wish for. They were better equipped, better trained, and had the resources of the entire imperialist world to draw on.

Yet when the imperialists began recruiting from the local area, they found that the new White Army troops were highly unreliable and deeply divided. The Allied

intervention was plagued by mutinies and desertions from both the Whites and the imperialist troops.

British marines often refused orders and even threatened strikes, uncowed when threatened with execution. Whole White Army regiments were known to shoot their British officers and join the Bolsheviks. A French company refused to fight entirely and was quickly sent home.

Elsewhere, just five Bolshevik prisoners managed to convince an entire White Army ship to mutiny. General Rawlson wrote "I have never come across so bad a case of indiscipline and insubordination".

By early 1919 it was clear that the intervention was at a crossroads. Far more troops would be needed to successfully oust the Bolsheviks.

As War Minister, Churchill determined that the Bolsheviks should not hold onto power, and began a major campaign to increase the forces in Russia. In February 1919 he travelled secretly to Paris to convince France and the USA to send more troops.

But across the world the hands of the ruling class were tied. They were well aware that the international working class would be outraged if the scale of the intervention was known.

Lloyd George himself had publicly denied that an invasion was taking place at all. He understood that if the British people knew Churchill had travelled to Paris to instigate a plan of attack against the Soviet state, there could be a revolution in England.

This was clearly illustrated in January 1919, when the Hands off Russia campaign was launched. 350 delegates met in London, pledging to campaign for a general strike until the allied troops were

withdrawn, the blockades ended, and the backing of the Whites stopped.

Uniting words with action, British dockers refused to load armaments and ammunition intended for use in the anti-Soviet invasion. By June 1919 the Labour Party was threatening direct action, and 350 'Councils of Action' had sprung up seeking to end the intervention.

The imperialists had found themselves stuck between the might of the working class at home and abroad. They realised that conscripting troops to fight the Bolsheviks would be politically untenable, particularly with mutinies already widespread.

French, Canadian and American troops were all being pulled out. So on 4 March 1919 the British decided to withdraw from the Northern theatre.

But Churchill would not go without a fight. The date for departure was set as late as possible in early October and a massive push was made on the North.

The aim was no longer to win, but to smash and grab, inflicting as much damage on the Bolsheviks as possible whilst giving all support to the Whites that could be mustered.

In the September assault, thousands of casualties were inflicted on the Bolsheviks. And as the British packed their bags, they left masses of supplies to the White Army.

The intervention in the Russian civil war remains a great embarrassment for British imperialism. Despite consistently having the upper hand in each encounter with the Reds, they were defeated not through guns and bullets, but by the mass movements of the working class in Britain, Russia, and across the world.

This is the truth the capitalists must bury. It is the role of Marxists to put it on full display.

FAILING FRANCHISES AND DAMNING RAIL REPORTS

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAIL IS THE ONLY CURE

Charlie Walker

The government has revealed their plans for the railway industry post-pandemic – and it's cuts, cuts, cuts. With new privatisation measures sure to follow, the labour movement must prepare to fight back.

The pandemic has hit the rail sector hard. Passenger numbers dropped to almost nothing during the first lockdown, and have stayed low throughout the last year.

In March 2020, the government stepped in to prop-up struggling rail companies. The Department for Transport (DfT) suspended rail franchise contracts temporarily, promising to bear all financial risk in order to keep the trains running.

While some have claimed these moves amount to the renationalisation of rail, this is very far from the case. Not only are private rail bosses still in the driving seat of the industry, but many are receiving management fees from the public purse. This is despite the government paying their staff's wages and covering their costs!

In reality, these policies amount to a bailout of big business when times are tough. Because of this, the main rail unions (RMT, ASLEF and TSSA) were quick to call on the government to seize the opportunity and renationalise the industry on a proper and permanent basis. These calls have sadly but predictably fallen on deaf ears.

