

REBEL WORKER

AN INJURY TO ONE



IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Sydney, Australia

Vol.40 No.3 (232) Dec. 2022 - Jan. 2023

Paper of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Network 50c

New Push For Driver Only Operation of N.I.F. (New Intercity Train Fleet) & Major Step Toward Privatisation of N.S.W. Railways & Acceleration of the Employer Offensive Defeated!



The Rise of the Ultra Right with Ukraine Crisis & War P.2; NSW Railway News P3 & 4; Sydney Buses News P.6; Privatisation of the STA & other Bus Operators P.7; Sydney Ferries News P.8; Victorian Railway News P.8; Britain Today P.10; Debate on Syndicalist Industrial Strategy P.15; Francisco Nobrega Do Quintal 1898-1987 P. 17; News & Notes P.19;

Rebel Worker is the bimonthly Paper of the A.S.N. for the propagation of anarcho-syndicalism in Australia.

Unless otherwise stated, signed Articles do not necessarily represent the position of the A.S.N. As a whole. Any contributions, criticisms, letters or

Comments are welcome.

REBEL WORKER

P.O. Box 92

BROADWAY 2007 NSW

E-mail: Via our web site

www.rebelworker.org

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

AUSTRALIA: \$12 a year

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\$25 (Aus.) by Air

\$20 (Aus.) by Sea mail

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The Rise of the Ultra Right & the Ukraine Crisis & War

The elimination of most of the fascists of the first two years of the breakaway republics does not mean that the latter have been democratized. There have always remained dictatorships where torture, targeted killings against the surviving crumbs of civil society, and fundamentalist Christian policies are systematically practiced. In addition, the separatist leadership destroyed the local economy with a policy of pure looting, not paying wages to workers or handing over the country's assets to big capitalists of the Russian Federation.

The Nazis of the Donbas "Republics"

By *Andrea Ferrario*

The Nazis and right-wing extremists who founded and ran the two Donbas "people's democracies" starting in 2014. Provisional sidelined by the Kremlin after their duties ended, they recently returned to the scene of war. We document

how the legends about the existence of genuine anti-fascism in Donbass is a colossal "hoax", particularly concerned with the figure of the late commander Mozgovoi and his links with the extreme right.

1) The Nazis of the "republics" of Donbass

While Italy always focused exclusively on Ukrainian neo-fascists, the macroscopic problem of Nazi fascism in the "people's democracies" and

The methods of creating the "republics" and the profile of the Nazis who founded them are described in the in-depth investigation published by "Global Crisis", with dozens of links to mainly separatist and Russian sources, in late April, 2014, i.e. almost immediately:

The Black Soul of the "Republic of Donetsk" The article details how the groups at the origin of the two separatist "republics" that were created immediately after the Maidan and the annexation of Crimea were



Russia was systematically ignored. The Italian left, and most of the international one, let themselves pass under their noses without uttering a single shy "ohib=" what was perhaps the biggest Nazi political and military operation in Europe after 1945, the creation in 2014 of the separatists' people's republics' of Donetsk and Lugansk and their military actions, carried out under the auspices of Moscow, to gain control of Donbass.

formed entirely by Nazis, racists, anti-Semites and philo-tsarist right-wing extremists. The most prominent of them were from the Russian Federation and previously had nothing to do with Donbass.

The two main leaders, Igor Girkin "Strelkov" and Aleksandar Boroday, fit exactly this profile, and at least the former, with military experience in

See Page 18

ASN APPEAL

The Anarcho-Syndicalist Network requires suitable cost effective permanent premises. A\$750,000 is urgently sought to buy premises for the proposed Rebel Worker-Anarcho-Syndicalist Network Media Centre.

Please make out Cheques to Black Cat Media & send to P.O. Box 92 Broadway 2007 NSW.

N.S.W. RAILWAY NEWS

Fake NSW Rail EBA 'Breakthrough'

Some of the most important news in the NSW Railways was the 'smoke and mirrors' performance by Alex Claassens NSW RTBU Secretary and NSW Liberal Premier Dominic Perrottet, associated with the alleged 'break through' in the NSW Rail EBA negotiations. It was connected with the so called 'sudden and last minute' clinching of the Top Secret N.I.F. (New Intercity Train Fleet) Deed and bogus renovations on N.I.F. trains to maintain the role of the guard in safe

DEFEAT OF NEW D.O.O. PUSH WITH N.I.F., NO RENOS & BOGUS BREAK THROUGH IN NSW RAIL EBA NEGOTIATIONS

There has been brazen dis-information spread by an important section of the corporate media the Sydney Morning Herald with a circulation of over a million readers, see article SMH 8/12/22 page 15 "Years late new trains finally start rolling" concerning the introduction of the N.I.F. (New Intercity Train Fleet) and talk of bogus renovations on it. Some significant points regarding the article: its located way back in the paper, rather than on front page or near front to crow about the so called victory. Also no similar report in the Telegraph on 8/12/22 or subsequently, although the Telegraph has had two recent hysterical and vicious front page spreads about it and related issues. The Australian has also been quiet on the issue and other Corporate Media outlets. The SMH article is really a facing saving measure to help Perrottet in up coming NSW elections and sugar coat cover the defeat and retreat of the Government, the the rail bosses and the union hierarchy in putting the NIF into service around late Nov. and early Dec.

working. We put the spotlight on this dirty con of the grass roots on the job, commuters and the public in NSW exposing its duplicitous aspects and role in facilitating D.O.O. (Driver Only Operation), major job losses and opening the flood gates to privatisation. Sparks has been doing effective work in assisting grass roots activists to expose and fight the above con and attacks. There are many questions about the new Rail EBA with likely major nasties. An important priority is legal eagles assessment of the full EBA and Deed Documents with adequate time for this assessment and consideration by members and

It would also be about helping Claassens a bit in the likely rigged again RTBU 2022 elections.

Timing of the so called 'Break Through' in Rail EBA Negotiations

The timing of the so called break through re NSW Rail RTBU EBA (Enterprise Bargain Agreement) negotiations and in particular the sudden clinching of the 'N.I.F. Deed' is connected with a number related issues. It occurred during the middle of the RTBU 2022 elections, so Claassens Team could take electoral advantage of it and tiredness of Members First team members and supporters, the opposition team in the elections. Meanwhile if we look at previous pushes to deploy the non-renovated N.I.F. trains - its was around this time of late Nov.-early Dec. However quick work by Sparks with the rapid issuing of a special Sparks Bulletin Dec. 2022 (See reproduced in this edition.) stirred up the grass roots about the bogus N.I.F. Deed, fake NIF renovations and lack of grass roots ratification of the Deed. As a result the RTBU officials and Rail management backed off the N.I.F. introduction on services.

The Bogus 'N.I.F. Interim Model' & the Deed

the holding of stop work mass meetings to debate and ratify them. Given the threat of ballot rigging and rail roading by the union officials, Rail Bosses and the Corporate Media. Other important news is the continuing saga of the RTBU 2022 union elections and the extreme likelihood of ballot rigging to get Claassens and his team back into office as ring masters of a new vicious EBA circus. Highlighting again that the electoral road is closed and the importance of establishing grass roots committees on the job and coordinating committees on the regional level to run industrial campaigns.

SAFETY MODIFICATIONS

Years late, new trains finally to start rolling

Matt O'Sullivan
Transport and infrastructure editor

The first of NSW's new intercity trains will be introduced into service, years later than originally planned due to a long-running dispute with the main rail union over modifications to the multibillion-dollar fleet.

Transport Minister David Elliott confirmed yesterday that the first of the Korean-built intercity trains, which have been mothballed on the Central Coast, were about to enter passenger service.

"Commuters have been waiting way too long and I'm very confident that in a very short space of time the premier and I are going to be putting on the Fat Controller's hat," he said.

Confirmation that the first of the new trains will soon enter service comes almost a fortnight after the government reached a breakthrough with rail unions by agreeing to sign a deed to modify the fleet.

While the government has insisted the new intercity trains already meet safety standards, the Rail, Tram and Bus Union claims they will pose risks unless the changes are made to surveillance cameras and doors.

Elliott said the modifications would cost about \$300 million, which is considerably less than some government estimates aired during the protracted dispute of about \$1 billion.

"We have saved a significant amount of money by making sure this agreement goes through and having these modifications done," he said.

However, the modifications will still increase the total cost of the fleet to \$3.2 billion.

The intercity trains were first slated to begin carrying passengers from Sydney to the Central Coast and Newcastle by late 2019, followed by the Blue Mountains in mid-2020 and the Illawarra last year.

Labor transport spokeswoman Haylen said it was good the new trains were about to finally enter service but they were originally meant to be on the tracks in 2019.

Back on track

- The new Korean-built fleet comprises 610 carriages which will form passenger train sets of various lengths.
- Unlike the reversible seats on the existing intercity fleet, the new trains have two-by-two fixed seats in the double-deck carriages.
- The trains will run on lines from Sydney to the Central Coast and Newcastle, the Blue Mountains and the South Coast.
- The government estimates the cost of safety modifications to the trains at about \$300 million, which will increase the total outlay for the fleet to \$3.2 billion.

trains were stuck in sheds, not carrying passengers and costing taxpayers up to \$80 million a month," she said.

The introduction of the trains comes as the government is about to put out to tender a \$568 million upgrade of the Opal ticketing system, which will involve a replacement of electronic readers and back-office billing.

The Opal system was rolled out over several years from 2012, ending paper tickets. It has 25,000 payment terminals and has clocked up 4.5 billion tap-ons by commuters since it was introduced. In a sign of changes in commuter behaviour, 40 per cent of trips by adults are now paid for using credit or debit cards.

Elliott, who is retiring at the state election in March, said the upgrade would allow other forms of transport such as ride-share to be paid for using the Opal system.

He declined to give a timeframe for when the upgrade would be completed but noted it had taken about 18 months for the original Opal system to be rolled out.

