

SOCIALIST PRESS

FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE
WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

NO 3 * 6th MARCH 1975 * 10p

ACT NOW: DEFEND ALL JOBS!

REJECT BOSSES' BLACKMAIL - OCCUPY

Every day it becomes clearer that unless a determined struggle is waged now to defend jobs against the offensive of the employers, then NO gains - whether wages, working conditions, or agreements - can be defended. This fight raises the most basic questions on what kind of leadership is now necessary in the labour movement.

Nobody doubts now that Britain, as a part of the world economic crisis of the capitalist system, is gripped in a recession, in which inflation eats away at the employers' profits, undermines the cash liquidity of their firms, and relentlessly cuts the purchasing power of workers' wages. Through falling sales employers are driven to cut production, close "uneconomic" plants, and speed up the efforts of those still in work in order to maintain a 'viable' (or profitable) business. At the same time weaker sections of industry, unable to compete, close down altogether. The result on a world scale is unemployment and short time.

In America, the world's most powerful capitalist country, there are now well over 8 million unemployed. 20.8% of teenagers are unemployed and 13.4% of blacks. In the car city of Detroit alone 26% are officially out of work, with the real figure almost certainly double this. Black workers, half the population of Detroit, suffer most. 96% of all black youth are officially out of work.

Company supplements, which maintain 95% of wages for workers laid off, begin to run out in two weeks time, and with this goes many medical and dental schemes. As John Pilger in the Daily Mirror reported (28.2.75):

"In the last three months since the lay-offs began in earnest the Detroit Health Department has reported 150,000 cases of malnutrition mostly amongst women and children..." [in a city of only 1.6 million]

'NIGHTMARE'

His article was headed with the words: "The ending of the great American dream in Detroit shows what tomorrow's nightmare could be like for Coventry and Cowley, Luton and Longbridge..."

The car industry, construction and textiles are the main focus of the recession in Europe also, unemployed in the Common Market countries - an increase of 1.2 million over last year. In Britain itself there are now 800,000 unemployed and a further 250,000 on short time according to latest estimates.

Here, as in France, some of the big employers have tended to back away from the prospect of bitter resistance including factory occupations, and with the passive acquiescence of the Trade Union leaders have opted for short time rather than outright redundancies. Already every motor manufacturer has moved to introduce short time - Chryslers have had it since December 31st. But it extends into other industries - the textile trade, ICI fibres, GKN, Lucas, and Dunlop are among the largest firms involved.

Other employers move straight to redundancies and closures - Pilkingtons have announced a planned 3,000 redundancies, largely in St. Helens, BLMC's Jaguar works with 1,000 redundancies, and the closure of Imperial Typewriters throwing up 3,200 jobs. These are just some of the biggest - countless small firms are laying off labour all over the country. This is in addition to large scale hidden redundancies throughout industry from unreplaced "natural wastage".

BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD

enforce capitalist property relations - accept the dictates of the employer and the rule of the market.

If workers now oppose speed up the employer will say it is necessary for the survival of his company - and to reject it means the sack (in BLMC Cowley management threatened to send the new ADO 71 to Longbridge). If a worker is victimised fighting speed up the employer will threaten to close the plant if victimisation and speed up are not accepted - and the trade

on all threats of short time with loss of wages, or redundancies, must be fought by factory occupations. This is the only way the initiative can be taken from the employer and the class strength of the workers mobilised to defend jobs.

PERSPECTIVE

Yet it is one thing to occupy - but with no perspective this can be the point of greatest danger leading to confusion and demoralisation (as at Norton Villiers at Meriden where only 250 of the original 1750 workers remain in occupation, or Plessey Interconnect at Swindon where a six-months 'stay of execution' has been accepted



Mass meeting at Chrysler's Linwood factory.

Under these conditions the biggest question facing the working class is leadership. The reformist Trade Union leaders are incapable of defending jobs in this period because their political position starts from the acceptance of capitalism.

