



# Solidarity

For social ownership of the banks and industry

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## VOTE CORBYN!



# RENEW WORKING CLASS POLITICS

**The labour movement faces a dramatic choice.**

Either the Labour Party will be reclaimed by its right wing (with cover from the soft left), the progress we have made over the last year in reviving a political labour movement will be halted and reversed, and there will be a purge of the left – or Jeremy Corbyn will be re-elected and big possibilities will open up for moving forward further and faster.

The impressive left-wing mobilisation that has burgeoned since the coup against Corbyn began shows that we *can* win. But it is by no means certain that we will. We need to strain every muscle over the next seven weeks, fighting for every last vote.

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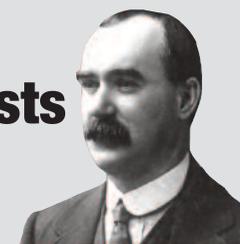
#### Crack down in Turkey



After Turkey's failed coup we look at how Erdogan is using the opportunity to crack down on all opposition.

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#### Connolly and the Unionists



Part nine of Michael Johnson's series on the life and politics of James Connolly.

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### Join Labour!

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## Phillip Green: the face of capitalism

By Dora Polenta

**Senior MPs have savaged ex-BHS boss Sir Philip Green for running the high street chain into the ground while amassing “a fortune beyond the dreams of avarice.”**

A joint report published today by the Commons business and work and pensions committees accuses Green of trying to blame anyone but himself for the firm's problems, despite systematically taking huge sums out of its coffers while leaving BHS workers' pension fund desperately short.

MPs said Mr Green has a “moral duty” to make a “large financial contribution” to the 20,000 pensioners at risk of losing a big chunk of their payouts.

The pension fund was in surplus before he bought BHS for £200 million in 2000, the report states, but it suffered as Mr Green's family was paid huge dividends — more than double the after-tax profits of £208 million between 2002 and 2004.

While MPs branded Mr Green the “unacceptable face of capitalism” his actions show him to be the “normal face of capitalism.”

**Capitalism is a system based on the ruthless maximisation of profit, whatever the human cost. He personifies capitalism and deserves to be its poster boy.**

## No arms to Saudi Arabia

By Mark Denton

**Since March 2015 Saudi Arabia has been fighting a vicious bombing campaign and imposing a blockade of Yemen in defence of Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi, who Saudi Arabia wants to retain Yemen's Presidency.**

Hadi and the Saudis are backed by the West. British arms manufacturers have sold planes and bombs to the Saudis which are being used during the current campaign.

The Campaign Against the Arms Trade is conducting a legal battle in the British courts attempting to stop weapons sales to Saudi Arabia. In July the High Court agreed to allow CAAT to take the government's policy — to continue arming the Saudis — to Judicial Review.

Also in July the UK government subtly shifted its stance on the conflict, admitting that previous Ministerial statements that the Saudis had not committed war crimes in Yemen were too categorical.

Saudi Arabia has bombed many civilian facilities including factories, schools and hospitals.

The Saudis oppose Houthis forces based in the north of Yemen, who are allied with the former President Ali Abdullah Saleh.

The Saudis are concerned that the Houthis — a political-military force based on a Shia sect — are backed by Iran. The Houthis currently control the capital, Sanaa, and Hadi is based in the southern port of Aden. Hadi's forces have regained some lost ground and are now back within 50km of the capital.

Al Qaeda and Islamic State are both active in the country. None of the contending forces are worthy of support and the war should be condemned — in particular for the terrible effect it is having on the civilian population.

At least 6,400 people, half of them civilians, have been killed and almost three million others have been displaced since March 2015. Yemen is a desperately poor country with over 80% of the population now in need of humanitarian aid. Most basic services — including basic health care — have collapsed.

**This war should end now.**

## Abolish the death penalty!

**Saudi Arabia has executed 99 people during 2016, more than at the same point last year.**

Crimes punishable by beheading, stoning or firing squad in Saudi include blasphemy, drug offences, adultery, murder, and “false prophecy.”

Excluding China — whose regime keeps the number of state killings a close secret — 90% of known executions during 2015 were carried out by Iran, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

Iran executes more people than any other state. Last year Iran killed nearly one thousand prisoners, many for drug-related convictions.

Iran also executes juvenile prisoners.

In the US 28 prisoners were executed, all by lethal injection.

Last year four states banned capital punishment — Madagascar, Fiji, Congo and Surinam. Mongolia is expected to follow in September 2016. Six countries resumed executions: Bangladesh, Chad, India, Indonesia, Oman and South Sudan.

**Amnesty International states, “At least 1,998 people were sentenced to death in 2015 and at least 20,292 prisoners remained on death row at the end of the year.”**

# Defend Fatima Manji

By Gerry Bates

**Kelvin MacKenzie is a loud-mouth, a bully and political thug.**

For years, during the 80s and early 90s MacKenzie edited the populist, Tory rag, the *Sun*. He was responsible for the gloating headline “Gotcha” after a British submarine killed 1200 young Argentinian soldiers and sailors by sinking an old warship, the *Belgrano*, which was steaming away from the Falkland Islands during the 1982 war.

MacKenzie commented, “The fact that the enemy were killed to my mind was a bloody good thing and I've never had a moment's loss of sleep over it.”

MacKenzie has probably never lost a night's sleep in his life. Even after his paper blamed Liverpool fans after 96 supporters died in the

Hillsborough nightmare in 1989. He clearly revels in his notoriety.

MacKenzie's *Sun* regularly taunted Labour leaders. For example, before the 1983 election the *Sun* printed an unflattering picture of 70-year-old Labour leader Michael Foot alongside the headline, “Do You Really Want This Old Fool To Run Britain?”

The *Sun* backed the Tories and supported Thatcher against the Miners during the 1984-5 strike.

Now Kelvin MacKenzie has turned his nasty, bigoted mind to attacking Channel 4's news journalist, Fatima Manji. Manji covered the 14 July Islamist attack in Nice, France, which left 84 people dead. MacKenzie questioned whether it was “appropriate” for Manji — a Muslim who covers her hair — to be on camera, “when there had been yet another shocking slaugh-

ter by a Muslim”.

MacKenzie wrote, “With all the major terrorist outrages in the world currently being carried out by Muslims, I think the rest of us are reasonably entitled to have concerns about what is beating in their religious hearts. Who is in the studio representing our fears? Nobody.”

MacKenzie is explicitly inciting hatred against all Muslims, irrespective of their political beliefs, apparently slandering all Muslims as sharing some responsibility for the Islamist attacks.

Fatima Manji accused MacKenzie of trying to “intimidate Muslims out of public life.”

**Channel 4 News has described his comments as, “offensive, completely unacceptable, and arguably tantamount to inciting religious and even racial hatred”.**

## Davey Hopper, 1943-2016

**Davey Hopper, General Secretary of the Durham Miners Association, died suddenly on 16 July.**

The defeat of the 1984-1985 miners' strike destroyed communities, lives and set back the cause of working class struggle for a generation. No one knew that better than Hopper, and he with others devoted the next 30 years of his life to turning the Durham Miners' Association into a force which fought back for the community and the wider movement.

Hopper was a working miner and shop steward in the Durham coalfield at the start of the Miners strike. He rose to prominence as an advocate of militant prosecution of the strike against a more right wing leadership. By the end of the strike he had been elected to lead the Durham area miners.

After the strike as the government shut the pits, Hopper, along with Dave Guy and others, decided the Durham Miners Association wouldn't just slide quietly into in-

dustrial history but would become a force for ongoing struggle.

They struggled for support and justice for the ex miners, for compensation and support for those who were suffering from illness and injuries. They also fought against cuts, and for facilities for the ex-coal mining communities.

But for Hopper, and others in the Durham Miners' Association, their main legacy is saving and then building the Durham Miners Gala into the largest labour movement gathering in Europe. They got other unions involved, and encouraged local communities to view the banners and history of the miners' lodges. For the first time they made the politics of the day central. Unfortunately that politics is often the “common sense” of the union bureaucracies or the Stalinist *Morning Star* newspaper.

But lately there had been some shift in politics. For instance having a Donbass miners' leader speak both condemning Russian aggression in the region and the Ukrainian government's neo-liberalism.



The Gala gave Jeremy Corbyn a huge boost by inviting him as their main speaker in 2015 when his campaign for leadership was just starting, and putting pressure on union is to back him. This year the Durham Miners Association made it known that any MP supporting the anti-Corbyn Coup was not welcome. Corbyn then addressed 150,000 people at the Gala itself.

**The Gala is an event whose resurgence is a defiant two fingers to those who wanted to destroy the organisation and confidence of the working class. For that alone we owe Davey Hopper a great debt.**

Gerry Bates

## Matthew Caygill 1955 — 2016

**Workers' Liberty is saddened to hear of the sudden death of Matthew Caygill, a Marxist historian, a left wing activist and trade unionist.**

Matthew started out his political life in the anti-Apartheid movement and through that ended up joining the Socialist Workers Party.

Eventually he and others left the SWP over their “anti-imperialist turn” in the late 80s and early 90s which Caygill criticised as a move away from the anti-Stalinist left tradition that the IS/ SWP grew out of. Some of his criticisms chimed with ours, and he retained an interest in the anti-Stalinist critical Marxist tradition that we as a group still publicise. He purchased

our writings on this subject and was willing to discuss these ideas with us. This was despite growing differences over issues like the Labour Party and reform or revolution.

After leaving the SWP Caygill remained very active on the left for the rest of his life. He co-edited the journal *Historical Materialism* for a while. He helped found and run the Ford Maguire Society, a socialist history group in Leeds and Leeds Soundings. His academic work focused on the links between 60s youth culture and the left.

Caygill moved away from revolutionary socialism towards post-Marxist ideas. He wanted to build a new broad reformist party along

the lines of Podemos in Spain, rather than fight in Labour which he saw as a dead end. It is hard to untangle how much this was down to pessimism or genuine enthusiasm for these projects. He was a key figure in the Socialist Alliance in Leeds. After the fall of the Socialist Alliance, Matthew attempted to breath life into several unity projects before becoming an activist in Left Unity.