Transport for NSW executive director Kurt Brissett said the upgrade would improve the ability to

The article refers to the RTBU officials concerned about non-renovated N.I.F. trains being put into service. However in reality per leaks from WSWs about the Deed - they agreed to a so called 'interim model' without the renos which was raised in the flyer/bulletin. Another leak from WSWs raised in the Bulletin was that N.I.F. Guards and other workers only had jobs for 4 years re the N.I.F. when the so called 'interim model' would presumably cease. Really meaning there are no renovations on the N.I.F. intended! The SMH article talks about the fantasy of \$300 million being spent on the renovations. In reality that's just spin doctoring and a smoke screen. It seems logical that this so called 'interim' model lasts for 4 years which is also D.O.O. (Driver Only Operation) with the guard in a non-functioning compartment on N.I.F. Trains and so not performing a role in safe working. They are also sitting ducks for the sack as they lose their industrial muscle. Then its all 'unvarnished' D.O.O.! So no need for the N.I.F. renovations and millions of dollars in Govt. expenditure! With the notorious MOU (Memorandum Of Understanding) on D.O.O. For the N.I.F. back in early 2017, there was a plan then discussed in the media for guards on the NIF to 'transition to customer service/first aid'. Similarly to the Deed's 'Interim Model', with the guards also losing their industrial muscle - so could work out at 4 years before the sack like with

the Deed.

While information about the bogus N.I.F. Deed was obviously provided to inter-urban train crew RTBU members, a full copy of the N.I.F. Deed must be put on the RTBU web site for all NSW rail RTBU members to view. Four weeks must be provided for NSW Rail RTBU member train crews to consider the Deed and assessment by an industrial lawyer prior to ratification involving debate and voting at a stop work mass meeting. The SMH article says nothing about grass roots ratification of the Deed.

In reality the union officials will definitely avoid at all costs putting the full Deed on the RTBU web site or other publicly accessible website- as its aspects and ramifications are too explosive for them, the NSW Government and the Rail bosses. Particularly if assessed by an industrial lawyer or such. So the union officials can always deny leaks about the Deed or amend information details. Some what similar to the MOU re D.O.O. On the N.I.F. back in early 2017 which the RTBU officials refused to put on the RTBU web site and was only uncovered years later and placed on the Sparks web site.

Per the 'Facilitation Clause' in RTBU EBA 2014 and subsequent EBA's, once D.O.O. is implemented on the N.I.F. needless to say it will be 'facilitated' by Claassens to other trains such as the Tangaras, Waratahs and Millenniums. With the generalisation

of D.O.O. on different train types, the flood gates will be opened to privatisation and massive job losses as major expenses of private operators will be cut.

Interestingly Claassens early in the year was talking in the media about awaiting the break through in EBA negotiations re putting the N.I.F. in operation in 2 months or so. Seeming quite ridiculous as the renos would involve major rebuilding of the trains taking much more time. However, behind the scenes there was this Deed - which provided the okay for the bogus 'interim model'. So not the renovated trains.

Finally in the SMH article there is no mention when the new trains exactly would be introduced. It gives the impression to readers of being "renovated" trains which will "start rolling". In reality - it was obviously all planned to put the N.I.F. non-renovated into service, shortly after the alleged 'sudden break through in EBA negotiations' and so called clinching the deed. But the Government, management and the union hierarchy were out manoeuvred. It needs this period around holiday period for the N.I.F. to be put into service like in previous years. According to the leak from WSWs - it would be these non-renovated trains - as part of this "interim operating model" put in service.

CLAASSENS DEED WITH PERROTTET: SELLOUT ON EBA (Enterprise Bargain Agreement), DOO (Driver Only Operation) on NIF (New Intercity Train Fleet) & PRIVATISATION! LET'S SEE THE DEED!

**SPARKS BULLETIN
DEC. 2022
www.sparksweb.org**

There is an urgent need for RTBU (Rail Tram & Bus Union) members in the NSW Railways and in particular train crews to be provided access to a full copy of the deed regarding renovations on the NIF, with adequate time for consideration of the document and assessment by an industrial lawyer and ratification by voting. New

information has been leaked about some serious and completely unacceptable nasties in the deed. What are the other nasties?

Some news in WSWs(World Socialist Website) report 28/11/22:

1. According to the union, the new fleet will be pressed into service even before the alterations are made, under an 'interim operating model' requiring two guards on each train. Hypocritically Claassens has stated in the media on numerous occasions that the NIF are unsafe to operate without the renos!

2. The agreement has only guaranteed the positions of guards and other workers on the NIF for four years.

3. Other information received is bribery of guards with \$14,000 for sitting in the non-functioning guards' compartment on non-renovated NIF trains. Approved by management and the RTBU officials. Again shows the hypocrisy of Claassens and other RTBU officials regarding the above safety concerns with the NIF.

Will workers voting for the new EBA (Enterprise Bargain Agreement)

amount to approving the deed? Has Claassens agreed for the deed not to be ratified by members voting? Similar to the 'top secret' MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) on D.O.O. on NIF back in early 2017. If we can't get the deed now it will be buried like the MOU! Are there conditions in the deed which are illegal? In the deed is there agreement to privatisation by RTBU Sec. Claassens? This deed is totally linked to the EBA and fake pay rises according to media reports. So called wage rises as part of the Rail EBA to be 'Arbitrated' by the Bosses Un-Fair Work Court are likely to be way below rates of current inflation. Are there further wage cut backs associated with the 'fine print' of clauses? Are there aspects of privatisation such as outsourcing of jobs? Is your pay further cut by legislated increases in Superannuation payments? Is this deed in breach of union rules?

Is the sudden alleged 'break through' in the rail EBA negotiations connected with camouflage for the rigging of RTBU elections 2022 to get Claassens and his team back in as ring masters of this vicious rail EBA circus? (See "RTBU Elections 2018: Were they rigged?" Page 5, Sparks No.161 Dec. 2018 Jan. 2019 www.sparksweb.org) Will this deed be an issue for ICAC (Independent Commission Against Corruption) - bribery and inducement of a union official to sign the deed?

DEMANDS:

1. A copy of the full deed document be placed on the RTBU web site for all

LETTER

RTBU Elections 2022 Will They be Rigged Again?

Dear RW

In regard to the RTBU Elections 2022, the AEC (Australian Electoral

members to view.

2. Four weeks are allowed for RTBU train crew members to consider the deed before a stop work mass meeting is held to debate and vote to ratify the deed.

3. Four weeks are allowed for RTBU members in NSW railways affected to consider the full rail EBA docs and a stop work mass meeting is held to debate and vote on it.

<https://www.smh.com.au> 25/11/22

<https://www.abc.net.au> 25/11/22 rail-chaos-set-end-after... NSW government, rail union sign a deal paving way for end to ...

25/11/22 The Transport Minister David Elliott says the agreement reached with the union is a win for Sydney commuters. (ABC News).

Rail strikes to end as NSW govt makes deal - Yahoo Finance

25/11/22 The NSW government has finally carved out a deal with the rail



NSW Transport Minister David Elliott said the government and rail union had reached a breakthrough on Friday afternoon

union to ... Minister Damien Tudehope and Transport Minister David Elliott.

Commission) has admitted Ballots not being sent to numerous people. Grass roots activists asked the AEC that since the voting closes on 12/12/2022, how will those that missed out vote. The AEC stated that ballots will be sent out by 15/12/2022 and returned by mid January 2023 and this will include a second count. How could there be a second count? Things are being stacked up to ensure Claassens re-election!

Angry Sydney Trains Worker

Editorial Comment:

Such so called 'mistakes' by the AEC has been a noted in numerous RTBU Elections over the years run by the AEC such as RTBU Elections in 2014, 2018 and on numerous other occasions. See Sparks No.151 Mar. - April 2015 Union Elections Report page 3 and See Sparks No.161 Dec.2018 - Jan. 2019 "RTBU Elections: Were They Rigged?" page 5 on www.sparksweb.org

SYDNEY BUSES NEWS

Leichhardt Depot News

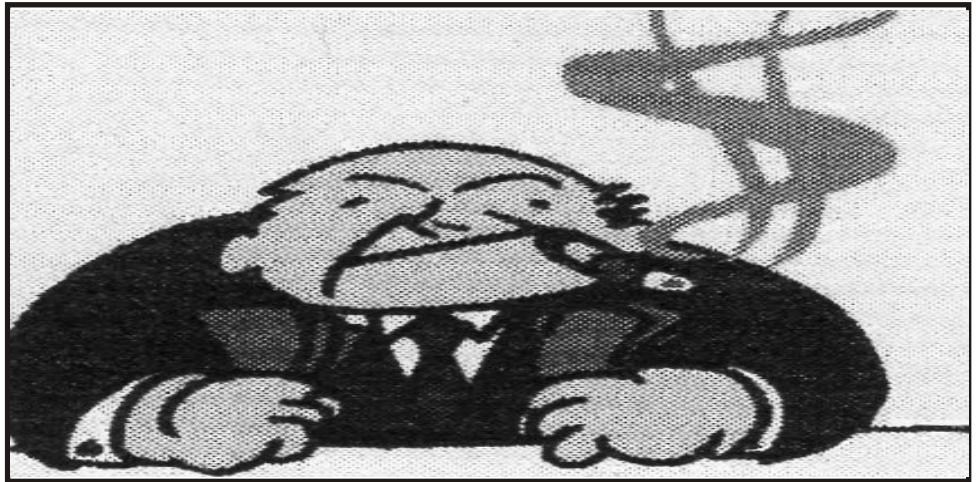
RW: What are your impressions of the situation at the depot?

Leichhardt Driver1: In late November the situation had become quite dire at the depot for us. We were 60 drivers short which would mean 300 trips cut per day. However management has not made any public announcements to alert commuters about the cutbacks. Compulsory DOC's (Days Off Cancelled) were being imposed on us and work on other rosters. You are working half of your normal roster and the other half on another. So the bosses can patch up the short staffing of rosters to some extent. A dispute is developing with the local union over this issue. The bosses are cutting runs, left, right and centre. Due to the harshness of conditions for new drivers, they often only last only a fortnight to a month on the job. They are being told by the bosses to join the TWU. Meanwhile many ex-STA drivers who are RTBU members can't cope with the job now and are resigning. They are not being replaced. Soon there will be parity between ex-STA RTBU member drivers and the new drivers who are TWU members. Our RTBU rep Tom was in hospital having an operation and so he couldn't do anything to help us tackle the crisis. Other news is that management has been short cutting runs such as the 440 to Bondi Junction being terminated at Central and cutting off peak runs on routes to cope with the short fall of drivers at the depot.