This means acceptance of the right of the employer to private property, to have a profitable and 'viable' business, and accepting that workers should be subject to market conditions. If these "rights" come into conflict with the rights of workers to jobs then, for these leaders, the "rights" of the capitalist must prevail.

ARROGANT

This is clear just from the example of Fords. On February 19th Fords arrogantly announced, without consultation, that 8,000 Dagenham workers were to go on short time from March 3rd. The shop-floor was incensed, and stewards threatened 'disruptive' protest action. Moss Evans, T&GWU automotive group national organiser, however, opposed all action with the statement: "Destructive action will not persuade people to buy cars". In other words, don't chal-

union leaders will say "it is not the time to fight". In Renault in Paris, where workers have been fighting in precisely these circumstances against victimisation linked to speed up, the management has intimidated workers by putting all 35,000 on indefinite short time.

Everywhere the weakness and collaboration of the union leaders opens the working class to attack beyond the immediate issue involved. Following Moss Evans' acceptance of short time, Fords immediately seized on this retreat and a week later announced Dagenham workers would have only 11 days work in April. Next day they followed this by leaking to the press that:

"Without the agreement of the unions the company intends to impose three as opposed to two shift working from next week in a bid to make the (Dagenham) plant more efficient and reduce excessive overtime being over-worked". [Financial Times 28th Feb emphasis added]

Fords therefore increase efficiency without consultation with the assistance of Moss Evans.

To fight on any issue today means to defend jobs, and for this reason

At the centre of every occupation has to be a clear perspective. Occupations must centre on the demand that the books of the company claiming financial problems be opened to elected trade union committees, who would then have the task of exposing the concealed workings of capitalism to the workers whose jobs were threatened. Any employer who threatens the livelihoods of workers has no right to 'business secrets' or indeed to remain an employer. Once it is proved that indeed a firm, with its full labour force, is 'non-viable' under capitalism, then it must be taken out of the "free market".

NATIONALISE

The case will thus be proved to back the demand that the Labour government nationalise the company, not under a state manager, but under the management of the workers, through their elected committees that already control the factory under occupation. Compensation must be paid only to small savers.

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TUC DESERTS 'TWO'

The TUC announced yet another betrayal of the imprisoned Shrewsbury pickets last Wednesday when, despite a lobby calling for strike action, they refused even to call a one-day protest stoppage to attempt to free the Two. These bureaucrats now stand right behind Jenkins, Prentice and the whole of the Labour right wing which supports the Tories' actions in jailing these trade unionists for picketing.

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This whole betrayal has been covered up and protected by the 'lefts' of the P.L.P. 'Tribune' group, who have refused to fight to remove Jenkins from his position of Home Secretary, and who did not even turn out to support a call for a further Parliamentary debate on the issue. At the same time the Communist Party, with a whole group of full time officials and militants in the building and other unions has consistently opposed industrial action to force the government to free the pickets and has set out to divert the campaign into harmless protests.

The only answer now must be to step up the struggle within the trade union movement for a general strike to be called, and for the exposure and removal of those officials who want to prevent this. As a part of this fight the demonstration called by Leicester Trades Council, to take place outside Leicester jail on Saturday, March 8th, must be supported by all those trade unionists who are not prepared to leave these brothers to rot in prison.

The 250-mile Wigan to London march organised by the Wigan Builders' Action Committee ended on Saturday 22nd February with a demonstration of 2,000 in London and a rally in Trafalgar Square.

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

FRANCO FEARS REVOLUTION

The fear of revolution dominates the thinking of the bourgeoisie in Spain today, as the working class continues a massive wave of strikes and demonstrations, which have now engulfed much of major industry for three of four months.

Major industrial struggles, with thousands of workers taking illegal strike action or demonstrating against lock-outs by the employers, have been taking place in the car industry, and in steel, plastics, telecommunications and typewriters factories.

In Navarra province a virtual general strike paralysed production, leaving over 16,000 workers idle through much of January. At one point barricades were erected to defend working class districts against attacks from the police, and were only torn down by riot police using tear gas and rubber bullets. Priests in the province have been fined a massive £28,000 for giving "subversive" sermons in support of the strikers, who included carworkers from Pamplona and potash miners, and many of whom had been almost continuously in disputes for the previous two months.