**Caygill was an active trade unionist and vice chair in his local UCU branch. He was due on the picket line on the day he died. Our sympathies, and solidarity go to Matthews friends, family and comrades.**

Luke Hardy

# Erdogan uses coup to crack down

By Dan Katz

**It is good the coup has failed. It is unfortunate that the political advantage is President Erdogan's.**

The attempt by a section of the Turkish army to take power has failed. On the night of Friday 15 July troops grabbed bridges, airports and television stations, as well as Military Headquarters. Parliament was bombed.

The plotters declared that they were acting, "to restore the constitutional order, human rights and freedoms, the rule of law, and public order."

However the coup had insufficient support inside the armed forces and almost all the top leadership sided with the state against the rebellion, calling for troops to return to barracks. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, in power since 2002, managed to rally his supporters in the police and intelligence services. Mass opposition to the coup amongst the general public included many who were not supporters of Erdogan. Thousands

came to onto the streets.

Erdogan had purged the army, jailed many generals and strengthened the police as a counterweight. It was assumed that the army was no longer an alternative political centre – and indeed this failed coup is a sign of weakness, not strength.

Members of parliament met in the damaged parliament in an act of defiance.

By Saturday 16 July footage was emerging of disarmed soldiers being attacked by civilian supporters of the President. Apparently 265 people died during the coup attempt.

It is a good thing the coup failed. The Turkish military has a long and brutal record of political intervention, including a violent overthrow in 1980 during which many leftists were killed or arrested, and working class organisations were repressed. Four governments have been overthrown by the Turkish military in the past 50 years.

It is unfortunate, however, that the immediate political beneficiary is President Erdogan, the autocratic leader of the Islamist Turkish gov-

ernment.

Erdogan has declared a State of Emergency which allows him to rule by decree. He has ordered the closure of 1,043 private schools, 1,229 charities and foundations, 19 trade unions, 15 universities and 35 medical institutions.

The post-coup-attempt crackdown is on an enormous scale. At least 60,000 state employees have been detained or suspended. 21000 teachers have had their licences revoked.

7500 soldiers, including 85 generals or admirals have been detained. 8000 police have been sacked and 1000 arrested. The Presidential Guard has been disbanded.

Erdogan has accused a former political ally, Fethullah Gulen, of being behind the coup. Gulen is currently in exile in the US and Erdogan is loudly demanding his extradition. Gulen condemned the coup.

If Gulen was behind the attempted military overturn it would represent a new type of movement in the armed forces. Previous coups had been run by those claiming to



be in the secular tradition of the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk. But Fethullah Gulen runs a political-Islamic movement.

A Turkish official has also accused the US of involvement. John Kerry has denied the claim and warned Turkey to respect the rule of law when pursuing those involved in the coup.

Under cover of prosecuting the coup plotters Erdogan is settling

scores with many others, and tightening his grip on political life. Judges and journalists have been rounded up.

Turkey is increasingly polarised. The ruling party has been rocked by corruption scandals, the war in Syria and an enormous refugee crisis. Erdogan is now back at war with the PKK, the Kurdish separatist movement who had been on ceasefire for two years. Many of the towns and villages in the Kurdish south east are under military occupation and some have been partly destroyed during fierce fighting.

The Turkish state faces a military threat from the PKK and also bomb attacks by Islamic State.

Many young people in the cities dislike the social conventions of the Islamists in power. And Erdogan has ruthlessly pursued his critics in the media – jailing some journalists, and intimidating many more. The main independent newspapers and television stations have been taken over.

**Prosecutors have opened 2000 cases against people suspected of insulting the president since 2014.**

## French Labour law fight falls foul of State of Emergency

By Olivier Delbeke

**The first phase of an intense four-month mobilisation against France's Labour Law Bill came to a close when the Bill was adopted by the government, by means of the use, for the third time, of Article 49-3 of the French Constitution, which allows the forced passage through parliament of a Bill without the possibility to debate or amend it.**

The government has got its way,

but at the price of a terrible piece of blackmail, on the social front as well as on the civil liberties front. Incapable of protecting the population from the attacks of Islamist terrorists, the government has been incapable of doing anything but attacking the right to demonstrate, under the cover of the State of Emergency.

No order came for a trade union mobilisation on 20 July, given that strangely the date of 15 September has been chosen by the inter-union co-ordinating committee (the Inter-

syndicale) as the first day of action after the summer.

Certainly, in July, most left activists and trade unionists are thinking more about holidays and some well-earned rests. Certainly, France has just suffered the terrible Nice attack of 14 July [and on 26 July an attack on a church in Rouen]. But, we should not overlook the timid vision that the union leaders have for trade union mobilisations.

If the government has now three times brought its entire authority

to bear on the question of the Labour Law, it is because this government was certain that its fate was linked to the fate of the Law. And a lack of will to undermine the government meant that the union leaders deprived themselves of the means of stopping the passage of this anti-social Bill.

**The return of the social movements after the summer will only be successful if they are able to put firmly on the agenda a political will to fight this bosses' government to the finish.**

## "Blue lives matter" used to smear black lives matter movement

**"Blue lives matter" was the relentless message from America's political leaders and the media establishment after the shootings in Dallas [7 July] that left five police officers dead.**

But that message is a bitter pill to those who recognize it is being used to sideline and silence a movement demanding justice for victims of police murder after two more killings of black men, captured on video, became international news.

The renewed protests following the deaths of Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Philando Castile in St. Paul, Minnesota (see *Solidarity* 411) — the largest national surge of anti-police violence activism in over a year — represent a much-needed return to the streets.

But the chorus of official voices calling for "respectful dialogue"

will be used to drown out our cries for justice and accountability. The celebration of police officers who "put their lives on the line" will be used to downplay the injustice of a system built on racism, repression and violence. Calls for the Black Lives Matter movement to police itself will be used to turn attention away from the epidemic of police violence.

### MOVEMENT

**Those who identify with the Black Lives Matter movement — still young, diverse and largely unformed — must insist on independence from the political forces that want to opportunistically mute and exploit it.**

The revived protests of today have to become the stepping-stones to organising a broader challenge to the system that perpetuates vio-

lence, repression and racism.

Barack Obama, along with former President George W. Bush, personally travelled to Dallas to attend the funerals of the officers killed by African American veteran Micah Johnson.

Where was Obama during the series of funerals for the victims of police — the Mike Browns, the Eric Garner, the Sandra Blands, Freddie Greys, Ramarley Grahams, Tamir Rices, Rekia Boyds?

Obama and other politicians made much of the "sacrifice" of the Dallas officers, but failed to point out that police weren't Johnson's only victims. Like Shetamia Taylor, a 37-year-old African American mother, who was shot in the leg during Johnson's rampage as she attempted to shield her four sons from the bullets. She was at the Dallas protest with her sons because, according to her sister,

"[s]he's got four boys who she just wants to be able to be peacefully out here in the world."

The reaction to Dallas showed in stark terms the double standard applied to the use of violence in U.S. society. When cops are caught, time and again, engaging in acts of racist brutality and even cold-blooded murder, they're singled out as isolated "bad apples." But Johnson's shooting rampage in Dallas is being used to smear the Black Lives Matter movement — prompting cynical calls for its restraint by those who would rather it disappear entirely.

Fortunately, the slanders being leveled at Black Lives Matter were confronted by hundreds — and, in many cases, thousands — of people who took to the streets in Oakland and San Francisco, in Los Angeles, in Cincinnati and New York and many more cities.



**Everywhere, protesters — many of them young and inexperienced at activism — were determined to stand up in defiance of the idea that the movement should accept collective guilt for Johnson's killing spree.**

• Abridged from: [socialistworker.org/2016/07/13/black-lives-matter-matters-more-than-ever](http://socialistworker.org/2016/07/13/black-lives-matter-matters-more-than-ever)

# Vote Corbyn! Renew working-class politics

## The labour movement faces a dramatic choice.

Either the Labour Party will be reclaimed by its right wing (with cover from the soft left), the progress we have made over the last year in reviving a political labour movement will be halted and reversed, and there will be a purge of the left — or Jeremy Corbyn will be re-elected and big possibilities will open up for moving forward further and faster.

The impressive left-wing mobilisation that has burgeoned since the coup against Corbyn began shows that we *can* win. But it is by no means certain that we will. We need to strain every muscle over the next seven weeks, fighting for every last vote.

Even less certain is that a Corbyn victory will bring the changes we need to move forward politically. If he wins but we do not use the momentum to abolish the conditions which allowed the coup against him (against us) to happen in the first place, that would be a travesty. Even as we engage in the fight of our lives, socialists need to be preparing the ground for what comes afterwards. We need to develop the movement politically. We need to renew working-class politics.

In fact such preparation may be essential to winning at all. We must discuss, assimilate and apply the lessons of the Labour left upsurge for democracy in 1979-82, above all its lack of adequate political perspectives, its failure to carry over into a movement which could transform the trade unions and with them the whole labour movement and thus its eventual demise.

Today, too, that is the task: to begin to really transform the labour movement. Either we make real progress in constructing a responsive system of political representation for the organised labour movement and the working class, or we will regress to the bad old days of Blairism in some new form, slow or fast.

## DEMOCRACY

**One crucial, glaring element is the fight for democracy.**

To win a meaningful workers' political voice, we need to push forward the fight for democracy in the Labour Party. There are a number of rule changes proposed to Labour's conference — we should fight for the National Executive Committee to pro-



mote them for discussion at this year's conference. Even if the left does well in the NEC elections (closing on 1 August), there must be a battle to make these changes happen.

Beyond initiating procedural changes, we need to end the situation where the party bureaucracy is constituted as a permanently-organised police force for the hard right against the elected leadership and against members' democratic rights.

The suspension of Brighton and Hove District Labour Party and Wallasey Constituency Labour, as well as the ongoing expulsions and suspensions of socialist activists (including supporters of this paper), show how urgent this is. The meeting in solidarity with Brighton and Wallasey organised by London region Momentum on 23 June voted for the London region to set up an organised campaign against suspensions and expulsions and to fight for democratic rights in the party. When this gets off the ground it will be long overdue.

## POLICY

**Democracy is an end, but also a means to an end. We must combine the fight for democracy with a fight around policy and politics.**

Corbyn has not said nearly enough about what policies he stands for — not even about left-wing demands which are officially agreed party policy (eg renationalising the railways and Royal Mail, reinstating a public NHS, strengthening union rights and repealing the ban on solidarity strikes). This both weakens him in the face of Owen Smith's

ment and of opposing all forms of bigotry and oppression. And, in our overwhelming majority, we are. Momentum as an organisation and its activists across the country have been very clear about this.