RW: What's the latest at the depot

Leichhardt Driver2: The most important news as of late November was union elections being held. So far we have not heard the results. While there was a vote on the union officials' 'Two Tier' EBA (Enterprise Bargain Agreement) proposal (Ed. The Two Tier EBA deal would lead to massive wage cuts as only 2.5% pa rises offered way below current over 8% pa and soaring inflation. The cumulative

wages cuts over 3 years look to approach levels of the 1930's depression years where two 10% wage cuts occurred. Other conditions cuts are also included in the deal.) which they have secured with Transit Systems management. There was massive opposition to the proposed agreement at the depot. Only 8 at the depot have voted for the deal. It should be considered illegal. As the deal reduces our conditions and so disadvantages us. Why aren't the union officials waiting until next year for presenting and voting on the deal? Other news is that trips on the timetables have been



reduced due to a continuing shortage of drivers at the depot. With the 19th December timetable changes, the bosses will seize the opportunity to cut out more runs. As of mid Dec. the roster problems at the depot are worse than ever.

RW: What are the latest developments?

Leichhardt Driver3: For several weeks now in November a massive blue has erupted at the depot between the local union and management. It focuses on issues of who gets seniority on rosters, DOC's and other issues.

RW: What are your impressions of the situation at the depot?

Leichhardt Driver 4: The morale here is terrible. Depot management can't keep drivers as the conditions and treatment are appalling. Services are cut without notice constantly because of under

staffing. The TWU rep at the depot doesn't seem to turn up to anything.

Burwood Depot News

RW: What are latest developments at the depot?

Burwood Driver: As of late November there continues to be confusion over the rumour that the RTBU is going to merge with the TWU (Transport Workers Union). However management is definitely intimidated new drivers to join the TWU, so as to divide and weaken us industrially. However most of the new drivers do last long on the job due to harsh conditions and we continue to face a shortage of drivers. We are all having compulsory DOC's (Day Off

Cancelled).

Tempe Depot News

RW: What are your impressions of the current situation?

Tempe Driver: As of late November we are continuing to be hit by a shortage of drivers. Management still can't get enough of them. From 19th December the new timetable focusing on the Xmas and holiday period is being introduced which will see further cut backs to services. We are particularly angry with the union officials in regard to the 'Two Tier' EBA (Enterprise Bargain Agreement) campaign. They are dragging the campaign out into next year given grass roots dis-satisfaction with the below inflation so called pay rise on offer.

Privatisation of State Transit & Other Bus Operators

In this issue of RW the Victorian Team plus some NSW Bus Drivers will discuss Bus Privatisation of State Transit and other operators. Once again names have been changed.

RW: What Government and Municipal Operators remain in Australia?

Clyde: We will commence with Western Australia. The Operator is TRANS WA which operate the former Western Australian Railways bus routes to Geraldton, Albany, Meekatharra, Busselton, Esperance. When Westrail was privatised in 1999, the Buses remain Government owned.

RW: What was the situation in Kalgoorlie?

Clyde: In Kalgoorlie the Government operator was GOLDEN LINES. This was the trading name of the Eastern Goldfields Transport Board which was established in 1962. A few years ago the Western Australia Government decided to tender the route services in Kalgoorlie. Golden Lines lost the tender but remained in business as a Charter Operator as they had mining and school bus services. Golden Lines was absorbed by TRRNA who now operate the charter service.

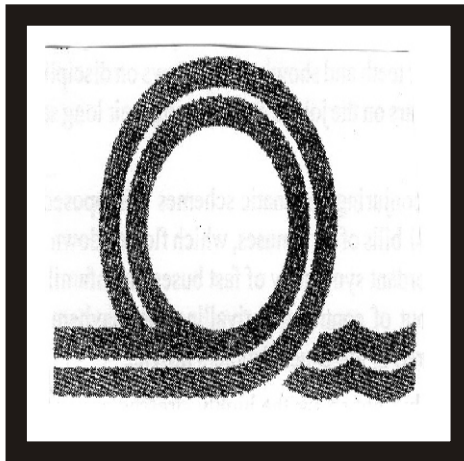
Rastus: In Victoria buses were fully privatised in 1998. South Australian Government and Municipal buses were privatised in 2000. Northern Territory Darwin around 2012.

Bruce: In Tasmania METROBUS operate services in Hobart, Launceston and Burnie. The company is 100% Government owned. Recently a Canadian company named KINETIC has acquired the bus company who operates provincial services in Tasmania. This company also operates buses in Victoria and Queensland.

Archie: In Queensland the Brisbane City Council operate most of the Bus Services in Brisbane. The Council has operated transport in Brisbane since 1925. The Council of Rockhampton privatised their bus services in the 1990's.

Roscoe: In Sydney the Askin Government wanted to contract some bus routes to Private Operators over a

dispute regarding the use of Leylands Atlantean Double Deckers as one man buses. (In 1971 this was the term used. The first women bus drivers were recruited in 1972.) Scab labour was used during the dispute and the scabs operated these buses with police escorts. This dispute will be discussed in a future issue of Sparks. In 1975 a further attempt was made to contract some bus routes in the Kogarah district. Clyde: One of the reasons this tendering did not happen was that there had been a change of government. Since 1941 Pensioners received half fare concessions and if these routes were handed over to Private Operators, pensioners would have lost this concession.



Bruce: This would have been put in the too hard basket. This issue raised its head in Victoria from 1968 and when the trams operated by the SEC were replaced by private buses, the SEC had to subsidise the Pensioner fares for these years.

Allen: Once the private bus operations started to honour State Transit style fares State Transit's future was under a cloud.

Clyde: Once the LNP Govt. was elected in NSW the future of State Transit raised its ugly head. In 2012 the ferry operations were put up for tender. It was planned under a Labor Government.

Bruce: During the second term of the LNP Government Newcastle Buses and Ferries were privatised as well as

Sydney's Region 6. It was not an even playing field as State Transit was not allowed to submit a tender.

Rastus: These issues have been discussed in previous issues of Sparks and in April 2022 State Transit ceased to exist as a route operator.

RW: What were the travel conditions of State Transit employees?

Clyde: In the 1950's the travel conditions of employees working in Government Buses were:

(1) Free Travel to and from work.
(2) During annual leave the employee and his family received a Holiday Pass which the employee was entitled to use around NSW.

(3) An interstate travel pass.
These travel conditions were introduced in the 1880's when the NSW Railways ran the trams.

Bruce: If you complete 30 years service, you receive a Gold Pass which gives you free travel for life.

Rastus: In Victoria Tramway workers obtained the Railway Benefits in 1930, due to the ETU refusing to restore power to the Tram Network at the end of the OPO dispute.

RW: We will investigate the current situation in NSW as regards the Gold Pass.

Bruce: Due to the high living costs in inner Sydney a large number of State Transit workers commute long distances to work. They travel as far as Campbelltown, Wyong and Katoomba.

Rastus: Employees in Victoria are watching developments in NSW towards the NSW Government proposing the removal of the Home and Duty Opal Card. The opinion of drivers is Unions NSW should be co-ordinating industrial action around this benefit.

Bruce: If the benefit is withdrawn the various transport unions should implement a free travel agreement for these bus workers who travel long distances to work. In Victoria an inter-union transport agreement for employee travel was used from 1985 to 1990 and it was a success. Now all railway, tramway and private bus

drivers who work route service and V/Line bus contracts enjoy free travel around Victoria.

Clyde: As of November State Transit is still in existence with a skeleton staff working for Transport for NSW. We do not know how many State Transit

employees have lost their jobs. Eventually a Bill will be presented to Parliament to wind up State Transit.

RW: Once again we have run out of space. It is good to see interest at what happened to State Transit.

Rastus and Roscoe: In having the final

say State Transit was destroyed due to Government ideology. It is the destruction of a State Asset. We, Victorian employees call on Unions NSW to take the lead for returning the Home and Duty Opal Card.

SYDNEY FERRIES NEWS

The new owner following privatisation of Sydney Ferries is Transdev. The NSW Govt. has admitted there are continuing serious issues affecting the operations of all the foreign built ferries operated by Transdev i.e. the Chinese built River Cats used on services along the Parramatta River and the Indonesian built Emerald Class ferries used on cross harbour services due to faulty manufacture.

A major factor contributing to these problems was the lack of ferry workers or bureaucratic union officials involvement in the design of these ferries. The decisions regarding design and requirements were all made by Transport bureaucrats and the NSW Liberal Govt. which lack technical and operational knowledge. Both the River Cats and the Emerald Class ferries used on the cross harbour services to Manly have chronic design faults. Shoddy welding and asbestos has been detected in the Emerald Class. On 26 September 2022, all Generation 2 Emerald class ferries were removed from service after a near miss with the cruise ship Coral Princess, due to a steering fault. These Ferries were placed in the workshops

for testing by technicians. Meanwhile two River Cats have had minor collisions around this time on Manly to Parramatta services. As a result of these problems with the Emerald Class the old Queenscliff Freshwater class



ferry has been put back into service. Interestingly the Freshwater class ferries can cope with up to 5.5 metre swells, while the Emerald Class can only cope with 4.5 metre swells. To not show up this inadequacy of the Emerald Class in comparison to the Freshwater Class, Transdev and Transport for NSW bosses have decided that the Queenscliff is only

allowed to operate with up to a maximum of 4.5 meter swells in the harbour.

STOP PRESS:

19/11/22 Second generation Emerald Class Manly Ferry "Fairlight" suffered a steering failure near the entrance to Sydney Harbour less than two months from when Transdev withdrew the Rivercat and two sister ferries from service after similar incidents. It had just been cleared to continue services after almost two months out of operation. It had a another steering failure in September.

According to the SMH 5/12/22 one of the new Emerald Class Manly ferries Fairlight remains in the Balmain shipyards until steering defects are resolved following a steering failure at the entrance to Sydney Harbour in mid November. The overall number of steering failures affecting the Fairlight is now eight. Other ferries of this Class with these failures are the Balmoral with three and the Clontarf with one.