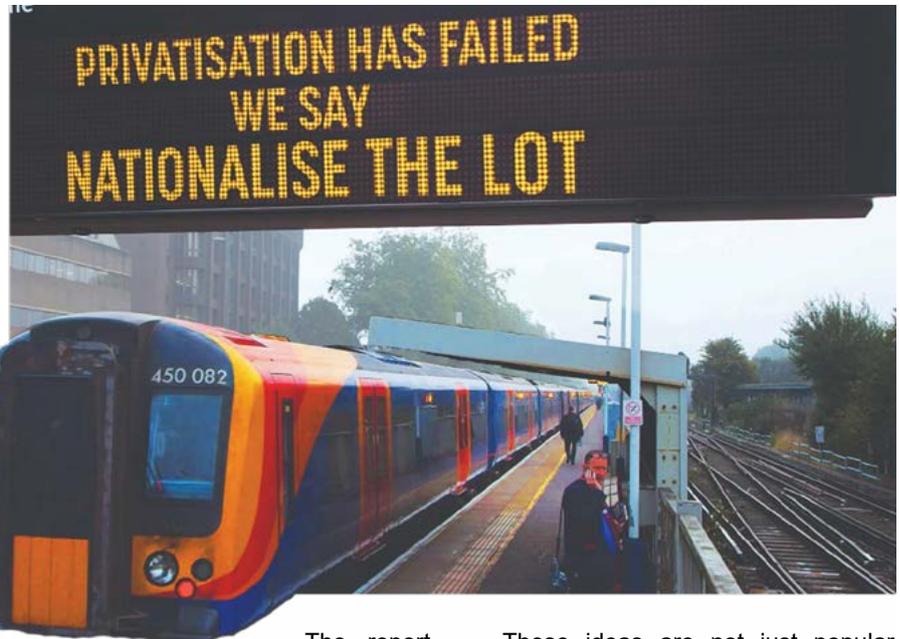
Next step: cuts

In May this year, DfT announced the Williams-Shapps white paper detailing the government's vague plans for English rail in the years to come.

While the creation of a national body to oversee the railways may seem like a step in the right direction, other policies outlined in the white paper make it clear that further privatisation, cuts and huge attacks on railway workers are on the horizon.

Despite the report being three years in the making, the major rail unions were predictably not consulted on the plans. They are understandably quite worried about what the future holds for the industry and their members.

In addition to this, the UK Parliament Public Accounts Committee released a damning report on the English rail system in July.



The report pointed out the absence of detailed reform proposals in the Williams-Shapps plan, and demanded DfT explain the finances underpinning both the current COVID contracts, and future plans on operation and infrastructure.

This prompted the train drivers' union ASLEF to release a statement on the report, which noted the following:

"Our members are on the front line on the railway. They know how the system works, how it should work, and the

These ideas are not just popular amongst railway workers but across the whole of society. One poll from 2018 found that 64% of voters were in favour of renationalising rail. This policy clearly finds an echo and must be fought for.

However, we cannot expect this bosses' government to heed the call. They have clearly shown whose side they're on when it comes to profiteering on the railway – and it's not ours.

The labour movement, including the rail unions, must be prepared to fight for renationalisation on both the industrial

The labour movement, including the rail unions, must be prepared to fight for renationalisation on both the industrial and political fields.

opportunities that are missed by a lack of leadership from the government.

"Our members are clear. The only sensible way to run our railway is with wheels and steel together, with public ownership and operation."

Public ownership

The findings of these reports, and the general situation of the railways, highlights very clearly the growing need for genuine public ownership – and beyond that, genuine workers' control and management.

and political fields. Pressure must also be put upon the Labour Party to elect a left leadership who will actually back this policy in words and deeds.

Railway workers have played a key role during the pandemic. They have moved people, food and medical supplies in often very difficult circumstances. Cuts to their pay and conditions must be fought against with united action between unions. The fight for workers' control over the railways alongside full nationalisation must be taken up as a vital part of this. ■



TUBE DRIVERS SET TO STRIKE AGAINST DEGRADATION BY BOSSES

Alec Hayes

RMT Tube drivers plan to strike on multiple days in August in response to threats by London Underground bosses to axe the Night Tube Train Drivers' grade, for operators who work weekend nights only.

This grade is important for operators who can only work part time, and prevents full time operators from being forced to drive through the night.

London Underground has now ripped up this agreement, which since 2016 has helped ensure healthier working practices for drivers.

Cost cutting

Now 200 jobs – and the work-life balance of 3,000 drivers – are at risk. This could affect not only the health and life expectancy of drivers, due to increased fatigue and disrupted sleep, but also the safety of passengers if drivers' reaction times suffer.

The pandemic has seen increased death rates for TfL workers. Yet this has not been a wake up call for London Underground management to improve the conditions of staff. On the contrary, it is being used by the bosses to attack drivers' health and safety even more.