We must be vigilant and vigorous in countering anyone, even on the fringes of the left, who denies there could be issues or even engages in abuse.

We must respond to accusations by insisting on due process — on democratic rights for those accused as well as those accusing, on timely provision of information, on serious investigations, on challenging bad behaviour and bad practices rather than using accusations as an excuse to attack members' democratic rights, and certainly rather than appalling instances of collective "punishment" such as the suspension of the Brighton and Wallasey parties.

**Only on that basis can we challenge the right, and defend, improve and transform the norms, standards and political culture of the labour movement.**

"left-wing" demagoguery — the attempt to pretend there are no policy differences involved in the leadership contest — and is a gross missed opportunity.

In the period after the EU referendum, when the massive, growing poverty and inequality which have wracked British society contributed to the nationalist surge behind the Brexit vote, Labour needs to campaign for and popularise an "Emergency Plan" of clear, radical pro-working class policies to tackle that social distress, policies like:

- Banning zero hours contracts, introducing a real Living Wage without exemptions and strengthening workers' rights and ability to improve their conditions by repealing the anti-trade union laws.
- Taxing the rich to reverse all cuts, rebuild our devastated public services and create millions of secure, well-paid, socially useful jobs in the public sector. Guarantee decent jobs for everyone who can work, decent benefits for everyone who can't.
- Ending privatisation and cuts in the NHS and reinstating it as a genuine public service.
- Building millions of council homes.
- Public ownership of the banks and high finance.

Such policies are the alternative to continuing to contribute to the whipping up of anti-migrant bigotry and divisions in the working class, as Labour has done over many years. Owen Smith clearly understands this — hence his positioning against migrants right at the start of his campaign. Corbyn should show he understands it too — from the opposite side — by taking a strong stand for migrants' rights and for workers' unity to win clear demands.

The proposals circulating in Momentum for a labour movement-based campaign on these issues, seeking to draw trade unions and Labour Parties into action, are good. So is the idea of a mass demonstration for jobs, homes and services, workers' unity and migrants' rights in a northern city this autumn. We should work to make these things happen.

The first step is making sure that Momentum and the Labour left do not collapse on the issue of migrants' rights, as some are advocating.

In the battle for the Labour Party, and in the battle to defend working-class interests in society, the NHS is key. Clear, sharp, em-

## Sign these statements

- Momentum must fight in Labour for migrants' rights and workers' unity [jillsmomentumblog.wordpress.com/2016/07/04/unitystatement](http://jillsmomentumblog.wordpress.com/2016/07/04/unitystatement)
- NHS workers and campaigners support Jeremy Corbyn [labournhslobby.wordpress.com/2016/07/25/corbyn2016](http://labournhslobby.wordpress.com/2016/07/25/corbyn2016)

## Jeremy Corbyn, the Middle East and reactionary anti-imperialism

Articles discussing Corbyn's politics in connection with the Middle East, particularly Iran.

- Corbyn and the Middle East: the hypocrisy of the right, a challenge for the left (July 2015)

[www.workersliberty.org/node/25380](http://www.workersliberty.org/node/25380)

- For Corbyn, and better politics (July 2015)

[www.workersliberty.org/node/25337](http://www.workersliberty.org/node/25337)

- James Bloodworth is wrong about Jeremy Corbyn (August 2015)

[www.workersliberty.org/node/25416](http://www.workersliberty.org/node/25416)

- I'm backing Jeremy Corbyn, despite his unsavoury "friends" (by Peter Tatchell, September 2015) Republished at

[www.workersliberty.org/comment/31918#comment-31918](http://www.workersliberty.org/comment/31918#comment-31918)

- Open letter to Jeremy Corbyn on repression in Iran (from the Iranian Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, July 2016)

[www.marxistrevival.com/?p=1149](http://www.marxistrevival.com/?p=1149)

- Corbyn: their criticism and ours (July 2016)

[www.workersliberty.org/node/26869](http://www.workersliberty.org/node/26869)

phatic campaigning by Corbyn and, when he wins, the Labour Party to end accelerating privatisation and reinstate a public health service funded to meet need could be a game changer for the political situation. So the proposals for mass national Momentum campaign on the NHS are very welcome. Let's make them happen, and make them part of the leadership campaign at every level — starting at the grassroots if necessary.

## POWER

**We need to ask and get discussion about how do we make these things happen?**

How do we pay for them? How do we re-organise society so they are possible? It cannot be done without encroaching on the wealth and power of the capitalist class, and first of all the political establishment, including the Labour political establishment, that defends them.

The right-wing MPs driving the campaign to remove Corbyn are right. In the medium term his leadership cannot co-exist with the Parliamentary Party as it currently is. Removing many of the MPs will be necessary. We must oppose abuse and insist on civilised standards of debate and conduct in the labour movement — but not delude ourselves we can defeat the PLP right wing without a harsh battle.

When it comes to challenge the ruling class and the rich in wider society, the perspective of a "kinder, gentler politics" is even more inadequate. We will not make society kinder or gentler without forceful mobilisation to encroach on wealth and power, and without serious social clashes of all sorts. We need to find ways to explain and popularise the perspective of class struggle — and the goal of a workers' government, a government accountable to the labour movement which serves society's working majority as the Tories and the Blair-Brown governments served the rich.

We say "Tax the rich" and "Expropriate the banks" — as first steps in taking the wealth produced by workers but taken by the capitalists into social control as we can use it for social good. We want to take steps towards

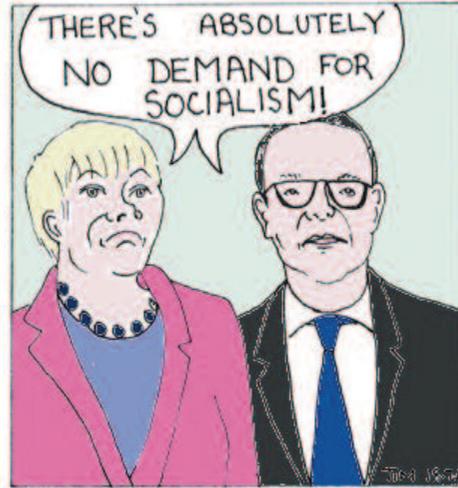
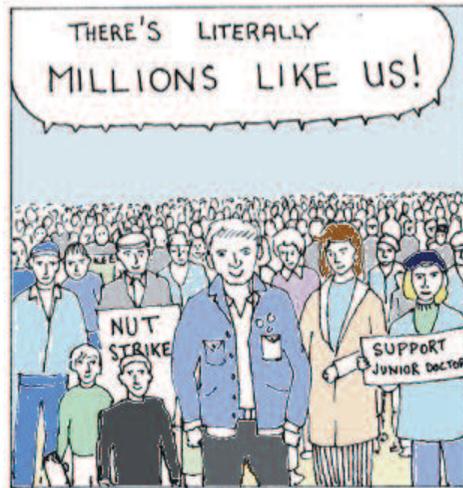
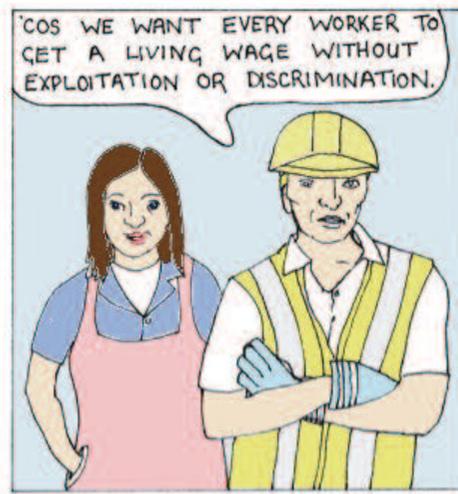
## Dealing with abuse

**There is no doubt that many on the Labour right are cynically inventing, exaggerating and manipulating stories of abuse within the party as part of their war against Corbyn and on members' rights and democracy.**

The left must fight this. It must simultaneously be careful not to deny that people on the left can ever be guilty of abuse, or downplay the crucial, even decisive, importance of challenging sexism, homophobia and other forms of bigotry in the labour movement.

Faced by shameful lying and cynicism, and the fact that numerous instances of abuse, sexism, etc, by right-wingers (including Owen Smith!) are dismissed or ignored by right-wing leaders, the party bureaucracy and the bourgeois media, some on the left may be tempted to simply deny everything. This is wrong — and not just because it is tactically foolish.

Socialists must be the foremost champions of civilised standards of debate in the move-



socialism – not just social reforms but the replacement of capitalism with a new society based on common ownership and production for need.

### ORGANISING

**We need to transform the movement that supports Corbyn, starting with Momentum.**

We want stop decisions being taken by unaccountable officials, stop democratic structures and grassroots activists being sidelined and stop the constant tendency to dodge fights and play it safe and conservative. There is a lot of talk about Labour becoming a social movement. To make that happen,

Momentum should become a social movement — one oriented to transforming the labour movement.

We should call for Momentum's National Committee, currently suspended, to meet urgently and for the national conference planned for February to be brought forward to this year.

However it organises, we need more of a pro-class struggle, pro-democracy left in Momentum to make these things happen.

Last year, Momentum's hesitations and inadequacies meant that much of the momentum from the Corbyn surge was lost. This time we must use the new upsurge around and influx into Momentum groups to put our

organisation on a stronger footing — above all by organising CLP and ward-level caucuses, fighting in the Labour Party ward by ward, and building local Young Labour groups, so we can run forward once Corbyn is re-elected.

### TRADE UNIONS

**There is support for Corbyn in the trade unions, including sections of their bureaucracy, but no serious Momentum organisation.**

As a step to changing that we need to fight in the unions now to win support for Corbyn, to ensure the unions mobilise people (we have until 8 August to sign up members of affiliated unions to vote) and to take the energy from this struggle and use it to revitalise the movement from the workplace up.

Even union bureaucrats who say they support Corbyn are not necessarily reliable allies. We need, minimally, to weaken the union bureaucracy and bring it under great rank-and-file control, organising rank-and-file workers' movements to do so. Without that our campaign to transform Labour will founder — as shown in 1979-82.

Corbyn-supporting activists should organise meetings in workplaces and unions to discuss building the campaign and develop demands for their sectors to put forward to Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell.