In Vizcaya province about 20 companies were standing idle because of strikes and lock-outs, and early in February these movements spilled over into the professional classes, with strikes of actors, actresses, nurses and auxiliary hospital workers, with sympathetic action from workers in television and radio. At the same time the Asturian coal mines were halted by a strike of 12,000 miners.

Increasingly central to these struggles, which nearly all start with the question of wages, is the struggle for recognition of the semi-legal trade unions, the Workers Commissions, by the employers.

THREAT

This poses a fundamental threat to Franco's fascist regime with its corporatist system of state unions or "syndicatos". A further setback to this system was the recent drastic cut in jail sentences on the "Carabanchel Ten" - a group of militant workers who were self-confessed members of the Workers Commissions.

As this takes place, the 20% inflation continually creates further class confrontation, as housewives in a Madrid market showed recently by pelting police patrols with tomatoes in protest against soaring prices.

The Financial Times of January 29th admitted: "Spain's security forces are having their work cut out to cope with the economic and political challenges to the regime of 82 year old General Franco."

Police intervened in a number of Spanish cities last week to put down demonstrations by workers and left-wing students. Student marches were attacked in Madrid and Malaga, and in Barcelona on February 25th police invaded a church to arrest the wives of workers at the giant SEAT car plant, who had barricaded themselves in the church in protest against the sackings of car-workers.

POLITICAL CRISIS

In the same week the political crisis of the Franco regime took a further turn with the resignation of Minister of Labour de la Fuentes on February 24th. Fuentes, a lifelong member of Franco's 'Falange' political machine, joined the cabinet in 1969 at the same time as a number of other ministers associated with the 'liberal' Opus Dei wing of Spanish fascism.

Opus Dei (Latin for 'Work of God') is closely linked to the Catholic Church hierarchy, and

has stood for gradual 'reform' of the regime, and a swift entry into the Common Market.

The immediate cause of Fuentes' resignation was his draft labour law, which was to attempt to head off the movement of the working class by the concession of 'legalising' strikes. The majority in the cabinet, backed by the major employers, would not accept the removal of bosses' right to sack striking workers on the spot and without pay.

The fascist bourgeoisie correctly see that in the climate following the upheavals in Portugal, even the smallest concession to the working class could lead to a revolutionary ferment.



FRANCO

Without commenting directly on Fuentes' resignation, Prime Minister Arias Navarro - in a televised press conference on February 26th - tried to heal some of the divisions in the ruling class. He was himself opposed, he said, to any constitutional reform which would permit universal suffrage (i.e. the restoration of capitalist 'democracy') and warned that 'professional revolutionaries' were out to undermine the nation.

But, while specifically banning Communists from political legality, he suggested that 'leftist' groupings which accepted the principles of Franco's National Movement would "always find the Government to be understanding."

COMMON MARKET

The real divisions among the Spanish ruling class are on tactics, not strategy. With one eye they look towards Western Europe and the Common Market, where they all would like to take shelter in the world economic crisis.

The bourgeois politicians of Western Europe are eager enough to have Spain - last week French President Giscard d'Estaing entertained Prince Juan Carlos, Franco's nominee to succeed him as head of state, on an 'amiable' shooting excursion near Paris - but they are unable to negotiate immediate entry. So deep are the scars left by the Spanish revolution and the civil war of 1936-9, and the following four decades of Fascist rule, on the European working class, that the bourgeoisie cannot safely admit Spain without more visible trappings of 'democracy'. To do so could upset delicate relations of class compromise within the EEC.

With its other eye Spanish fascism is keenly watching the development of the Portuguese revolution, now resonating through the whole of Spanish society. Dozens of army officers in the Barcelona region are already involved in protests against the use of troops against 'civil disturbances'; when two junior officers were arrested in February many others, including a Lieutenant Colonel, signed a petition in their defence.

But on one question the ruling class are clear and united. They face revolutionary struggles with the working class.