Director of London Underground's customer operations Nick Dent has claimed that the scrapping of the grade would help "continue to provide a regular Tube service and create more flexibility for our staff".

Furthermore, Dent has reassured workers that these changes "will not result in any job losses", but give part-time drivers "the opportunity for full-time work and long-term job certainty".

So by scrapping this agreement – which ensures that workers are not forced to work day and night at their bosses' behest – apparently staff will not only keep their jobs, but will also have more full-time work and long-term job certainty, as well as more flexibility!

In reality, bosses will prefer to employ fewer drivers who can work longer and harder, rather than pay for more drivers to work safer, more sensible hours.

London Underground workers are wise to this cost cutting exercise, as demonstrated by the decisive vote by RMT members last month to take industrial action.

Them and us

Recently, Metroline bus drivers won a strike against "remote sign on", another attempt by bosses to reduce safe working conditions and increase the workload.

The pandemic has provided cover for public and private sector bosses to cut costs and roll back the gains won by the labour movement.

While the wealthiest have increased their wealth dramatically, they have sought to increase the misery of the working class even further.

Making drivers drive longer, and casualising their hours, is just some of the tactics used by the bosses to get workers to pay for the debt the government has allowed TfL to incur.

Workers' control

The fight at Metroline – and the other successful strikes during the pandemic – show that while the capitalists are on the attack, there is no guarantee they can win. Workers, if organised and mobilised, can grind London (or any city) to a halt.

The RMT's mobilisation to defend workers is an excellent start. Now the task for the labour movement must be to call for united and militant industrial action.

The demand of this fight must be for a fully-public transport system – run on the basis of need, rather than profit, under workers' control – with funding restored and reductions in pay and conditions reversed. ■

SURVEILLANCE OF WORKERS

THE TYRANNY OF THE BOSSES



**James Cooke
and Alex Brooks
Cardiff Marxists**

The capitalist class is pioneering new methods of surveillance as a means to extract more profit from the working class.

With hundreds of thousands of workers laid off during the COVID pandemic, remaining 'post-COVID' workers are being squeezed more and more in an attempt to retain profitability.

This again reveals the bosses' cynical and contemptuous attitude towards their workforces. The fat cats are only interested in maintaining dividend payouts and the huge salaries and perks currently enjoyed by top management. Their workers – i.e. those who have had to bear the brunt of the effects of the pandemic – are squeezed ever further.

Employers have in many cases forced their workers back into the factories, storage facilities and offices in order to keep the profits rolling in. Their reward? To be pushed even harder, with all the dubious methods to hand.

Big Brother

To give one particularly stark example, Wales TUC and YouGov research has shown that 25% of workers surveyed in Wales say that they have been subjected to closer surveillance since March 2020.

In response to this report, Member of the Senedd for Bridgend Sarah Murphy has warned that the increase in workplace surveillance risks "breaking down the necessary respect between workers and employers".

But increased surveillance does not indicate any recent breakdown of respect between employer and employee. After all, in what workplaces has such respect ever genuinely existed?

The motivation for these latest developments is a simple one: the capitalist system's blind pursuit of profit.

With the economy reopening across Britain, the bosses are desperately searching for the means to restore profitability at the expense of ordinary workers.

Squeezed

On one hand, employers are laying off workers across the board. According to Statistics for Wales, between September and November of last year, 16,000 workers were made redundant in Wales. This is the highest redundancy level in Wales since the banking crisis of 2008.

On the other hand, bosses are forcing those who remain to pick up the slack by implementing threatening surveillance systems. In interviews with over 10 different trade unions, a Cardiff University study found that surveillance has often included the "tracking and logging [of] workers' every move via wristbands".

In what seems to be a direct mimicry of conditions at Amazon warehouses in

the United States, employers are using systems to force "drivers to have to urinate in bottles because an algorithm has set them an impossible number of deliveries".

Respect?

Such is the 'respect' given to workers whose lives have been put at risk throughout the pandemic by profit-hungry bosses.

The call cannot be for a restoration of 'respect' between workers and employers – i.e. between the exploiters and exploited. After all, you can't call for the return of something that never existed in the first place, nor should exist.

No amount of pleading and appealing to the morality of the rich and powerful can achieve 'respect' in the workplace. The capitalist class will never grant a single concession by their own will. Instead, the bosses must be taken on and defeated.