VICTORIAN RAILWAY NEWS

In this issue of RW, Drivers, Conductors and Station Staff will discuss current issues at V/Line. As in previous issues of RW names have been changed.

RW: What is the current situation at V/Line in regard to N sets?

Moose: N sets are to be phased out over

the next four years. The Standard Gauge N sets have been withdrawn having been replaced by Velocity Trains with buffet facilities. These N sets have been placed in storage with a few carriages transferred back to Broad Gauge.

Archie: With regards to the Broad Gauge extra Velocity sets are being

ordered which will replace N sets on Warrnambool, Bairnsdale, Shepparton with Swan Hill being the last service to use N sets.

RW: What about catering services?

Ichabod: With the exception of Swan Hill all Broad Gauge catering operations are to be phased out.

Clarence: One of the managers wrote a

submission to the V/Line General Manager to abolish broad gauge catering.

Ichabod: It is rumoured that V/Line management do not want buffet services on Broad Gauge trains because they would have to have two carriage rosters for the Broad Gauge Velocity Trains.

Forsyth: V/Line claims the rosters would at times of disruption have buffet Velocity drivers operating on the wrong trains. Management claims it would be uneconomical to have trains with buffet modules on commuter trains.

Archie: For the last forty years N sets were operated on Commuter Trains with no Buffet service.

Ichabod: The empty buffet modules in these N sets were charged towards the Catering Division. This added to catering losses. This added to catering losses.

Forsyth: The Catering Division suffered during the COVID crisis when no catering services were operated. When catering was resumed takings were reduced. The service has not recovered.

Moose: V/Line management haven't the power of positive thinking. They could build these broad gauge Velocities with Buffet facilities and create a separate carriage roster. One way is to stable the Velocity trains with Buffet facilities in a separate location away from the other Velocity trains keeping these trains on an intercity roster.

Ichabod: It could be done but siding space has to be planned for these broad gauge Velocities with buffets but V/Line wants to take the easy way out. In other words no buffets.

Sparks: What about the H sets?

Rastus and Roscoe: A few H sets have been overhauled for Geelong, Seymour and Bacchus Marsh commuter services.

RW: What about the N class locomotives?

Rastus: Currently 25 N class locomotives are used for these services. The rumour is ten of these locomotives are to be leased to various freight operators such as CUBE, Southern Short Haul and other freight companies.

RW: What are issues of conductors

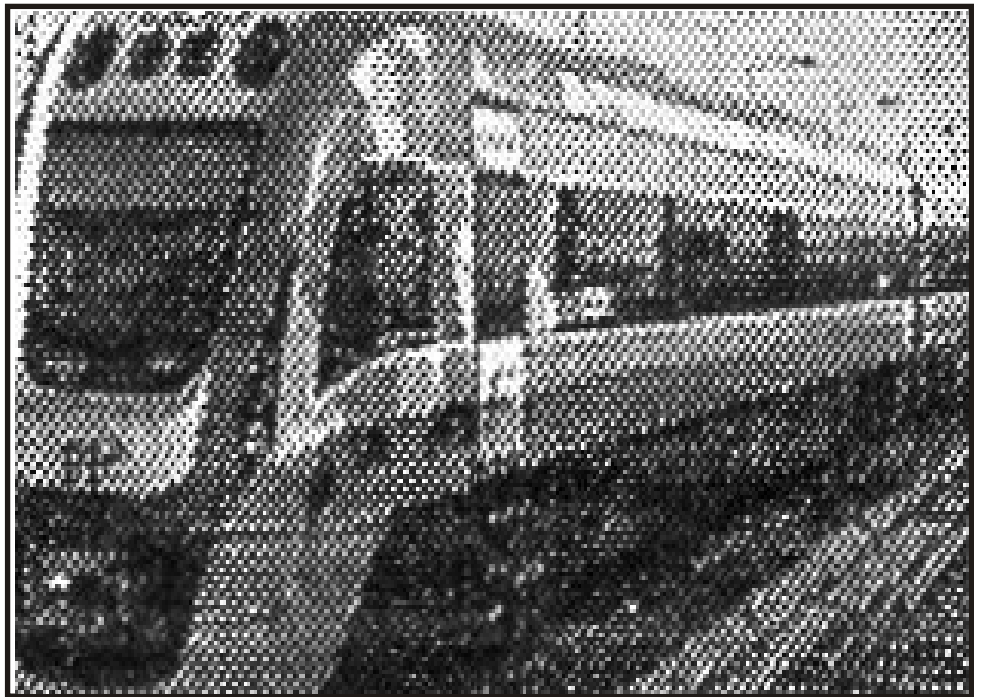
and station cleaning?

Finbar: V/Line has gone to the Government to obtain permission to employ Platform Staff at country locations. If this submission is knocked back then one manager suggested using conductors to do station duties during conductors standby time.

Clarence: The proposal is to ask the conductors to work overtime for the cleaning duties.

Archie: To do these cleaning duties protective clothing will have to be supplied and training would have to be provided. Cleaning of stations is not a conductor's duty.

Jethro: Some conductors would jump at the overtime but further down the line these duties would be placed on conductors' rosters.



Clarence: The union is opposed to these proposals so the message to conductors is not to work the overtime.

Rastus and Roscoe: We drivers are watching this dispute as we wonder if cleaning duties could be found for drivers. In the United Kingdom there was a train operating company called Heathrow Express. This company was operating trains between Paddington and Heathrow Airport. These trains were DOO (Driver Only Operation) operated and the drivers on standby time had to clean trains. These cleaning duties were mentioned in Modern Railways in 1999.

Clarence: We wonder if V/Line will

try and make drivers clean these times whilst in the yards.

Jethro: Knowing V/Line some manager will bring up this idea.

RW: What is the rumour V/Line employees are of 'dobbing in' fellow employees.

Rastus: It has reared its ugly head over the last twelve months.

Sheona: Some employees are dobbing in their workmates over trivial issues.

Roscoe: It has been happening to drivers as well. It has been reported in previous editions of Sparks.

Isobel: Sadly some employees think that by 'dobbing in' their work mates they will get a promotion.

Rastus: These employees will not get promoted. They do not realise they are

being used by Management.

RW: Once again we have run out of space. V/Line should fit a Broad Gauge Velocity with a Buffet Module and run the unit as a trial. Abolishing buffets on broad gauge is a retrograde step. V/Line are taking the easy way out.

Rastus and Roscoe: In having the final say using conductors to perform cleaning duties is a form of cheap labour. As for employees who 'Dob in' their work mates we have one word for you. Get out of the industry.

BRITAIN TODAY

Hull Bus Workers

13/11/22 250 Hull bus workers including drivers, cleaners, engineers and customer assistants also finished a five week strike which began on October 7th pending a pay deal from their employers Stagecoach. The pay demand was for 13 pounds an hour, compared to the 1.14 pounds some workers were earning.

Stagecoach profits rose from £48.1 million to £72.7 million to April this year with reported revenues of 1.2 billion pounds. The company was bought 595 million pounds takeover in June by the global finance company DWS Infrastructure. While these enormous profits re being accrued, bus workers suffered a pay freeze.

Stagecoach attempted to break the strike hiring agency staff and by using management and drivers from other areas. Unite, the union representing the bus workers, has done little about this strike breaking operation. 600 bus workers at Arriva Kent recently won a 13.92 percent increase after six days of determined strike action after rejecting below inflation deals agreed on by Unite in London at Go-Ahead-10.5% and Arriva London North- 11.1%. Hull bus workers need to take a similarly determined stand. Thanks to ACG

Interview: Transport for London worker and RMT (Rail Union) rep . On recent rail strikes 27th Oct. 2022

We are seeing an increase in strike action in the UK, which is a good thing, but we don't know much about the experiences and views of workers who are involved in them. We rely on the official statements of the trade union press officers, which doesn't help us to answer the main questions when it comes to strikes: are the strikes actually effective, do they hurt the bosses? Do workers overcome divisions between different contracts, departments, professional groups or

sectors? Do workers themselves learn how to conduct their own struggles and decide about form and goals?

The following interview with a comrade who works at Transport for London is a small step towards a more general debate between striking workers. We have to create independent forums to lead the debate, independent from political parties or trade union headquarters who have their separate interests when it comes to the strikes and mainly see them as recruitment grounds. If you feel the same, get in touch. If you want to talk about your strike experiences, get in touch. You can read a previous interview with the comrade about the situation during

example, was there more communication between workers from the different rail sectors?

The experience of the strike wasn't really different for us on London Underground. The strikes are still organised separately within the RMT. The disputes aren't really coordinated by the RMT, they are more coordinated by the government. The government decides which of these different departments of the railway industry are under attack and the union reacts. We only really had two days of coordinated strike action where the London Underground and the National Rail have been on strike at the same time. That was a conscious decision to call everyone out on the same days. So are we, as workers, coordinating our disputes? Not really. The two days that were coordinated were called by the head office of the RMT. We don't seem to have much



the Covid pandemic here. For a good general overview of the current crisis in global transport, check this out.

The current rail strikes

The recent strikes have been declared the biggest rail dispute in a generation, with 50,000 workers from rail services to track maintenance to Transport for London. Was there a different quality to that strike, for

influence over how many days or dates of the strikes.

It seems odd to me what we are actually doing at the moment, because we don't seem to have any tactic to win. How do we win this dispute? People want to see a tactic. There just seems to be an acceptance that this dispute will drag on for years. People just get fatigued if you drag it out, without actually escalating. The CWU just announced

28 different strike actions over a month. Why don't we do something like that? That is a tactic to force some sort of concession from the company. You couldn't have a government that is in a weaker position really. Do they really want a prolonged, two week-long strike action on the railways? Do they want that on their case? Maybe they do, I don't know. They would have a public enemy then, but then, public support still seems with us. And the government couldn't be more unpopular. If you target your strike action against the government, then there is a lot of piece meal strike action in the country, but not much coordination.

Did you get in touch with any striking dockers, through the RMT?

No, I don't know what happened to the Felixstowe dispute, for example.