The growth of semi-legal workers'

organisations in the 1960's was only temporarily halted by the 1969 emergency decrees - nominally directed against 'unrest' in the universities.

STRIKE WAVE BEGINS

During Franco's illness last summer 10,000 workers shut down over thirty factories in Catalonia (the region around Barcelona) and faced the police in street demonstrations which lasted over a week.

In the Autumn 10,000 workers of the Barcelona SEAT plant struck, were locked out, and then held the first mass meetings seen in the city since the days of the Republic.

Shortly following this 12,000 workers in the northern Basque country carried out a three day general strike against inflation and the continued imprisonment of Basque leaders.

Now such struggles are increasing in frequency and intensity, embracing an ever-wider cross-section of Spanish society.

The regime intends to face the renewal of the Spanish revolution with a combination of repression and manoeuvre. What is in question is the character of the manoeuvres required. As a first step, important sections of the Spanish ruling class want greater 'flexibility' of political arrangements - particularly the ability to deal openly with the Workers Commissions which now clearly have the major representative voice amongst workers in most of the biggest industries. In this Stalinism plays a central role. The 'official' Communist Party has made its readiness for class-collaboration crystal-clear.

CLASS COLLABORATION

Last summer Party Secretary Santiago Carrillo joined hands in Paris with former Opus Dei minister Rafael Calvo Serrer and other capitalist politicians, such as Carlist monarchists, to form the Spanish Democratic Council (Junta Democratica de Espana). Their 'Declaration' explains that the civil war is 'now distant' and that there is no 'plan more reasonable, than that of the restoration of the democratic state'.

Among the parties which the Declaration credits with 'opposition to the dictatorship' are both the Carlists and Opus Dei.

POPULAR FRONT

The Spanish CP's policy, therefore, is far more than a repetition of the Popular Front with which Stalin destroyed the Spanish revolution in 1936-9. The 'Junta Democratica' already embraces capitalist parties far to the right of those in the Republic's government on the eve of Franco's revolt in 1936.

The class essence, however, remains the same - to check the independent movement of the masses and strangle the worker's revolution in the name of 'unity' with all supposedly 'anti-fascist' elements. This is the Spanish CP's concept of the "peaceful road to socialism" - an alliance with the representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Not even Franco's officer corps is excluded - the declaration appeals to the patriotism and professional honour of the armed forces. Thus the tragic lessons of Chile are kept from the Spanish worker, and the class nature of the army is obscured.

The fascists too, have learnt from the 1930's and they know that the defeat of the Spanish Social Revolution will require not only armed repression, but treachery in the leadership of the workers' movement.

The most urgent task facing class conscious Spanish workers and socialists is to ensure that the lessons of the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism in Spain in 1936-39 are learnt to the full. This means it is necessary to build a revolutionary Trotskyist party to lead the fight against fascism on a class basis.

USA

If President Ford cannot take decisive steps to impose massive unemployment on the American working class, an ultra-conservative third party may come forward to do the job for him.

This is the message from a four-day conference of 500 right-wingers held last month in Washington D.C., under the joint sponsorship of 'Young Americans for Freedom' and the 'American Conservative Union'.

The delegates sharply expressed their disappointment with Ford's vacillating response to the economic crisis, and there was strong feeling for a formal break with the Republican Party. The man on whom many of the American extreme right pin their hopes is the former governor of California Ronald Reagan.

Reagan is a natural for the job. As the "liberal Democrat" president of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947 to 1952 he distinguished himself by frequent denunciations of "Communist infiltrators" in true McCarthy style.

In 1952 he appeared as a "Democrat for Eisenhower", and after a decade as paid propagandist for General Electric Co., joined arch-conservative Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign.

Reagan's tenure as governor of California from 1966 was marked by increased taxes on the poor and drastic cuts in spending on social welfare, all in the name of a "balanced budget".

For the time being Reagan has not committed himself to a 'third party' - much to the chagrin of grass-roots reactionaries - suggesting that big business still hopes to teach the slow-learning President Ford how to

make the workers pay for recession. In any event the complete economic confusion which is rampant in bourgeois circles in the US prevents much of a decisive move at this stage.