On all these things, we need to demand that Corbyn, McDonnell and their comrades in the leadership become less timid and start to act like they take their own, stated ideas seriously. But we also need to build a grassroots movement which can bring pressure to bear while developing better, sharper, more radical ideas.

**That is what Workers' Liberty is doing, in Momentum groups and committees, in Labour Parties, in trade unions, in the youth and student movements and on the streets. We want to cooperate with the widest possible range of socialist organisations and individuals in these tasks and to recruit more supporters to strengthen our capacities for the fight. Please consider joining us!**



Nick Wrack, Delia Mattis, Mark Sandell (speaking), Rhea Wolfson

2. Call on Momentum's London regional committee to discuss launching a broad campaign for the reinstatement of suspended Labour Parties, against expulsions and suspensions of left-wing activists and to defend Labour democracy.

**We will carry updates soon.**

## Fight for democracy in Labour

**70 people turned out to a packed out meeting organised at three days notice by the London region of Momentum in solidarity with the suspended Labour Parties in Brighton and Wallasey.**

The meeting, chaired by London Momentum chair and PCS activist Delia Mattis, was addressed by suspended Brighton District Labour Party chair Mark Sandell, Nick Wrack of the London Momentum committee (who has been expelled from the party) and left NEC candidate Rhea Wolfson. It was attended by representatives of Momentum groups and Labour Parties across London, as well as some from further afield.

Videos of the speeches should be online soon. The discussion focused on how to combine the strongest possible campaigning to re-elect Jeremy Corbyn with an organised fight to defend democracy in the party, but also how we transform Momentum into the kind of left organisation we need.

After some debate, the meeting voted unanimously to:

1. Send messages of solidarity to Brighton, Wallasey and other Labour Parties suspended as part of the war against Corbyn and the left.

# Who the hell is Owen Smith?

**Well, indeed, that's the point.**

Many of the opponents of Jeremy Corbyn inside the Parliamentary Labour Party have long records of supporting anti-working-class Labour governments. These people are unelectable as Labour leader.

Smith only became an MP in 2010 and so has not had time to get his hands conspicuously filthy on behalf of Brown or Blair.

What we do know about Smith, however, is he is another pushy middle-class man on the make. From 2005-8 Smith made £80k per year working in a senior post for the drugs giant Pfizer.

According to the *Mail*, "Mr Smith was head of government relations for the Pfizer pharmaceuticals company when it mounted legal action to force the Philippines authorities to pay \$1 a pill for Norvasc, a hypertension medicine.

"The conglomerate began the action after the country tried to cut its health bill by importing the drug from India, where it cost 10 cents a pill."

And when Smith started at Pfizer, "the company was embroiled in a storm over pricing South Africans out of AIDS medication by holding an anti-fungal drug under patent and selling it for £5 a capsule, compared with the non-patent price of 4p."

Smith voted in favour of the government's Trident renewal programme motion on 18 July 2016.

Currently Smith is putting a left-face on, hoping to minimise the political gap between himself and Corbyn. Don't be fooled! He's fronting a campaign for right-wing MPs who will trample on internal Labour Party democracy, clamp down hard on the left, and take Labour back towards the Blair years.

**Do you want that? No! Vote Corbyn!**

## Vote Ann Black, organise the real left

**Every other year, the Centre-Left Grassroots Alliance, an alliance of left groups in the Labour Party, issues a left-wing slate for the Labour National Executive Committee elections.**

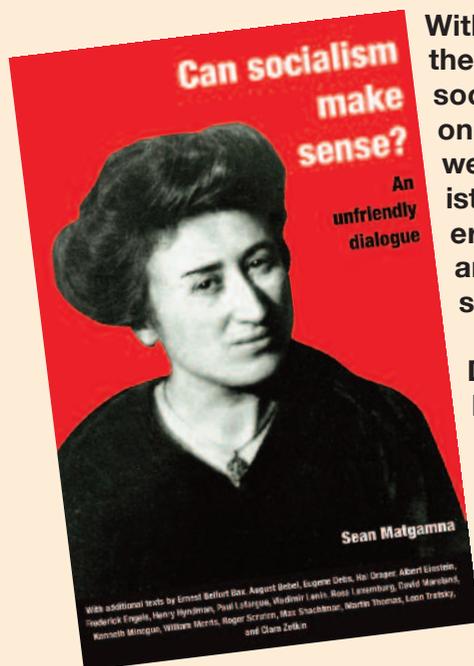
This year, the slate, which Workers' Liberty supports, is: Rhea Wolfson; Pete Willsman; Christine Shawcroft; Darren Williams; Claudia Webbe; Ann Black.

Ann Black, has generated some controversy recently. Black was a party to the Labour NEC's move to undemocratically suspend the Brighton and Hove District Labour Party in response to the election of socialist Mark Sandell as Chair. In response, the Labour Representation Committee has declared that it will never support Black again.

It is clear that the left needs to get its house in order: someone who votes in favour of factional witch-hunts is no left-winger! Our standards need to be higher, and the process needs to be transparent and democratic.

**But the left should still support the CLGA NEC slate. Not voting for Ann Black will not have left-wing results: someone to Black's right will get the spot instead. Vote Black — keep out the right!**

# How do we get socialism?



With more and more people calling themselves socialists, in a time when socialism is the most searched word on the Merriam-Webster dictionary website, and a self-confessed socialist is leader of the Labour Party, Workers' Liberty's new books aim to answer the what, why, and how of socialism.

Do we need a revolution? What has Parliament got to do with it? Should socialists be in favour of breaking the law? What about Stalin? Is socialism democratic? And much more.

**Can Socialism Make Sense?** is a socialists' handbook. The debates

and texts in the book will not only convince you to become a socialist activist, they will give you the tools to convince other people of the same.

**Democracy, direct action and socialism** is a debate between Michael Foot, a key figure of the Labour left during the 80s, and Sean Matgamna. In the context of the miners' battle against the state the debate discusses issues such as extra-parliamentary action, the role of the Labour Party and Labour left, the use of direct action, the role of the police and the state, and the real meaning of democracy.



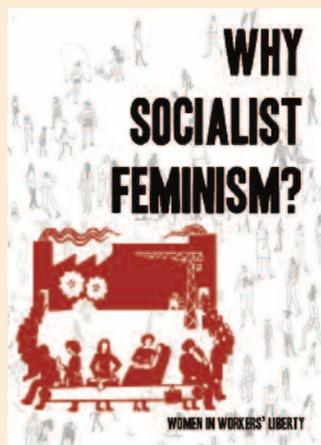
**Buy both books for £15 (+£3 postage)**  
[www.workersliberty.org/socialism](http://www.workersliberty.org/socialism)

## Other books by Workers' Liberty

Workers' Liberty has a range of books including: *Why Socialist Feminism?*, *Class against class: The Miners' Strike*, *In an Era of Wars and Revolutions: American socialist cartoons*, *Gramsci in context*, *Working class politics and anarchism*, and two books in our *Fate of the Russian Revolution* series.

Get reading about how to change the world!

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# Connolly and the

Part nine of Michael Johnson's series on the life and politics of James Connolly. The rest of the series can be found online at [bit.ly/connollyseries](http://bit.ly/connollyseries)

The prospect of the Third Home Rule Bill sparked a widespread mobilisation of Ulster Unionists in opposition to the measure, backed to the hilt by the Tory establishment who hoped to use Ulster to defeat Home Rule for Ireland as a whole.

Connolly's perspective after 1910 was that Home Rule was inevitable and that workers needed an independent Irish Labour Party to provide opposition to the Irish Nationalists in a future Home Rule Parliament.

As late as 1913 he remained optimistic, if not sanguine, about the possibilities, writing that "with the advent of Home Rule, nay even with the promise of Home Rule and the entrance of Ireland upon the normal level of civilised, self-governing nations, the old relation of Protestant and Catholic begins to melt and dissolve, and with their dissolution will come a new change in the relation of either faith to politics. The loss of its privileged position will mean for Protestantism the possibilities of an immense spiritual uplifting; an emergence into a knowledge of its kinship with its brothers and sisters of different creeds."

However, Connolly failed to understand the depth of Unionist opposition to Home Rule, diagnosing it as "a dying cause of Orange ascendancy".

In a May 1911 article in *Forward* advocating the unity of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and the Socialist Party of Ireland (SPI) in anticipation of Home Rule, Connolly wrote that the "Irish landlords who had indeed something to fear from a Home Rule Parliament elected largely by tenant farmers, as would have been the case in the past... are now politically indifferent", asserting that "there is no economic class in Ireland today whose interests as a class are bound up with the Union."

This analysis failed to note that much of the opposition came not from the aristocracy but from the Ulster bourgeoisie whose ship-building and engineering concerns had their markets throughout the British Empire, and from the Ulster Protestant working class.

Nor was Protestant opposition to Home Rule explicable in narrowly economic terms. That almost the whole of Protestant society in the north-east of Ireland was prepared to resist Home Rule pointed to an uncomfortable fact for Irish nationalists: that the compact majority of Ulster Protestants in the four north-eastern — most counties by the early twentieth century saw themselves as a distinct Protestant-British people who were not at one with the rest of Ireland.

This Ulster Protestant population had its original roots, of course, in the Plantation of the early 17th century, and Connolly captures something of this settler-colonial psychology, writing in *Forward* of 3 May 1913 of that: "Protestant elements of Ireland were, in the main, a plantation of strangers upon the soil from which the owners had been dispossessed by force. The economic dispossession was, perforce, accompanied by a political and social outlawry. Hence every attempt of the dispossessed to attain citizenship, to emerge from their state of outlawry, was easily represented as a tentative step towards reversing the plantation and towards replanting the Catholic and dispossessing the Protestant."

Connolly, however, was clear to point out in *The Re-Conquest of Ireland* in 1915 that: "the Protestant common soldier or settler, now that the need of his sword was passed, found himself upon the lands of the Catholic, it is true, but solely as a tenant and dependant. The ownership of the province was not in his hands, but in the hands of the companies of London merchants who had supplied the sinews of war for the English armies, or, in the hands of the greedy aristocrats and legal cormorants who had schemed and intrigued while he had fought."

He summed up the situation as "the Catholic dispossessed by force, the Protestant dispossessed by fraud. Each hating and blaming the other, a situation which the dominant aristocracy knew well how, as their descendants know to-day, to profit by to their own advantage."