Within the rail sector, is there coordination about the issues of the strikes? I mean, when it comes to Transport for London it is about pensions, with rail maintenance it is about introduction of new work practices, and with National Rail it is about ticket offices. Is there something like a common list of demands, in the sense that the Transport for London workers would support the demands of the rail maintenance workers and potentially continue the industrial dispute in their support?

In an ideal world we would love to come out in support of the rail workers, but it's not going to happen. Even inside of London Underground, although it's a pension dispute, it's also a dispute about staffing on the stations, because they want to cut station staff by 600 jobs. Station staff took one day of action, on their own. That was in August I think. Since then we didn't have more station staff going out specifically over this issue. From the train drivers side within London Underground, no one seems to be too interested in solidarity with the station staff. People focus on the pension aspect of people like that, because it affects the whole workforce. ASLEF, the other main union, on the other hand haven't come out on strike at all, and are actively trying to undermine the dispute by crossing picket lines. So there are divisions amongst workers even about that issue. So it is hard to get solidarity even just within London

Underground. So a solidarity strike across the whole rail industry hasn't really been discussed.

With the pension dispute, management has put forward a document to the government saying that implementing the changes to the pension system itself would cost more than you would save from the new pension system. The government said to TFL, you have to make 100 million pounds of 'savings' from the pension scheme a year. The pensions were reevaluated in 2020 and the company reduced their contribution to it, saving 70 million. The fact that management now tells the government that further changes would

pounds a year. That is for outsourced cleaners, there are 2,000 of them. We tried to get a strike vote on this over the line before Covid, but it failed by a margin.

Another question I asked one of the ASLEF guys was about freight services and why they are not engaged in the industrial action. You could hit the economy more, couldn't you?

The Network Rail dispute, the signallers, is nationwide, that should be affecting freight, as well. But then freight drivers would probably be in ASLEF. ASLEF are only involved in seven, eight train companies. I don't know if the other companies have all



not save further money is also a consequence of our strikes. In 2020 management and Sadiq Khan still agreed to changes, since then we had a few strikes. But we don't know if the government will listen to that.

What about the dispute for London Underground cleaners, the campaign for an hourly wage of 15 pounds? Was that taken on as part of the current strikes or does it remain separate? There was a cleaners' strike at Churchill a while ago, but in the current strikes, were the cleaners involved?

No, not really. Sadiq Khan announced some weeks ago that all cleaners who are working on the Underground will get a free travel pass from April next year. That is something that we have been campaigning for years. That is a pretty big victory for them, that could save some of them several hundred

agreed pay rises, at least that's what I have heard. ASLEF also called strikes on different days from the RMT, at least during the first three days. There should be more coordination, really. This is sectionalism at its worst.

The dispute over night-tube trains

At Transport for London we were in fact in two disputes, one about the night-tube issue, because the company was trying to force us to work night-tube shifts. Previously we had part-time drivers who would work Friday and Saturday nights. With Covid the night tube closed down. As Covid is easing they wanted to bring that back in. During that period they had made most of the former part-time drivers full-time on normal shifts and therefore had no staff to cover Friday and Saturday nights. They came to ASLEF and the

RMT and said, “we’d like to bring Friday and Saturday night into the normal full-time roster”, as part of your regular working roster. ASLEF met with management separate from the RMT and agreed to this deal. They announced it as a great deal, with a little overtime bonus. Currently 55% of unionised drivers are with ASLEF, the rest with RMT. It was a *fait accompli*, they shouldn’t even have met with management without the RMT. We were all up in arms, we didn’t want to work Friday and Saturday nights. Crow barring something like this into a roster is stressful, you end up working Monday, Tuesday Wednesday on a late, Thursday off, Friday, Saturday night, Sunday off, back on Monday. ItEs a real headlock to switch between nights and lates. We went into dispute over that. The whole dispute was always difficult, because ASLEF said this deal is done, there is nothing you can do about it. Initially we had two successful days of strike action, where we shut down the five night-tube lines. Then we moved to a strike that was every Friday and Saturday night, only on the Central and Victoria lines, because these were the only two lines they brought back initially. Central and Victoria are majority ASLEF lines, that is perhaps why they decided to bring them back first, as night tube lines. The pickets on the Friday and Saturday nights, the reps would come out during the winter till midnight, it was hard work and there were not many people with them, often only two people on the picket. Especially on the Victoria line the pickets lasted only through the first four or six weeks. The service on the Victoria line was pretty good then. In June they brought in the Northern and the Jubilee line. There were no real pickets against this. The strike seemed to be pretty ineffective at that point. I work on the Piccadilly line, where the RMT has 80% of drivers. They hadn’t brought weekend night tube back and we were looking forward to going on strike over it. They knew that if they had tried, there wouldn’t have been a night service on the Piccadilly line. It would have been an effective strike. The week before the night tube was supposed to start they called a rep meeting and called off the whole dispute. The main reason was that the

strike at the Northern and Jubilee were so ineffective. So the night tube is now in. We lost a lot of weekend rest days. It’s now much harder to get a weekend off. You only get the bonus if you work actual nights, so 90% of drivers don’t get anything for it. There was no increase in pay or increase in holidays. For management this only saved them 3 million pounds a year, which is a minuscule amount of money for the organisation. It was kind of annoying, because the reps that agreed to the deal at the same time told us that “we won”. Because the company told them that they will try it so that “no one is forced to work these night tube shifts, we will try and cover it with volunteers”. But in the same sentence they say that if there are no volunteers you have to work these shifts. The reps were just repeating what the company was saying.

The current political situation



With Mick Lynch and the recent strikes there has been a bit of a shift though. During previous strikes the RMT tended to speak about “the public” or “the customers”. Now this has shifted a bit towards “the working class”, there is more talk about how the strikes within rail relate to other working class disputes. That’s a political step forward, isn’t it?

Yes, I have noticed that. People used to focus more on their own terms and conditions, they look at their dispute now in a broader sense. More as a conflict between the working class and the government or the Tory party. So, though it is political in a sense, it is always against the Tory party. The Tory party are the bad guys that are standing

in the way of pay rises or better conditions. Still, there is a feeling of being part of a wider movement, which is new.

Do they see that they have a bit of responsibility for the working class?

It’s a difficult one. The guys who have worked on the Underground for 20 plus years feel that they are losing, since 1995 or whatever. They feel like it has been a steady decline. From the outside rail workers are viewed as industrially strong and militant. The long-term guys say that they used to be strong and militant in the 90s, but that it’s not like that anymore. They think we are on the back-foot, a defensive. They feel more divided than back then. They had experiences of wildcat strikes, back in the late 80s, early 90s. Now that doesn’t happen anymore. The actions we take now are not as effective as those wildcat actions in the past. And it’s true, we had quite a lot of strike action in the last six months, but the government are not budging.

That’s the other issue with the strikes. Mick Lynch says that if the government wouldn’t interfere the union and management would come to an agreement. Where usually the unions ask the state to mediate, in this case the union says “leave us alone, we can negotiate a deal”. Do you think it’s true that the government has a political interest to “drag the dispute out”?

I mean, when Liz Truss came in she talked about these minimum service levels, to bring them in for transport strikes. I don’t know what their legislation plan is for that or how quick they can bring it in if they are obviously in complete disarray. This might be the strategy from both company and government, to drag things out until

the law has changed. That could be the plan. But then it's ridiculous, because these companies, they are kind of fake private companies. The way that these railway contracts work. They are not really separate from the government and never have been. Although they call it privatised railways, they have been entirely subsidised by the government since Covid. Most of them wouldn't make any profit, they are just living off the government management fees. They get their profits guaranteed and they know that whatever disputes they have the government will back them. Like Avanti, the rail company up North, they halved the services, but are still cashing in on government money.

When it comes to the bail-outs of rail companies during Covid, the RMT presents it as "the Tories pay money to their friends, the fat cats" meaning, to the CEOs of various private companies. How much is it that and how much is it that the infrastructure is actually underfunded, the profit margins minimal and the companies therefore in need of constant subsidies? Or both?

The actual management of the rail companies isn't particularly profitable. The main profits are made by the ROSCO companies, the rolling stock companies, the companies that lease engines and wagons and stuff. They are basically like investment funds. The trains are then rented to the rail companies. These companies have no operational involvement. The rail companies in turn keep on threatening the government that they walk away from the business, to get bigger bail-outs. The government is on the back-foot and offers better deals for them to stay. At the same time the government has to take them off frequently, because they are so bad at operating the rail services.

Amey, an outsourced service company that runs stuff like waste collection, street cleaning or army facility management in the UK has just been sold by the mother company, which is a Spanish rail and airport company, after years of fragile contacts with local councils. These structures are actually shaky.

Yes, mass transport is not a profitable business. The infrastructure is too complicated, there are too many

unknowns, the investment is too long-term for quick returns. They knew all this in the 20s and 30s in this country, when they had privatised railways in this country. It wasn't working, the companies were constantly going bankrupt or services became unaffordable. The state decided to nationalise the system to get things on track. They figured that out back then, but had forgotten about it by the 1990s.

The attacks in form of legal changes and restructuring

One change the government brought in was the possible use of agency work to replace striking workers. They have now used this for the first time to replace striking school staff in Romford. Is this relevant on the railways, was it relevant during the strike?

I think on the railway this is nonsense. There is no such a thing as an agency signaller. If you have trained as a train driver, you are directly employed. There are track workers that are from agencies, but they are not trained to a standard that they could run the maintenance, they are generally labourers, they can't do inspections, for example. I mean, people would die if they would try to replace staff with agency people.

They also talk about changes to the work practices for maintenance crews and signallers, forcing people to do more varied job tasks that they might have been trained for, but have not actual experience in doing. The strike is partly opposed to this plan. What do they actually want to change and how relevant do you think it is?

I think in general they want to reduce the amount of inspections of the infrastructure. There was a rail crash in Scotland in 2020, during Covid actually, three people died. An Intercity train hit a lot of gravel that had spilled out of a drain. The train derailed, the driver and two passengers were killed. That drain had been put in wrong ten years previously and was never inspected for ten years. If it hadn't been for Covid this train would have been much busier. It's a clear example that not enough inspections are being done. Another thing they want to change is the regulation about where to start your

shift, I think. They want more flexibility in that, because normally, as a track worker, you would first go to your depot, that's where you start your shift, and then you travel to wherever you are working, and end your shift at the depot. They could get two, three hours more work out of the track workers if the shift would start on the actual track site.