The only way to obtain respect for the working class is to fight for the victory of that class. Workers can look to nobody's strength other than their own.

Workers must fight back against these repressive surveillance systems through organisation and united action, taking control over workplaces into their own hands, and wrestling power off the bosses.

In place of capitalism's race to the bottom, we need a socialist economy based on democratic planning and workers' control – a society based on needs not profits. ■



NO TO DESKILLING: FIRST BLOOD TO THE SPARKS!

Unite Industrial

Correspondents

Electrical workers fighting to win a serious industrial dispute at the new-build at Hinkley Point C nuclear power station have struck the first blow and pushed the bosses back.

This dispute centres around the thorny issue of the intended use of Electrical Support Operative (ESO) workers onsite.

With the project set to take on many hundreds of electricians over the coming month, the Balfour Beatty / NG Bailey jointly-run project for site client EDF was clearly looking to cut costs.

Construction bosses planned to do this by having as much work as possible done by lower-paid ESOs, rather than craft-level electricians.

Bogus self-employment

The proposed use of ESOs is linked to the historical situation of electricians' 'mates'. As an official job title, this position doesn't even exist under the electrical Joint Industry Board (JIB) national agreement. However, it has always been used unofficially to do skilled electricians' work on the cheap.

Even JIB member companies often carry this practice out, blatantly disregarding the JIB agreement concerning Rule 17, which is supposed to protect direct employment in doing so.

The flouting of this rule by the firms gives them the opportunity to have 'mates' onsite through bogus self-employment, labour agencies, and other similar schemes.

All sorts of names have been used to describe this semi-official position. In the late 1990s, it was known as a Skilled Mechanical Assembler (SMA),

for example. Now at Hinkley Point C, the name used is ESO.

Bureaucracy and blacklisting

The names are different, but the bosses' aims are still the same: the deskilling of the JIB gold card skilled electrician job positions, in order to replace them with semi-skilled workers doing the same work at a cheaper rate of pay.

Major electrical JIB companies and proven blacklisters Balfour Beatty and NG Bailey, based at the HPC project, thought they had a cunning plan. They wanted to introduce ESOs as they liked, with a nod and a wink from members of the Unite bureaucracy, encouraging them along.

Indeed, as in the past, the dispute also centres, in part, around the issue of an unelected full-time union officer bureaucracy always wanting to do a deal with the bosses – to the detriment of the union's skilled electrical membership.

Rank-and-file action

But, as in the BESNA dispute of 2012, the bosses were undone. This was not through the official channels of Unite, but by the magnificent fightback staged by the Unite 'Electrical Mechanical Engineering Construction' (EMEC) rank and file, and their activist supporters.

The rank-and-file group went into battle using direct action flash mobs at sites, and at corporate head offices all over Britain. This included protests at Hinkley Point C, and even at the Atomic Weapons Establishment at Burghfield, where Balfour Beatty has a contract.

These techniques were very effective. They showed that workers – when organised and mobilised – can take successful militant action to defend themselves against the bosses' attacks.

That workers are forced to do so in the face of scheming and

backroom-dealing by elements of their own union is nothing short of a travesty.

The fight continues

It seems for now that ESOs have been withdrawn from the HPC project, which is an undeniably important victory. The rank and file know, however, that they cannot trust the bosses one bit.

The fight against deskilling goes on – not just at Hinkley Point C, but across the whole of Britain. This issue doesn't just threaten sparks, but ultimately is aimed at all the mechanical trades.

Given the enormous crisis facing the capitalist system, the bosses need to boost their profits somehow. They will try to do so by making us pay for it. Pay cuts, attacks on working conditions and standards: the call from corporate boardrooms is to cut everything but their profits and bonuses.

Workers' control

Ultimately, to end this threat once and for all, workers need to own and control the commanding heights of the construction industry, as part of a socialist plan of production, putting society's economic resources to work for the benefit of the working class.

We need to end the hold of the private companies over such a vital industrial sector, and break their control over our unions. This means struggling – on both the industrial and political fronts – until we win.

The sparks have shown the way. The giant monopolies of the industry aren't invincible. These bosses can be beaten – and so can the rest of the capitalist mob that they're part of.

With workers' control and management over our industry, we would be rid of them for good. That's a prize well worth fighting for. ■

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