Moreover, Connolly did not assume that historical roots of the Ulster Protestants implied an immutable identity. As an organiser for the ITGWU Connolly had organised Protestant and Catholic workers together in Belfast from 1911 onwards, and with some success. One high-point during the 1911 dock strike was the "Non-Sectarian Labour Band"



Wolfe Tone leader of the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion. After the rebellion's failure Catholic and dissenting Protestants pulled apart.

# he Unionists



Left: Knocking-off at Belfast's Harland and Wolff shipyard in 1911. Right: Orange Order banner. Orangeism among Ulster workers has deep roots and continues to this today.

which united workers across the religious divide.

Writing in August 1914, Connolly reflected on the potential turning point of the United Irishmen rebellion of 1798: "For a brief period during the closing years of the eighteenth century, it did indeed seem probable that the common disabilities of Presbyterians and Catholics would unite them all under the common name of Irishmen. Hence the rebel society of that time took the significant name of 'United Irishmen'.

"In the 1798 rebellion, the advanced Protestant bourgeoisie, many of them Presbyterian, led a largely Catholic movement to secure Irish independence. Influenced by the American and French Revolutions, the United Irishmen aimed, in the words of Wolfe Tone, "to unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in the place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter."

However, the rebellion failed and Ireland was incorporated into the United Kingdom by the 1800 Act of Union. In the following decades, the discriminatory laws which had bound Catholics and dissenting Protestants together in mutual persecution were removed.

Yet, as Connolly wrote: "...the removal of the religious disabilities from the dissenting community had, as its effect, the obliteration of all political difference between the sects and their practical political unity under the common designation of Protestants, as against the Catholics, upon whom the fetters of religious disability still clung."

With the consolidation of Anglican and Presbyterians under the banner of Protestantism also came the mobilisation of the Catholic peasantry for the demand of Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Act of Union, led by the nationalist lawyer Daniel O'Connell and by the priests, supplanting the secular republicanism of the previous period.

## ULSTER UNIONISM

**The Protestant bloc was welded closer together in the Unionist resistance to the successive Home Rule Bills after 1886.**

As one historian of Unionism, Peter Gibbon writes: "In this resistance, Unionism progressively consolidated its base, developed a forceful rhetoric, founded a party machine and united almost the entire population of Ulster behind its banner."

The movement soon took concrete form. On 17 June 1892, an Ulster Convention was held in Belfast for the purpose of "the elaboration of the qualities purportedly distinguishing Ulster from the rest of Ireland." In 1905, in response to a number of southern Unionists softening their position on Irish self-administration, the Ulster Unionist Council (UUC) was formed, bringing together MPs, peers, local Unionist clubs and branches of the Orange Order.

By the late nineteenth century, a distinct Ulster Protestant identity was emerging and became interlaced with the uneven development of capitalism in Ireland which produced a more advanced urban north-east in the rest of the largely agricultural island.

Due to Ulster's economic development, the skilled Protestant working-class formed a higher strata than their largely unskilled Catholic co-workers.

Through craft unions and the semi-Masonic Orange Order, Protestant workers were incorporated into cross-class alliance with the Protestant bourgeoisie and aristocracy.

Connolly caught one side of the question with his comment in his article 'Sweatshops Behind the Orange Flag' in March 1911 that the "question of Home Government, the professional advocacy of it, and the professional opposition to it, is the greatest asset in the hands of reaction in Ireland, the never-failing decoy to lure the workers into the bogs of religious hatreds and social stagnation."

However, Henry Patterson has qualified

this view of Orange ideology simply as "an ideology which emphasises the common interest of employers and workers as Protestants threatened by Catholic power."

In his *Class Conflict and Sectarianism: The Protestant Working Class and the Belfast Labour Movement 1868-1920*, Patterson argues that Orange ideology "was not simply the productive of class peace. It also provided the main categories by which certain limited forms of class conflict could be expressed." It functioned, therefore, "both as an integrative mechanism and as a source of conflict."

This accounts for the prevalence of Orangeism in certain Belfast trade unions, as well as the phenomenon of the Independent Orange Order aligned to sections of the Belfast labour movement in the first decade of the Twentieth Century.

As class conflict it was severely limited in that it was highly exclusionary against Catholic workers, and thus divided the working-class. Moreover, it rarely recognised the class struggle between workers and capital. Instead, it was a "militant populism which expressed class conflict in terms of upper-class 'betrayal' of the Protestant cause."

But in the absence of a strong socialist movement in Ireland, Orange ideology had played an important role in shaping the culture and outlook of the Ulster labour movement.

As Lenin put it in another context: "To say that ideologists (conscious leaders) cannot divert from its path the movement created by the interaction of the environment and the (material) elements is to ignore the elementary truth that consciousness participates in this interaction and creation. Catholic labour unions are also the inevitable result of the interaction of the environment and the material elements. The difference, however, is that it was the consciousness of priests... and not that of socialists that participated in this interaction."

In the opening decades of the twentieth century, therefore, the prevalence of Orange ideology within the Protestant working-class was not simply a brittle and atavistic settler-colonial hang-on which could easily be shoved aside, but a phenomenon with deeper roots.

It defied optimistic Second International predictions of the growth of working-class consciousness under capitalism, as Connolly himself pointed out in 1913:

"According to all Socialist theories North-East Ulster, being the most developed industrially, ought to be the quarter in which class lines of cleavage, politically industrially, should be the most pronounced and class rebellion the most common. As a cold matter of fact, it is the happy hunting ground of the slave driver and the home of the least rebellious slaves in the industrial world."

It was partly on the basis of this divergence that Connolly argued for the necessity of an independent Irish labour movement and an Irish Labour Party. He argued that "the historical backgrounds of the movement in England and Ireland are so essentially different that the Irish Socialist movement can only be truly served by a party indigenous to the soil, and explained by a literature having the same source: that the phrases and watchwords which might serve to express the soul of the movement in one country may possibly stifle its soul and suffocate its expression in the other.

**"One great need of the movement in Ireland is a literature of its very own", Connolly wrote; literature which would show "how and why it is that the doctrine that because the workers of Belfast live under the same industrial conditions as do those of Great Britain, they are therefore subject to the same passions and to be influenced by the same methods of propaganda, is a doctrine almost screamingly funny in its absurdity."**

# Trump and after

By Lance Selfa and Alan Maass.

The Republicans gathered in Cleveland [earlier this month] to ratify the verdict of primary voters and choose Donald Trump as their presidential nominee for 2016.

A last-minute attempt by the “Never Trump” forces to obstruct his nomination was easily overcome when party officials rushed through a voice vote on convention rules.

Still, whatever show of unity they manage for the cameras, many Republicans seem to wish that their party would have chosen someone else. On the eve of the convention, an NBC/Wall Street Journal poll found that only 38 percent of Republican voters were satisfied with Trump, though five in six of them say they’ll vote for him. The same survey showed Hillary Clinton in front of Trump by a 46-41 percent margin among registered voter.

Anti-Trump Republicans, the most vocal of which are concentrated in the party “establishment” of officeholders, lobbyists, donors, consultants and commentators, fear a Trump-headed ticket will drag the GOP down in November.

...However, most Republicans, along with their billionaire donors, understand they’re stuck with Trump in November.

Amid all the talk of chaos and crisis at the top of the Republican Party, it’s worth remembering that the Republicans hold their largest majorities in the US House of Representatives and in state legislative seats in almost a century. Even if control of the Senate changes hands after November, the Democrats won’t have enough votes to stop a filibuster.

It’s important for the left to understand all the ramifications of this. Even if Trump is beaten badly in November, the Republicans will continue to hold a lot of political power. But even more importantly, they have been able to take the initiative and drag mainstream politics further to the right during eight years of a Democratic president precisely because of their opponents.

Most of the discontent in the Republican ranks is directed at Trump himself — that is, at the messenger, rather than his message.

The political pros who perceive that the Republicans’ increasing reliance on a narrowing base of older, affluent white voters doesn’t bode well for future elections may have a point. But for now, Trump won because he advocated positions that are widely supported by the most committed Republicans who vote in party primaries.

A *New York Review of Books* article makes the point that the opinion polls showed Trump winning overwhelming support from his supporters for his incendiary rhetoric about banning Muslim immigrants from the US, building a wall on the Mexican border and deporting the undocumented. But Republicans who voted for other candidates in the primaries supported these same positions by wide majorities, too.

... The platform adopted by delegates at the start of the Republican convention this year is even more right wing than the one passed in 2012 — it endorses Trump’s border “wall” and calls for a reversal of the Supreme Court decision legalising same-sex marriage.

Why is this? Certainly the influence of the Trump campaign is partly responsible. But it might also be that Republicans feel there is no reason to change course from a strat-



Many Republicans like the message but not the messenger

egy that has generally produced success for them.

Trump faces an uphill battle against Hillary Clinton, to say the least. With significant sections of the capitalist class abandoning their loyalty to the Republicans and coming out for Clinton, he could indeed suffer a historic defeat, and that would certainly have some effect on elections for other offices this November and after.

But there are other factors at work. One is the fact that the Democrats are nominating a presidential candidate who champions a status quo that is stirring discontent among millions of people. If Donald Trump is the most unpopular candidate of a mainstream party in memory, Hillary Clinton is a not-so-distant second, including among Democratic base voters.

That doesn’t bode well for the kind of enthusiastic Democratic turnout that would be necessary to shift the balance even in the Senate, much less in the US House and state legislatures where Republicans are currently dominant.

On the contrary, Clinton’s “I’m not Trump” campaign strategy, while it may be effective in whipping up lesser evilism around the presidential race, will have the effect of squelching hopes and expectations among Democratic voters, which makes it all the more difficult to envision an election sweep that topples GOP control of Congress.

Meanwhile, if Trump loses, his opponents among the Republican leadership will get a chance to put another face on their party... the Republicans could find someone who has the same brazenly right-wing populist politics as Trump, but who won’t be so easily pigeonholed as a reality TV clown.

So it’s conceivable, and in fact likely, that some sort of regenerated conservatism—probably exploiting the appeal of Trump’s right-wing populism, but without his baggage — will emerge after the 2016 election, whatever the outcome.