With the legal screws getting tightened to curb strike activity, is there any discussion how to react to that? There are campaigns, like "Free our Unions", but on a direct tactical or strategical level?

That has actually been quite encouraging. The conversations we had in the workplace. People are tired of having to jump through legal hoops, where it takes you weeks between raising the issue and actually taking action. People struggle to understand what the minimum service law means. They try to hold the RMT and ASLEF legally accountable to provide a minimum number of trains on strike days. If these trains don't run it would financially cripple the unions. It raises the issue of going back to more wildcat kind of actions. People do seem kind of receptive to that kind of idea. I say to people that, we technically don't really need a union to go on strike, you don't need the legal entity of the RMT. If they use the legal structure or the brand of the RMT to restrict us, then you have to be prepared to take strike action without the RMT. That's possible, strike action just means that you are not going to work. We can just set up shadow branches. Some people respond that then each person could be held individually responsible for illegal industrial action. But that's difficult if, let's say, 10,000 people walk out. Can the state really prosecute 10,000 people or press criminal charges because they don't go to work that day? The company doesn't have the resources to discipline 10,000 people. If you have 10,000 people on a disciplinary, you create another strike action. There is pretty much a sense of lawlessness and general chaos to the country at the moment. It feels like the government or the politicians are breaking the law quite consistently for a number of years. And then they want us to stick to the law.

In some departments or sections of the railways there seems to be a threat of job cuts, such as station staff or ticket offices, while in other sections there is an acute shortage of labour, like amongst train drivers or signallers. Avanti had to half the train services due to lack of drivers. How does that affect the struggle?

They are deliberately not recruiting. At Avanti they always had less drivers than they needed. They have always done rest-day working, they always worked Sunday as overtime. Since Covid, and the reduction of trains, they let the number of drivers run down. The same happened on the Underground. They haven't been training enough drivers. They leave vacancies open, which makes it easier for them to push through job cuts. They tell us in negotiations: "No one will lose their job, there are all these vacancies". I notice it on the Underground, everyday, on certain lines, there are cancellations due to staff shortage. But then the ticket offices that they want to close on the mainline railway, are also functioning as a backup for train drivers, for example if you can't drive trains anymore due to medical reasons, you would still have a job available in the ticket office or on the station. These jobs are now under attack, so its a reason why ASLEF train driver members should be fighting to save these jobs.

But are they not willing to train new people or not able to?

They want to reduce the amount of trains and services running. Managed decline. They spend less money. With Avanti, it's not how many tickets they sell, they get a flat-rate from the government. With the London Underground, it's the same number of people paying to travel, if you run less trains, you just pack them in. That's what they want to get back to. Pre-Covid they were running over 100% capacity.

What about the issue of driverless trains? That is also presented as a possible attack on workers? They always present that as a scary thing, but is it actually a threat?

It is part of the latest bailout that Transport for London has agreed, the possible introduction of driverless trains. They agreed to set aside a sum of

money to start an investigation into driverless trains. Which is crazy. Driverless trains will probably cost more than Crossrail. Crossrail is obviously a new line, but they still put drivers on there. If you build a brand new line, it is far easier to make it driverless, but they didn't. On the brand-new Elizabeth Line people have to switch trains when they enter the underground sections of the line because they could not make the signaling software of the national rail correspond with the underground signaling. Singapore had driverless trains, but they put drivers back on there, they realised that the service worked better. The whole system has to be designed from the bottom up to be driverless. You have to eliminate any possibility that the train is going to hit anything. If the train hits an obstacle and there is no driver, what will it do? Carry on or stop? And if it stops, what happens? Because you don't know what it hit. Something like the Victoria Line, which is entirely underground, if you put platform edge doors on every platform of the Victoria Line you could eliminate any variables. But then to put platform edge doors on every platform, to retrofit new technology on old infrastructure you know how tiny the Victoria Line platforms are and you know that some of them are curved. How do you put platform edge doors on a curved platform?

You encounter so many problems that you were not expecting, trying to upgrade old infrastructure. Some of the signals on the national rail, like in Devon, still need electrifying and they talk about driverless trains, for god's sake! They don't realise how far behind some of the technology is. The signaling on the Piccadilly Line is from the 1950s. They cancelled the signaling upgrade on the Piccadilly Line just before Covid, to pay for Crossrail. A totally new signaling system on the Piccadilly Line would take ten years to build. Even though driverless trains are phantasy stuff, they still force TFL to spend money on it. It only cost them £3 million to force us to work on Friday and Saturday night tubes, that is a minuscule amount in comparison, but then they complain that drivers are expensive.

The rank-and-file within the RMT

Back then during Covid the NEC called off the pay strike. The structure that allowed this to happen, is that still in place? Are people more weary of such top-down decisions?

If anything, it is probably worse now. Mick Lynch who won the general secretary election is now pretty much untouchable. At the moment, whatever is recommended by head-office regarding settling of these disputes, will be accepted by the rank-and-file. This is the flip side of his large media personality.

There is no new rank-and-file initiative? We've got stuff happening inside Unison at the moment, "Time for a Real Change", but that is pretty much a left party vehicle.

Is there a stronger rank-and-file tendency within the RMT?

There was a rank-and-file tendency behind Mick Lynch, Alex Gordon and Ed Dempsey, called the Broad Left, to get these guys elected into these positions. But because they were successful and got them elected, they have taken a back-seat now. The Broad Left is now in charge of the union. They were in opposition to a rank-and-file movement that we were trying to set up, but that didn't get going anyway, the "Campaign for a Fighting Democratic Union". That never got fully off the ground, because we couldn't get any agreement between the two main left parties inside RMT, the AWL and the Socialist Party. It all fell apart and the Broad Left was building their support base. Some people who were involved with the Campaign for a Fighting Union have moved towards the Broad Left, seeing that they were dominant. If you want to have any position within the union, you have to suck up to them. If there will be a rank-and-file movement again, I think it will have to be cross-union, and involve ASLEF and others, as well. We need a public transport rank-and-file movement, that involves workers on buses, as well and other transport sectors. Rather than just a rank-and-file within the RMT.

Thanks to AWW (Angry Workers World)

Debate on Syndicalist Industrial Strategy: 'Labor Notes' Individual Workplace Organising Versus Strategic Industrial Organising

Rasmus Hästbacka of the Swedish syndicalist union SAC (Swedish Workers Centre) suggests how big and complex workplaces might be organized, using the example of a university.

Swedish and American workers face very different, yet very similar, problems. A problem in the USA is that most workers don't belong to unions and therefore cannot use unions as a resource and tool to defend their interests. A problem in Sweden is that most workers belong to unions that are so dysfunctional that it is hard or impossible to use them as a resource and tool. I have already written a piece on why Swedish unions suck, so I won't repeat myself here.

In both Sweden and USA, I believe we can give the labor movement new life if we train more organizers who have a clear idea of what they can do on the job, every week, month after month. For me, organizing is about co-workers developing and using their collective strength in a systematic way.

With inspiration from the Labor Notes book *Secrets of a Successful Organizer*, such a plan can be divided into four phases as follows:

1. Mapping and personal conversations
2. Making an action plan
3. Collective action
4. Evaluation

Mapping and personal conversations

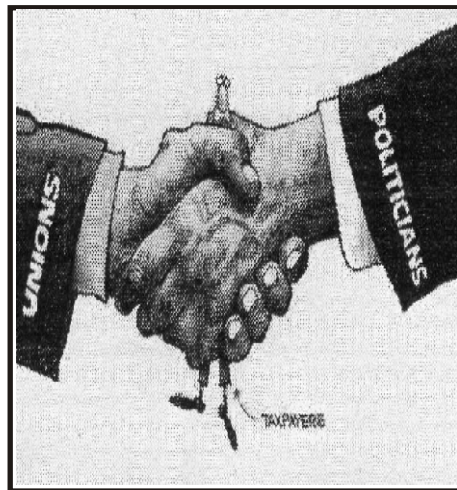
The first phase is about mapping as many departments and other units as possible and having personal conversations with those workers. This is done by members who work at the units, not by external organizers. Ultimately, you need a list of all employees of the unit to be organized. Arrange meetings in your spare time. If it takes time to work through the staff, let it take time.

The purpose is to find good organizing issues in each place and find informal or natural leaders. These are employees who have influence because they enjoy the trust of colleagues.

The authors of *Secrets of a Successful Organizer* formulate what characterizes a good organizing issue:

1. Breadth: the issue engages many employees
2. Depth: the issue engages them strongly
3. The issue winnable through pressure exerted by workers; and
4. The collective action planned has good chances of making the collective even stronger.

Write down the workplace issues that colleagues bring up, what change they want to see and which methods they are prepared to use to pressure management. Note who the key people are, the informal "leaders" that others mention by name. Personal



conversations build good relationships and encourage colleagues to participate in union work and education.

Second phase

Once you have found a good organizing issue and a concrete demand to gather co-workers around, then it is time to make an action plan. The plan must state how the demand should be presented and what pressure should be used if the bosses reject your demand. It needs to be made clear who is doing what and in what order. Crucial to the success of the action plan is that the informal leaders are with you.

In choosing methods of pressure, it is important to choose methods that are both effective and that many employees are willing to use. A majority of the staff should want to participate or at least support the methods. You need not be fixated on

strikes or other varieties of economic pressure. There is also moral, psychological and legal pressure. I and a fellow union comrade have written an article about just that, alternatives to striking.

Third phase

The third phase is collective action. Before implementing an action plan, the co-workers should have discussed the support needed from the syndicalist section. Decisions should also have been made if you want to cooperate with other unions or act independently of them. A general advice is to be open to cooperation with other unions but clear on the conditions: that the campaign is controlled by workers on the shop floor.

It is not until organizers have talked to all their colleagues and the staff has gathered around an action plan that it becomes of great value. The planned collective methods create pressure at the bargaining table. Without a plan for collective action, it will be a battle of words and the law; such battles usually bring meagre or no results.