That puts a challenge on our side to build a credible left that can offer an alternative. We will need to take on the right wing’s bigotry, nationalism and anti-working class agenda.

**But part of challenging the right will be confronting and protesting the Democratic Party establishment that has aided and abetted the Republicans in dragging national politics to the right.**

• First published by US socialist group International Socialist Organisation at [socialistworker.org](http://socialistworker.org)

# Trident renewal and

At Workers’ Liberty’s Ideas for Freedom event (7-10 July) Luke Akehurst of Labour First debated Labour left activist Laura Rogers on whether the Labour Party should be in favour of renewing Trident.

**Luke Akehurst**

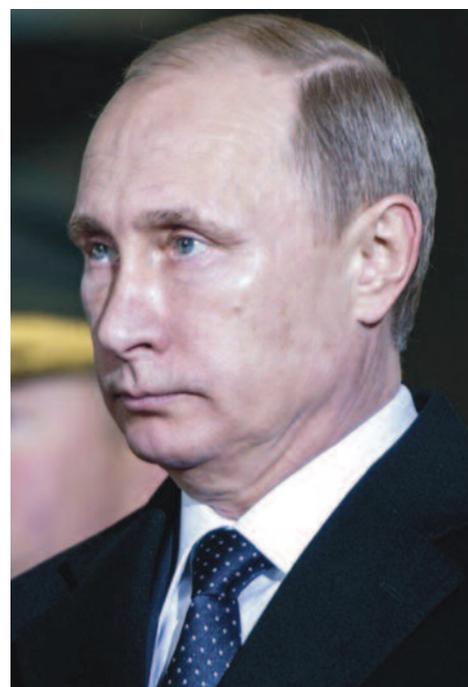
**I’m in favour of the renewal of the Trident system, of buying a new set of submarines to enable the UK’s nuclear deterrent. What is the nature of the British deterrent? It’s a minimum, independent, strategic deterrent.**

The most important concept here is deterrent. The whole point of having this system is not because you want nuclear war. Anyone who wants that is insane; humanity would be destroyed if anything over two such weapons were used. The idea is as the Ministry of Defence puts it on its website, “to make the cost of attacking the UK outweigh any possible benefits”. It is a kind of national security ultimate insurance policy. It is not something you would ever deploy as “first use”. The fact of its existence creates a stalemate. It deters the use of nuclear weapons or the other two types of weapons of mass destruction — chemical or biological weapons. It could deter, in theory, [and in the future] an existential conventional threat.

I’m not trying to claim that Trident is any use in deterring ISIS, or Al Qaeda, or rogue states. That is not its purpose. You need different types of military capability, different political strategies for dealing with those kinds of threats.

It’s a response to what a few years ago looked like old-fashioned major state threats, such as the Soviet Union in the Cold War [and now do again]. But we can already see with the way Putin is behaving that Russia though might not have a ideological difference with western liberal democracy, it doesn’t have a benign attitude, but sees it as a strategic challenge that needs to be dealt with.

The evidence for that includes the resumption of flights trying to buzz UK airspace by Bears — Cold War-vintage strategic bomber aircraft converted for reconnaissance use.



Putin does not have a benign attitude to much of the world beyond Russia’s borders

Russian is testing whether the UK’s conventional military response times are fast enough. And Russian espionage is prepared to do quite astonishing things on British soil, like the murder of Alexander Litvinenko with nuclear material. Russia’s stance towards its near abroad, Crimea and the Baltic states, [is such that] NATO has announced Britain will take responsibility for having a permanent battalion in Estonia; the Estonians feel threatened by Russia. And it’s obvious that the Russians have been using cyber warfare, probing and attacking their smaller neighbours, and their national infrastructure.

The new UK nuclear system will come into service in about 20 years, and last for another 30 years will deal with potential threats in the future. In security planning you have to prepare for the worst. The entire strategic situation can change rapidly, far faster than the lifetime of this weapon. Things changed almost overnight with the collapse of the Soviet Union, something that wasn’t predicted.

The UK is not going to have lots of benign friends all the time. A Jeremy Corbyn government with an incredibly progressive foreign policy would probably piss off some other states. As soon as you try to be proactive in the world you begin to irritate people. The equivalent level of conventional weapons [to Trident] would need a far larger level of defence spending, far larger than the Trident renewal.

People are understandably suspicious that the UK’s current closest ally is the USA and does that mean that our nuclear system is not fully nationally independent? Only one component of this system comes from the States. That is the missiles, and that’s just because it’s cheaper.

People say that the system is reliant on a US guidance system, GPS. But because it is assumed GPS would be knocked out in the event of a major war, the Trident system uses Astro Inertial Guidance, an earlier technology, of navigating using the stars in the sky. We don’t rely on the US for this system because a future US government, led by Trump for instance, might decide to make the US more isolationist and not protect the UK with their own nuclear umbrella.

It’s a minimum system because it is just the four submarines that are necessary to continuously keep one at the bottom of the sea where people can’t find it.

## COST

**Finally let’s look at the cost, often the focus of the left’s argument against it.**

Renewal will cost a lot of money, but not such a lot when you look at the scale of the MoD budget or of UK government overall spending. The official figures are that to build, test and commission submarines costs £31 billion and then there is a £10 billion contingency in case of overspend. But that’s spread over 35 years and adds up to 0.2% of government spending. And extra 0.2% to play with isn’t going to solve austerity.

I was in local government in Hackney for 12 years so I know the size of a local government budget. Hackney council had about £1 billion a year. It’s a similar order for the cost of the deterrent. It’s about 6% of the MoD annual budget. If you got rid Trident the generals and admirals would say this leaves a hole in the way we defend ourselves, we need a 6% lift in conventional spending. Perhaps a left Labour government would be able to resist that but the pressure would be there.

I don’t think the jobs issue is critical to this but it does explain the position of some com-

# and the future of the Labour Party



## Corbyn must stick to opposition to Trident renewal

rades in the trade unions. There are about 10,000 highly skilled jobs involved in this project. Some are in places where there could be replacement jobs. The guys at Rolls Royce in Derby for example, could make other engines. But at places like Barrow and Dunbar, where the system is based, there isn't a lot more that those workers could make or do.

We all want a nuclear free world. How do we get there? I think the answer is multilateralism. As long as non-democratic states or, states like Russia that don't have a benign attitude toward the world have [such weapons] I wouldn't want the UK not to have a nuclear deterrent. We have tried unilateral steps before, and it has no impact [Blair, Brown and Cameron reduced smaller parts of the nuclear arsenal]. The ministers who took those steps accept that they have failed to trigger reciprocal disarmament.

The only multiple disarmament that has taken place has been through multiple steps under the Strategic Arms Limitation processes

The CND thesis is that if you do disarm it sets a moral example. Sadly the kind of people we are talking about don't decide their politics morally, they decide it on national interest. We have to be real about the kind of world we are living in, and which our children and grandchildren will be living in 50 or 60 years time.

### Laura Rogers

**Emily Thornberry's recent Labour Party defence review recommends a fudge and Corbyn has apparently signed up to this.**

Instead of having a vote for or against at Labour conference there is going to be a vote on renewing Trident under a set of conditions. If it is value for money for instance. This is a massive failure of the Party to get its

house in order.

Regardless, this issue is absolutely central to our labour movement. On 18 July a huge body of Labour MPs are planning to vote for renewal in Parliament [140 in the event], largely to undermine Corbyn's leadership. The treacherous attack of Labour MPs on Corbyn — a leader who had a huge electoral mandate — demonstrates a lack of respect for the democracy of the Party, for democratically-made decisions. That is nothing new.

In 1960 the Labour Party voted for unilateral nuclear disarmament, only for the then leader, Hugh Gaitskell to announce the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) would not be bound by a decision it did not agree with. Instead they said they should "fight, fight and fight again to save the party we love." Fight, in other words, to ride roughshod over the will of the Party and line up with the Tories to keep the bomb. In the same speech Gaitskell said that the leader of the party has nothing to do with conference and it should be up to the PLP to decide.

I have read some of Luke's articles, one of which is titled with these rousing words from Gaitskell. It seems like quite a few of Luke's colleagues in the Party have taken these words to heart as well. If this contempt for the membership were not offensive enough, there also seems to be a complete lack of substance over style. We hear how ineffectual Jeremy Corbyn's leadership is, without people, for the most part, being brave enough to argue about his policies. The renewal of Trident is one of those issues which shows up the gulf between the majority of the PLP and how the Labour Party under Corbyn could be.

[Labour could] exist to build international working-class solidarity rather than seek to maintain our muscles, like the biggest bullies in the playground who threaten mass destruction in the name of "keeping the peace".

I'm have been a trade unionist, a feminist and socialist activist for over a decade but am relatively new to the Labour Party. I joined because I was inspired by Corbyn and McDonnell and their long and principled fight to make the Labour Party stand for working-class solidarity. I might be one of those people described so charmingly by Luke as "riding through the party in their jeeps like ISIS".

I'm not an expert in military strategy. I'm a primary school teacher. But there is wealth of children's literature about nuclear war. None of it makes it look very good. As a socialist I believe that the rational argument for disarmament far outweigh any attempts to justify renewal.

Luke says weapons of mass destruction have kept the peace since the Second World War. I would say this is a very precarious peace that has also involved a huge amount of war, built upon the threat of unimaginable destruction. This peace is far inferior compared to a peace that could be secured by working-class internationalism.

The nuclear deterrent is only a deterrent if the government of the day is willing to use it. We in the UK labour movement should be unequivocally against the use of these weapons in all foreseeable circumstances. The reasons are simple.

Even the use of the smallest nuclear weapons, risks triggering a war that could reduce our civilisation to rubble in days if not hours.

The use of these weapons necessarily involves indiscriminate slaughter of people like us who are ruled over by unaccountable ruling elites who hold immense military power. People who bear no responsibility for the actions of their nuclear-bomb-wielding rulers. People who are trade union activists and are struggling against the tyrants that rule over them.

### INEQUALITIES

**Nuclear weapons are a part of and perhaps the most striking example of the grotesque inequalities that plague our civilisation. Inequalities of wealth and power. While most of us are relatively powerless, nine men, — and they are all men — the heads of the nuclear states, hold world-destroying power, literally at their fingertips.**

The advocates of Trident renewal argue that one of these men, Cameron or whoever, makes us safer. I say that so much power in so few hands is about as unsafe as it can get. The only way we can make sure such weapons won't be used is to get rid of them.