Fourth phase

The fourth and final phase is evaluation. The authors of *Secrets of a Successful Organizer* emphasize that evaluation is as important as the previous phases. To evaluate is not just to tick a box about whether your demand was met or not. Co-workers should evaluate their ability to act together, i.e. discuss strengths and weaknesses, in order to develop the capacity for the next battle. After the evaluation, the four phases can be repeated with a focus on new organizing issues and so on.

Example of a successful campaign

When I worked at the university in the city of Umeå, the staff at two departments (Law and Political Science) managed to stop a stupid reorganization and push several bosses to resign prematurely. The reorganization was about merging the two departments into one, based on the odd idea that bigger is always better. The methods we used were: petition, open questioning at staff meetings, and

boycott of a series of meaningless meetings. At the Department of Law, we arranged an advisory vote on the boss of the department. The boss received very few votes and was replaced by a candidate who received a clear majority of the votes.

Two of us in the departments in question were members of SAC. We used regular meetings for syndicalists outside our departments as a coaching and sounding board. Members of other unions got no support at all from their own unions.

Even though we won the conflict, no formal structure was created. This made the conflict unnecessarily protracted and cumbersome. If we had formed a better structure, I believe we would have won quicker and had the opportunity to reflect and further develop our collective power.

Formal structure is necessary for employees to be able to make and implement democratic decisions and bridge the ups and downs of activity and of various individuals' commitment. So in the rest of this article, I'd like to reflect on how the Secrets approach could be developed on a broader scale in Swedish workplaces where not all workers are members of the same union, using a syndicalist approach.

A Syndicalist approach

Members of the Swedish syndicalist union SAC form local job branches called sections. At present, Swedish syndicalists have formed sections at four universities. On campuses, syndicalist sections usually hold meetings on at least two different levels: general section meetings for all members employed by the university, and meetings for individual departments or other units.

For a syndicalist section, it is natural to form these subdivisions at individual units as soon as the section has recruited groups of members there. The purpose of a subdivision is to promote the ability of colleagues to stick together and act together. The purpose of the section is to coordinate all subdivisions in joint action.

Let's say we have a section that holds general meetings for members at a university, but not yet meetings at individual units. Such a section can start by arranging a meeting for all

members who want to organize their own unit or support others who organize. At this meeting, the four phases of organizing can be discussed. In the continued work, these meetings can serve as support and sounding board for everyone who is organizing.

What kind of unions?

If SAC and other unions train more organizers, I hope we will build worker-run unions. More precisely, hope lies in formal unions that welcome workers in general. I call them popular movement unions.

If you want to get started with organizing, I highly recommend reading *Secrets of a Successful Organizer* and discussing it with your co-workers. The book is both in-depth and easy to read. The authors provide, for example, step-by-step guides for personal conversations and mapping the workplace. Readers receive solid advice on how workers can win conflicts, but also advice on how to deal with apathy and disappointments. If workers build popular movement unions, then we have a chance to start moving towards a new society.

Rasmus Hästbacka

Rasmus Hästbacka is a lawyer and has been a member of the Umeå Local of SAC since 1997. A different version of this article was previously published in Swedish. First published in English on the US labor union website *Organizing Work*.

REPLY

Asn:: Some points: If mass syndicalist unionism is to be achieved in Sweden the SAC needs to be dissolved and as I have argued previously - morph into mostly an 'underground' shadowy catalytic network focusing on one strategic sector which can change the situation re direct action which can slow the tempo of the employer offensive and initiate the strike wave movement phenomena based on grass roots on the job direct action and new directly democratic structures on the workplace, regional, industrial, and national scales leading to major syndicalist oriented splits from your corporate unions. Attacking their bases on a major scale. Definitely not co-operating with their corrupt bureaucracies. (1)

The Dynamics of the International Employer Offensive

Important agents of the ruling class such as Margaret Thatcher in the 1980's with the British Miners Strike of 1984-85, Ronald Reagan with the crushing of the aircraft controllers strike in 1981, here in the Antipodes with John Howard and the Patricks Lockout of 1998 etc, have shown a grasp of the importance of winning major victories in strategic industrial sectors in pursuing the employer offensive. While the key UK ruling class strategist General Frank Kitson author of "Low Intensity Operations" was particularly worried that various UK leftist groups in the 1970's would focus on just one important industrial sector. The above victories of the agencies of the ruling class assisted by the corporate union bureaucracy had major flow on effects on peripheral and other sectors. So you see the class struggle, the employer offensive and industrial organising must be seen as very much in this dynamic process. Your recipe for industrial organising completely ignores this issue.

Underground Syndicalist Movement & Workplace Paper

In this strategic sector you would find militant networks - perhaps today not very active and invisible on the surface. Meanwhile with the crisis and demoralisation of Marxist-Leninist groups - there is a space in these sectors to play a key role unlike in previous historical epochs. However with this alternative approach - involving following up existing contacts and 'salting' your underground syndicalist movement could link up with these networks. Providing very intensive assistance. Assisting them to overcome various obstacles to militancy and direct action such as increased surveillance, etc. Particularly with the launching of an underground workplace paper. You completely ignore the importance of such a workplace/industry paper. It would play a critical role in reviving militancy via particularly the psychological role it could play with raising morale and breaking through

atomisation facilitating collective discussion of issues which can lead to collective action. These key militants would have a vast knowledge of what's going on in the sector re union stuff and on-the-job struggles you need re organising. There is absolutely no need for this 'Labor Notes' workplace researching with so called 'organisers' you advocate. All you are doing is squandering limited resources and personnel in strategically irrelevant peripheral sectors like these university campuses. (But if you were to look outside of your 'organising box' - those with uni jobs would have important skills for this 'industrial organising underground' work e.g. writing articles, desk top publishing etc which would be extremely valuable in putting out underground papers in this strategic sector and helping with distribution and otherwise.) Whatever 'victories' won in these peripheral sectors will be swept away by renewed management attacks because you are not tackling the tempo of the employer offensive. By focusing on this strategic sector you could assist militants to defeat in the very early 'seeming invisible' stages new spearheads of the employer offensive and so slowing its momentum

Decline of the SAC & the

Importance of an International Perspective

Ten or twelve years back there was a report of the SAC having 12,000 members - apparently today 3,000 or so, this trend will just continue. You can't play the game of the corporate 'respectable' unions - any formal organisation and organising you have will be open to deep State/employer/political establishment spies and infiltration. While the SAC is encircled by the corporate unions and a sitting duck for crushing by the State if so required. In confronting these issues conventional 'Labor Notes' style organising won't work. You seem oblivious to this whole serious problem. Needless to say the SAC would be useless re getting going the big 'illegal' industrial action affecting millions required re launching the strike wave movement leading to syndicalist oriented break aways from the Corporate unions. You focus just on Sweden - you can't approach the revival of syndicalism on a national scale. It occurred of course in the late 19th and early 20th Century on an 'international scale' in many countries. We have to facilitate this international development and strike wave movements today (which is more possible with the crisis/decline of

Marxist Leninism, roll back of the welfare state, spiraling inflation associated with the Ukraine Crisis and War, etc) through encouraging other 'would be' syndicalist movements to take on the above more 'realistic' strategy and assist them otherwise. Needless to say the capitalist set up is ever more globally integrated with predominance of multinational companies, blocs of nations and various institutions of global capitalism. Again you seem oblivious to this issue but approaching this organising on a narrow national level similar to the corporate unions which the SAC is in the orbit perhaps unconsciously.

NOTES

1. Some important examples of this strike wave phenomena were the strike waves in France of late 1986 to early 1987 and December 1995 focusing initially on the railways but rapidly spreading throughout the public sector. In Australia a recent example of the early stages of a such a strike wave was 'Drivers for Affirmative Action' of Mar. 2004 in the NSW Railways. Associated with long range industrial organising by the ASN. It's been completely 'air brushed' out of history by the corporate media and the corrupt union bosses.

Francisco Nobrega Do Quintal 1898 - 1987

A short biography of Francisco Quintal, Portuguese anarchist militant, skipper and one of founders of the Federacion Anarquista Iberica

Francisco Nobrega Do Quintal was born on August 24th at Funchal on the Isle of Madeira. Born into a well-off family, he moved with them to Lisbon at the age of fourteen with the declaration of the Republic in 1910. He finished his studies at the Nautical School in Lisbon. He discovered anarchism at the age of fifteen by reading literature by the French anarchist-communist Jean Grave. He started attending meetings of the Libertarian Youth. This led on to participation in various

anarchist groups from 1921 onwards, including Novos Horizontes (New Horizons) which he helped found in January 1921 and Grupo Anarquista Claridade (Clarity Anarchist Group). As secretary of Novos Horizontes he was responsible for making contact with other Portuguese libertarian groups-Libertarian Naturist, The Friends, Free Earth, The earth, The Friends of Good and Freedom etc. and in pushing for an Anarchist Conference at Alenquer held on 18th March 1923 attended by 45 delegates, representing a dozen groups and individuals. As a result a national anarchist organisation, Uniao Anarquista Portuguesa -the Portuguese Anarchist Union (UAP) - was founded, and Quintal became its

general secretary.

He founded O Anarquista (The Anarchist) the newspaper of the UAP with Fernando de Almeida Marques in 1925 and became its coordinator. At least 9 issues of the paper appeared during 1926 with the first issue coming out on February 28th.

Attempts had already been made by Portuguese anarchists, above all by Manuel Joaquim da Sousa, to coordinate on a peninsular level with their Spanish comrades with a projected Iberian Syndicalist Federation which was still born. However cooperation continued with a new process beginning in 1923 which according to Quintal would serve as an example for the syndicalist organisations of the two countries and

help bring about an Iberian Confederation of Workers. The move by Quintal and other Portuguese anarchists to set up an Iberian Anarchist Federation was stalled by the military coup on May 28th 1926 which led to the establishment of the Salazar regime.