The advocates of multilateral disarmament argue that we should get rid of our nukes as soon as the other powers are prepared to get rid of theirs. They want to call a meeting of the nine men and set a date for when they will all give up their arsenals. I suggest this is complete fantasy. Our allies in the struggle for a nuclear-free world are not the likes of Vladimir Putin, or Narendra Modi or even Francois Hollande. Our allies are the people who these men rule over.

The organised working-class is infinitely more rational, humane and civilised than the class currently in power. Our task is the same the world over — to build our organisations, to take power to remake the world according to labour movement principles of equality and democracy and solidarity. We should send a very clear message to our sisters and brothers across the world that when the British labour movement takes power we

will remove the threat of triggering or exacerbating a nuclear war against them. And our hope is that this will give the working-class movements in other nuclear states the strength and courage to dispose of their own ruling elites and follow our lead. This is a more radical approach to ridding the world of nuclear weapons. But it is also a much more realistic one.

It's very important that in carrying out this policy we do not ruin the lives and the communities of thousands of workers — in Barrow, Aldermaston, Plymouth and elsewhere — currently dependent on Trident renewal. In our CLP we had a GMB representative from Plymouth debate us on this and they lost the debate. Our CLP passed policy against Trident renewal.

From the start the Labour leadership has made clear its commitment to alternative employment for workers on Trident. Unions such as the GMB have said the jobs guarantee is empty rhetoric. It's not surprising that many workers wouldn't automatically believe the guarantee of politicians. But the idea of defence diversification, using the skills and the machinery of the defence industry for socially useful production is a key policy in the labour movement is one of its great innovations. We should draw on it as with recreate our vision of socialism for the 21st century.

The workers at Barrow in the 1980s devised a plan called Oceans of Work which detailed how they could use their skills to build off shore energy plants. In 2007 Steven Schofield found with minor alternations to this plan it is workable today. With serious resourcing (and there is billions of pounds to play with), and by involving the workers in the planning, we can make a convincing case.

Luke says that with a policy against Trident renewal Labour is unelectable. But this is just another policy that has made Labour almost indistinguishable from the Tory party, on which we've lost two general elections and almost the whole of Scotland to the SNP. We need to stop playing the game of guessing what people are thinking and instead give political leadership, saying with conviction what is right and setting out to persuade people clearly and honestly why it is right. I don't think you lose elections because you fail to correctly guess the public mood. I think you lose elections because you fail to win the political argument. The Labour Party needs to give people the option to vote for a party that stands for something, that says what it believes and has the integrity to act on those beliefs once in power.

In the last few years we have seen a shift in politics. We have seen the potential re-emergence of working-class socialism as a major political force. The Labour Party needs to be bold and brave enough to listen to its members, abide by the democratic channels of the Party and fight for unilateral disarmament.

If there is a lesson to be learned from the Chilcot enquiry and Blair's role in taking the UK to war in Iraq, is that unaccountable power is the most significant risk to our safety. As long as nuclear weapons exist there will be no democratic check on their use, the security risk will be deemed too great. The decision will rest in the hands of one individual.

**A labour movement that is democratic at its core and representative of the interests of the working-class majority would dispose of nuclear weapons at the earliest possible opportunity.**

# Where we stand

Today one class, the working class, lives by selling its labour power to another, the capitalist class, which owns the means of production.

The capitalists' control over the economy and their relentless drive to increase their wealth causes poverty, unemployment, the blighting of lives by overwork, imperialism, the destruction of the environment and much else.

Against the accumulated wealth and power of the capitalists, the working class must unite to struggle against capitalist power in the workplace and in wider society.

The Alliance for Workers' Liberty wants socialist revolution: collective ownership of industry and services, workers' control, and a democracy much fuller than the present system, with elected representatives recallable at any time and an end to bureaucrats' and managers' privileges.

We fight for trade unions and the Labour Party to break with "social partnership" with the bosses and to militantly assert working-class interests.

**In workplaces, trade unions, and Labour organisations; among students; in local campaigns; on the left and in wider political alliances we stand for:**

- Independent working-class representation in politics.
- A workers' government, based on and accountable to the labour movement.
- A workers' charter of trade union rights — to organise, to strike, to picket effectively, and to take solidarity action.
- Taxation of the rich to fund decent public services, homes, education and jobs for all.
- A workers' movement that fights all forms of oppression. Full equality for women, and social provision to free women from domestic labour. For reproductive justice: free abortion on demand; the right to choose when and whether to have children. Full equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. Black and white workers' unity against racism.
- Open borders.
- Global solidarity against global capital — workers everywhere have more in common with each other than with their capitalist or Stalinist rulers.
- Democracy at every level of society, from the smallest workplace or community to global social organisation.
- Equal rights for all nations, against imperialists and predators big and small.
- Maximum left unity in action, and openness in debate.



If you agree with us, please take some copies of *Solidarity* to sell — and join us!

## Events

### Friday 29 July

Talk **Socialism** comedy fundraiser Newcastle 8.30pm, The Cumberland Arms James Place Street, Newcastle, NE6 1LD [bit.ly/29WUvA0](http://bit.ly/29WUvA0)

### Saturday 30 July

Plymouth Jeremy Corbyn campaign launch 11.30am, Guildhall, 88 Royal Parade, Plymouth, PL1 2AA [bit.ly/2atMKzw](http://bit.ly/2atMKzw)

### Saturday 30 July

Defend Corbyn: No to austerity, no to racism 12 noon, New Bridge St., Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 8AN [bit.ly/2abWRcR](http://bit.ly/2abWRcR)

Got an event you want listing? [solidarity@workersliberty.org](mailto:solidarity@workersliberty.org)

### Wednesday 3 August

Bolton Momentum launch 7pm, Bolton Socialist Club, 16 Wood St, Bolton, BL1 1DY [bit.ly/2abXXoX](http://bit.ly/2abXXoX)

### Wednesday 3 August

Hartlepool Jeremy Corbyn campaign launch rally 7pm, Belle Vue Way Social Club, Hartlepool, TS25 1QU [bit.ly/2a3TiTS](http://bit.ly/2a3TiTS)

### 11-14 August

Workers' Liberty summer camp Hebden Bridge, West Yorkshire [bit.ly/2ansekf](http://bit.ly/2ansekf)

### Saturday 28 August

Workers' Liberty south London summer event — Can socialism make sense? New Cross, south London [bit.ly/2a6PZfj](http://bit.ly/2a6PZfj)

More online at [www.workersliberty.org](http://www.workersliberty.org) Workers' Liberty @workersliberty

# Changing ideas, changing politics

By Michael Elms

On 7-10 July, Workers' Liberty held our annual Ideas for Freedom event in central London.

Over 200 people came to learn about socialist politics, discuss the central theme of the event, — changes in the Labour Party over the last year — and find out more about Workers' Liberty, after hearing about us in the media, or encountering our activists on demonstrations, at Labour party meetings, on the doorstep, and in workplaces.

Since the election of Jeremy Corbyn as leader, Workers' Liberty has been fully involved in the burgeoning mass movement around Labour. In this year's Ideas for Freedom event, we wanted to give activists and leftwingers a deeper look at what is at stake in the current struggles in the Labour Party: to put what is going on in historical perspective, and to think in greater detail about what the movement should aspire to become.

Above all, we wanted to restate our central argument which conditions and inspires everything else we do: the case for socialism and a workers' government. And we wanted the event to be fun!

The weekend kicked off on the Thursday night with a walking tour around Bow in East London, following in the footsteps of Minnie Lansbury, a working-class socialist leader of the suffragette movement, and the rebel Poplar Council, whose resistance to central government cuts saw her jailed. On the walk, author and London Underground worker Janine Booth talked about Minnie's work as a Communist member of the Labour Party, and how her revolutionary views inspired the fights she led in East London to improve the lives of local people.

On Friday night, special advisor to Tony Blair, John McTernan, came



Dr Yousseff El-Gingihy and Dr Yannis Gourtsoyannis discussing the story behind the junior doctors' dispute (above); Janine Booth and Dinah Murray on Marxism and Autism (left).

to debate Momentum steering committee member Jill Mountford on the future of the Labour Party. McTernan outlined the Blairite mantra that "any Labour government is better than the alternative" — a stance which, in his view, justified any level of capitulation to right-wing "common sense".

Mountford countered that breaking out of the big-business consensus in politics and fighting for a workers' government was essential to undoing the abuses of Thatcherism, which Tony Blair largely upheld.

The workshops and debates on Saturday and Sunday took in a range of issues. Professor Danny Dorling spoke on inequality and its impact on public health; Labour "moderate" Luke Akehurst debated Workers' Liberty on Trident renewal; Peter Tatchell spoke on the fight for LGBT recognition in Labour; and we heard historical talks on the Easter Rising, the General Strike, and the revolutionary German Social-Democratic movement — and discussed how all of these events should inform and inspire the work of socialists today.

Activists and academics also took on the question of disability and neurological diversity, with sessions addressed by Disabled People Against Cuts activist Paula

Peters, and a debate on Marxism and Autism. A session on the Iranian Revolution of 1979 was followed by an organising meeting to promote the Shahrokh Zamani Action Committee — a campaign of solidarity with the underground Iranian labour movement. We hosted panel debates on leftwing anti-semitism and the role of religion in leftwing politics.

The event saw several particularly large sessions to debate the way forward for the labour movement and the left: a panel on the future of the Labour Party addressed by activists including Ian Hodson, General Secretary of the Bakers' Union; and a debate on how to reshape the left in the context of the Brexit vote and the wave of racist hatred that swelled in its aftermath.

Socialist politics is about activism and organising: but at the end of the day, it comes down to changing ideas, and creating a layer of activists who are able to act as "permanent persuaders", educators, and keepers of working-class political memory in the broader movement.

**Ideas for Freedom is an attempt to achieve that, through debate, discussion, and education. We look forward to working together in future with all those who attended.**

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# Fight to save libraries spreads

By Dennis Brian

On Wednesday 20th July, library workers in Lewisham took their third strike day to defend our libraries.

In the evening the workers, service users and community activists held a lively lobby of Lewisham council.

The council wants to make £1 million of cuts to the library service. They propose taking staff from four libraries, hoping that local voluntary organisations will take over the running of these libraries. This would leave only three full libraries open in the borough.

The library workers' union, Unison and the local community has mounted a vigorous campaign against these cuts.

There have been regular meetings, including well attended public meetings, and activists have been working with the local Momentum group, Labour Parties and other unions to fight the cuts.

Unison points out that should these cuts go through: professional staff will not be available in the 4 volunteer run libraries, opening times in these libraries will be reduced, if there are not enough volunteers, then libraries will close, library usage and services to the community will be reduced and

vulnerable users won't be able to access library services.

Despite the strike, lobby and campaign, the council rubber-stamped the cuts which had been proposed by the mayor and cabinet.

**However, that is not the end of the struggle and we will continue**

**to fight the implementation of these cuts.**

- Sign the petition: [www.change.org/p/lewisham-council-save-lewisham-libraries](http://www.change.org/p/lewisham-council-save-lewisham-libraries)
- Visit the blog: [savelewishamlibraries.blogspot.co.uk](http://savelewishamlibraries.blogspot.co.uk)

## Campaigners protest Lambeth library closures



Campaigners in Lambeth turned away removal vans from Minet and Waterloo libraries on Saturday 23 July. More info: [bit.ly/2and4vr](http://bit.ly/2and4vr)

# Leeds bus workers win pay deal

By Luke Hardy

This week bus workers at First in Leeds were due to take indefinite strike action. The workers organised by Unite have been in dispute since June over pay.

Despite First owning large swathes of the bus network throughout Britain the pay rates are negotiated locally. The Leeds First workers ended up being paid up to £2 less an hour than some other first drivers in Yorkshire despite the companies £52 million profits and large increases in board members pay, the bus workers were offered only 38p an you spread over 2 years. Which does nothing to address the pay gap.

Unite had four separate days of strike action. Then the company began singling out the union activists. The branch secretary and



two others were suspended from work. Eleven others were disciplined. Unite members fought back and planned indefinite strike action this week.

First have now offered a new pay deal leading to the union suspending the strike pending a ballot on this offer. As *Solidarity* went to press it is unclear what the offer is. The union statement says 13 of the

disciplinary cases against union activists have been resolved "to the union's satisfaction". Only the case of the branch secretary is outstanding and that appeal is due.

**At the recent Unite Policy Conference the union adopted a policy of fighting for public ownership of the bus network. Events at First show why this is needed.**

# Striking cleaners win London living wage

Striking cleaners at offices in the City of London, housing the likes of JP Morgan and Goldman Sachs, have won the London living wage after 44 days on strike.

The workers, members of the United Voices of the World union, have been on indefinite strike since Thames Cleaning sacked half of the cleaners when they started cam-

paigning for the living wage. Workers have decided to carry on the indefinite strike until their sacked colleagues are reinstated.

**Workers are picketing the offices at 100 Wood Street every day and ask for support.**

- Follow their campaign: [www.facebook.com/uvwunion](http://www.facebook.com/uvwunion)



# Unite conference meets

By a delegate

Unite the union held its biannual policy conference from 11 to 16 July.

Does the largest working-class organisation in Britain have the policies and perspectives needed for the next two years of struggle? The answer is, on the whole, no.

Good policy was passed on the casualisation of work, Kurdish solidarity, and the union's relationship with the Labour Party.

However on the key current issue of defending freedom of movement after the EU referendum, Unite failed to take a position. Instead we were promised "an ongoing debate".

Motions on the steel crisis did not call for nationalisation. Instead there were calls for higher tariffs on Chinese steel and government procurement to support British steel. One motion called on the World Trade Organisation to deny "market economy status" for China. Economic protectionism is at odds with a policy to make international working-class links, pitting one "national group" of workers against another. A procurement strategy also depends on the strict use of British labour — it is a policy of British jobs for British workers. Some spoke in opposition to this narrow and nationalistic set of ideas, but the policy passed with only a handful opposing.

The executive council's statement on Trident was a classic fudge. Unite is against nuclear weapons in principle but for keeping Trident until a government is elected that can offer a firm jobs guarantee to all workers employed in the programme. As many speakers pointed out, we need the transition and diversification of jobs now, and we should be fighting for this alongside campaigning against Trident. All the anti-Trident speakers took the jobs issue seriously, but unfortunately the executive motion won by a large margin.

There didn't seem to be any recognition of the failure to use industrial struggle to fight the anti-Trade Union bill before it became law. Now it is law there seems to be more of a plan for a fightback!

This includes co-ordinating industrial action and a "day of action". However there are few signs of preparation for this.

## INTERNATIONAL

**Debates on international issues once again exposed the tenacious hold of Stalinist politics on Unite.**

With the Cuban Ambassador in the hall, conference passed a composite motion "defending progressive Latin America". There was a welcome condemnation of the constitutional coup in Brazil and call for solidarity with Honduran and Mexican workers. But conference also praised the Cuban regime as a "beacon for progressive forces across Latin America", and re-committed to the Stalinist-led Cuba Solidarity Campaign. In practice this means our union supports a regime that suppresses trade unionists and independent socialists. We need genuine solidarity with Cuban workers not Stalinist bureaucrats.

I spoke against the motion on Israel-Palestine which committed Unite (in theory) to the BDS campaign (although this commitment has been ignored by Unite). The campaign, as it was set out, would make it harder to unite with the Israeli left, labour and peace movement.

The high point of the conference was the debate on Labour. There were motions to support Jeremy Corbyn and to campaign for mandatory re-selection in the Labour Party which all easily passed. Corbyn and John McDonnell's speeches were both very warmly received. Both pledged to repeal the Trade Union Act and for further trade union freedoms to reverse Thatcher's laws and Blair's continuation of those laws.

**More than ever we need to build a rank-and-file movement in Unite at workplace and branch level that can fight to make the often good policy passed more than words, and to offer a coherent challenge to the timidity of Unite's industrial strategy and the Stalinism of the union's international politics.**

- More online: [www.workersliberty.org/node/26883](http://www.workersliberty.org/node/26883)

# Keep the guard on the train!

By Gemma Short

The fight against "driver-only operation" on train networks across Britain is continuing to grow, with the RMT now balloting members on Virgin East Coast trains.

The RMT is balloting members to seek assurances on compulsory redundancies and keeping a safety-critical guard on every train as

Virgin has refused to make assurances since it took over running the franchise.

Members of various rail unions plan to protest on Thursday 28 July at a meeting of the MerseyTravel committee over the proposed introduction of driver-only operation on MerseyRail.

**RMT members on Scot-rail struck again on 24 July in their dispute over driver-only operation.**



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## Don't let the Tories make us pay!

By Gemma Short

**In the post-Brexit crisis the Tories will use any opportunity to make workers pay and prove that Britain PLC is a "good place for business".**

Signs are, despite Theresa May's rhetoric of a "government not just for the privileged few", they are looking at a whole raft of anti-worker measures.

The new head of Theresa May's policy board is George Freeman MP, known for saying that people working in new companies should have no employment rights — including maternity pay, paid leave, and the minimum wage. He has also previously suggested that the biggest companies should pay just 10% corporation tax.

Mr Freeman said, in a paper written in June 2013, that both minimum wages and public sector pay should be "regionalised". And

he suggested: "We should exempt new firms for their first three years from employers' national insurance, business rates, corporation tax and employment legislation."

Freeman has boasted that his role will "guide the deep economic and social reforms we need to make."

Already many workers are being made to pay for the Tories' national "living wage", with companies feeling at liberty to cut paid breaks, hours, or other benefits.

88% of new jobs created in the UK in the past three months were for the "self-employed", but in fact this is not a boom in small business owners but a boom in employers circumventing workers' rights. What other "loopholes" will companies try and use to attack workers' rights under the guise of remaining competitive in the post-brexit world?

In her speech on becoming Prime Minister May talked about

curbing corporate greed, and of putting workers in the board rooms of companies. On the collapse of BHS she talked about the retailer having been the "unacceptable face of capitalism". But this isn't just one face of capitalism, this is capitalism. Curbing the worse excesses, or giving an impression of workers having a say, won't change that.

It will be no surprise if, while making it very clear to world capitalism that Britain will bend over backwards to allow bosses to make profit here, the Tories try make us feel like we are all in this together, and we are part of "one nation".

As a labour movement we must



go on the offensive to win back some rights but also for positive demands.

Immediately this must mean breaking the anti-union laws put in place to try and curb effective resistance to any future attacks, and a Labour Party committed to repealing these laws in power.

The resurgence of energy released by the coup attempt in the Labour Party can be harnessed to campaign on a whole range of issues — getting rid of zero-hour contracts, unionisation drives, pay campaigns, fast food rights campaigns.

**We have a whole other vision for how to curb capitalist greed. Our movement will be the front-line defence against the Tories using Brexit to attack workers, but it is also capable of winning offensive struggles for better working conditions and rights generally.**

## Back to 19th-Century working practices

By Dora Polenta

**Many Labour members and supporters are looking forward to working alongside Corbyn to fight the real enemy — the Tories.**

Under the Tories long-forgotten 19th-century odious work practices are making a comeback through unscrupulous bosses. What's happening is at one level is formal laws covering employees — minimum wage and safety laws. But at another, nasty work practices are creeping back.

Under the "sweating system" or "piecework," 19th-century home workers were paid by, for example, each shirt they stitched. The

"pay per-parcel" delivery jobs are just modern "piecework," a new kind of "sweated labour" where phony self-employment pushes people below the minimum wage

In the 19th century many workers had to buy from overpriced "company stores," the practice lasted longer in the US — that's why the miner in the song '16 tons' says: "I owe my soul to the company store". Sports Direct staff had to use overpriced cash cards and terminals from the firm to get their wages — for a fee — a modern "company store." Many retail staff also have to buy clothes each season from their own shop — sometimes without an allowance — another modern company store.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries jobless

people would gather in a pen for possible hiring — notably at the docks but also other factory gates. Zero-hours contracts, with hire-by-day-by-text, wait-by-the-phone-for-work are a modern "pen" for day-hiring at the gate

Under the "travelling-time" trick, 19th century miners only got paid when they got to the coalface, not when they crawled to it through tunnels.

**Under the modern "travelling-time" trick, homecare staff are often not paid for time travelling from care visit to care visit. Many retail staff are not paid for pre-work briefings.**

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