The Spanish Committee of Anarchist Relations drew up a provisional agenda for a forthcoming conference and this eventually took place on 24-25 July 1927 in Valencia. As well as delegates from Levante, Andalucía, Catalonia, Castile and Madrid the Secretariat of Relations of the National Federation of Anarchist Groups and the Catalan and Levante Regional Confederations attended. The UAP was represented by Quintal and Germinal da Sousa, the son of Manuel Joaquim. This conference led to the founding of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (Iberian Anarchist Federation -FAI)

Quintal now came to be seen as the leader of the Portuguese anarchist movement and he was arrested in 1928 and deported without trial to the Portuguese colony of Angola. He managed to escape and returned to Europe in 1929. He took part in underground work in the Libertarian Alliance from 1931 to 1932 and then in the Anarchist Federation of the Portuguese Region (FARP) and had a big input into the underground anarchist press *O Argonauta* (The

Argonaut) *A Batalha* (The Struggle) *A Communa* (The Commune) etc. He translated several anarchist texts into Portuguese, including *Les Syndicats et la Révolution Sociale* (The Unions and The Social Revolution) by the French anarcho-syndicalist Pierre Besnard.

During the Salazar dictatorship he was arrested and imprisoned on many occasions. His career as a naval captain



in the merchant navy enabled him to establish contact with anarchists from several countries. He established a relationship with another anarchist, Miquelina Sardinha, herself the daughter of an anarchist carpenter, and

they started a family.

After the death of Miquelina in October 1966 Quintal established a new relationship with Irena Franco.

With the fall of the dictatorship on April 25th 1974, Francisco Quintal founded the anarchist paper *A Voz Anarquista* (The Anarchist Voice) at Almada, together with other anarchists including Adriano Botelho. This was the monthly paper of the Portuguese Anarchist Federation and Quintal was its coordinator until 1983. He also helped set up the Centre of Libertarian Culture at Almada from 1974. He contributed under the pseudonym Meridional to the newspaper *Republica* and wrote a four volume history of Portuguese anarchism. He continued to translate various articles into Portuguese.

He died of a heart attack on 4th February 1987 at Lisbon. The book *Palavras Veementes* (Vehement Words) appeared a year after his death, gathering together several of his texts and articles.

Nick Heath

Sources:

<http://militants-anarchistes.info/spip.php?article4905>

<http://anarcoefemerides.baleaerweb.net/post/116020>

Continued From Page 2.

Bosnia and Chechnya, was certainly connected to Russian intelligence.

The same is almost certainly true of the entire separatist leadership, which acted in complete harmony with Moscow's planning of events, although for obvious reasons there is precise evidence for only some of its representatives.

Even the armed forces of the two "republics" were under fascist control, just think that those of the "Republic of Luhansk" were for a long time under the command of a well-known neo-Nazi from St. Petersburg, Aleksey Milchakov, and those of the Donetsk republic under that of an equally well-known neo-Nazi, Aleksandr Matyushin, former head of the Donetsk branch of the neo-Nazi group *Russkiy Obraz* and the associated "democracy"

youth organization, also a founder of the Nazi-fascist Varyag Order.

Under the orders of their comrades sent from Moscow, there were also some local neo-fascist micro-groups of Donbass, which were activated in anti-Maidan operation even before the events of March 2014. The latter had nothing to do with the local population. and they achieved their results solely thanks to the support of Moscow, as well as the conditional support received by the local mafia-oligarch rulers.

In addition, the Nazis and other right-wing extremists at the head of the separatist "democracies" were part of an international network created by the Kremlin through "Eurasian Unions", "international conferences", symposia, calls of "international observers". to fake elections, with the

aim of converging European right-wing extremism (and in the coming years, also in the United States) to Moscow's interests.

Therefore, the dimension of the separatist Nazi enterprise, in contrast to, for example, that of Ukrainian neo-fascism, is also pan-European in nature.

Finally, again in 2014, for documentary reasons, we published the "theoretical" text of an ideologue of the "Republic of Donetsk", Igor Droz, which is emblematic of the far-right, Christian fundamentalist and homophobic nature of separatist democracies: The "neofascist anti-fascism of Novorossiia.

Igor Droz was close to Igor Strelkov and attended meetings of the separatist

NEWS & NOTES

Some of the most important news 'behind the scenes' and covered up by the Corporate media, the NSW Govt. and the union hierarchy has been the defeat of a new push to introduce D.O.O. (Driver Only Operation) on new interurban trains. It would be an important step towards opening the flood gates of privatisation resulting in major job losses and degrading of safety in the railways. It would also represent a new spear head of the employer offensive. It would have important flow on effects across industry. Similar to the defeat of the wharfies in the Patricks Lockout of 1998 and 10% pa wage cuts of the 1930's depression which were initially imposed in the NSW Railways. Associated with this D.O.O. Push was the so called 'break through' in NSW Rail EBA (Enterprise Bargain Agreement) negotiations and the clinching of the bogus 'Deed for the N.I.F'. (New Intercity Fleet) and bogus safety modifications. The ASN has assisted militants to wage a lightning fast campaign in early Dec. which foiled the push. (See article page 3 and 4.)

In Sydney and Newcastle buses following privatisation workers and commuters have faced a greatly worsening situation. In this edition we put the spotlight on how the driver shortage is severely affecting the jobs of drivers and bus services. (See article page 6.)

We note the passing away of Michael Goodman in New Zealand. Mike had been involved with RW and the anarcho-syndicalist milieu in Sydney from the late 1970's. While in Australia he worked in the NSW Railways in track maintenance gangs and then in TAFE. Subsequently he returned to NZ to reside with his family.

Some light entertainment: 'Linda Lovechild Presents L.O.L. In Cabaret', Sat. 21/1/23 Tap Gallery 259 Riley St. Surry Hills NSW \$10 entry.

Help Build RW! Your help is particularly sought with distribution. Sell at your local shopping centre on Sat. mornings. Leave at the lunch room at work, at your local café, library and cinema. Your assistance on the financial plane is also welcome.

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Where we stand:

1. Our aim is to create a free and equal society.
2. We are a revolutionary labour movement that uses as its only means of struggle, direct action in all its forms: occupations. Strikes, boycotts, sabotage, etc. We are independent from all reformist and hierarchical unions and political parties, and we are creating an alternative to these and existing society. We do not seek to gain political power, but rather to see it distributed amongst all.
3. We are a network of anarcho-syndicalists practicing co-operation and mutual aid. We have an equal part in making decisions. Responsibilities within the network are subject to agreement by the members.
4. We are engaged in struggle where we work and where we live, to develop self managed production, distribution and servicing for the world community to meet human needs rather than profit. We give solidarity to others in their struggles.
5. We are fighting to abolish all authoritarian institutions such as the State (including its communist variety), capitalism, all hierarchical and oppressive divisions between people.
6. We have no country and are organised on an international basis in opposition to oppression everywhere. The ASN is striving to build a viable revolutionary syndicalist movement in Australia as part of a world wide movement able to meet the challenge of the global employer offensive.

TO FIND OUT MORE:

I would like more information about the Anarcho-Syndicalist Network. Please send me information.

Name.....

Address.....
General Secretary
PO Box 109 Kotara 2289 NSW.

**REBEL WORKER
Web Site:**

www.rebelworker.org

Continued From Page 18

think tank Izborsky Club, which included the well-known Russian neo-fascist Aleksander Dugin.

But what happened after 2014-2015?

Moscow progressively removed most of the men of the first hour, namely the aforementioned fascists. The latter proved difficult to control, many commanders having created real fiefdoms in conflict with each other, or in conflict with the leaderships of Donetsk and Lugansk.

Thanks to the Nazi separatists, Putin had successfully completed the first phase of his war against Ukraine, was not currently interested in escalating a conflict for which he did not yet consider himself prepared, and aimed for now at holding Kyiv government after mortgaging the functioning of the country by creating separatist "democracies", while still continuing to weave a far-right network at the European level that could be useful to him on issues such as sanctions, natural gas and others.

The early separatists have almost all been pushed out of the picture in one way or another. Strelkov and Boroday were recalled to Moscow (the latter is now a deputy from United Russia), many commanders were killed.

The first new man, who replaced the separatist "president" Boroday in the summer of 2014, was Alexander Zakharchenko, also from far-right

circles, but grayer and more docile - which, however, did not save him from dying in an attack in 2018.

Several other well-known commanders were also killed, such as Motorola, Givi or Alexey Mozgovoy. Today in power remain impersonal characters, real puppets of Moscow, such as Denis Pushilin, the only survivor of the first hour, also connected to the extreme right, but far from being an active fighter: the period before the "secession". he was limited to stealing money from pensioners as a manager of a financial pyramid.

Neo-Nazi battalions (the Rusich) or with a large neo-fascist presence within them (the Somalis) have nevertheless continued and continue to operate on the ground in Donbass, and in recent weeks Pushilin has been caught decorating a commander who wore a neo-Nazi symbol on his uniform.

The Wagner massacre mercenary group also has Nazi tendencies (see, for example, the articles in Res Publica and the Guardian), which, as early as 2014, is now active in Donbass together with the separatists and the Russian army, having fought and carried out massacres in the Middle East and Africa in the service of Moscow.

The elimination of most of the fascists of the first two years of the breakaway republics does not mean that the latter have been democratized. There have always remained dictatorships where torture, targeted killings against the surviving crumbs of civil society, homophobic and fundamentalist

Christian policies are systematically practiced. In addition, the separatist leadership destroyed the local economy with a policy of pure looting, not paying wages to workers or handing over the country's assets to big capitalists of the Russian Federation.

One of the best sources for these aspects is Natalia Savelyeva's detailed article published by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

Also very useful are the accurate materials published by historian and left-wing activist Simon Pirani on his "People and Nature" website, such as the "democracies" Putin is fighting for and social protest and repression in Donbass.

On the far-right nature of the separatist "democracies" the essay "Russian White Guards in Donbass" by Zbigniew Marcin Kowalewski, published by International Viewpoint, as well as "The Oligarchic Rebellion in Donbass" are of fundamental importance.

Another article that pinpoints the links between Russian neo-Nazis, the Kremlin and the Donbas Nazis is "Neo-Nazi Russian Nationalist Reveals How Russia's Leaders Sent Them to Ukraine to Kill Ukrainians."

Also useful are "The Involvement of Russian Ultra-Nationalists in the Donbas Conflict," by Richard Arnold, and the recent "Neo-Nazi Russian Attack Unit Hints It's Going Back Into Ukraine Undercover," on the neo-Nazi Rusich Order.

*<https://glavnoe.ua/news/n186957>