The Democrats for instance are now in support of petrol rationing and a "prices and incomes policy", while Ford concentrates on welfare cuts, petrol taxes and personal tax concessions. Neither course offers much hope of a solution to the crisis, yet the employers are hesitant to reject their traditional parties.

But Reagan is sure to be heard from again.

While the ruling class have two parties and the seeds of a third to protect their interests, American workers have no political party.

The Democratic Party, unlike the British Labour Party, does not owe its existence to the working class but to 18th century aristocrats with populist leanings.

The Democrats have been many things to all people, apologists for the decaying slave society in the 1850's and salvage men of capitalism during the 1930's through Roosevelt's fraudulent "New Deal" of public works and social welfare.

They have long had the collusion of America's right-wing trade union bureaucracy, who will now cooperate in every way possible to stifle the rising militancy of workers in defence of their jobs and living standards.

Workers of the United States must fight to build the independent party of the working class in preparation for the struggle against capitalism in crisis.

This party must be based upon the organised working class in the trade unions, and within such a Labour Party the Trotskyists will continue to fight for the demands and perspectives of the Transitional Programme. Thus the qualitative struggle to develop revolutionary leadership must be combined with the broader fight in the US labour movement to turn trade unionists from capitalist to working class politics in the building of the US Labour Party.

MEXICO

Luis Echeverria is President of Mexico. Last week he was standing on a red carpet at Mexico City airport welcoming the Queen and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh on their state visit to Latin American countries.

The week before Echeverria was the keynote speaker at the third session of the 'International Investigative Commission of the Crimes of the Chilean Military Junta', being held in Mexico City.

A hundred and thirty delegates - largely Stalinists and Social Democrats - from thirty-five countries were in attendance. The American press carried photographs of Echeverria embracing Mrs. Allende, widow of the murdered Popular Unity Chilean president.

Opening the 'investigation', he said 'for reasons of ethics and of survival itself, Latin America cannot remain unmoved by situations such as those which have arisen from the overthrow of the regime headed by Salvador Allende, whose memory I exalt today before you and the entire world.'

What's odd about this? Only that, according to former CIA officer in Mexico Philip Agee (author of an expose of the CIA reviewed in Socialist Press of February 20th) Echeverria has also had other, 'unofficial' responsibilities.

According to Mr. Agee he was on the CIA's payroll (with the code-name LITEMPO) in 1968. In October of that year he was Minister of Internal Security, directly responsible for the Army intervention against left-wing student demonstrations in which several hundred were killed.

Even the CIA chief of station in Mexico at that time thought that Echeverria had 'overreacted'.

TURKEY

Right-wing violence erupted in over fifty Turkish cities during February, with attacks on trades unionists, teachers and students, and the sacking of shops whose owners were suspected of left-wing sympathies.

One dead and twenty-nine wounded was the toll in Malatya, in eastern Turkey, and similar 'pogroms' whipped up with the aid of Muslim religious fanaticism and anti-communism, took place in the other cities of the Anatolia region.

The moving force behind the attacks was the fascist National Front, formed last year by the merging of four extreme right-wing tendencies, and unofficially encouraged by the Irmak government.

But while the fascists ran riot in the more backward eastern areas of the country, massive marches and demonstrations took place in the western cities, mainly led by the Stalinist-influenced 'TOB-DER' (All-teachers' unity and solidarity association).

In Izmir, on the Aegean coast, 20,000 marched against inflation and unemployment in mid-February. There were similar demonstrations in Istanbul and the capital, Ankara.

The Irmak regime is finding itself unable to use the occupation of Cyprus as a diversion from the economic crisis now gripping Turkey. The cost of living increased by about 30 per cent last year, and urban unemployment rose to about 2 million, with a further estimated 3 million in the countryside.

It is to deal with this situation that the government continues to enforce laws and a curfew in the major cities.

EEC: IMMIGRANTS UNDER ATTACK

Immigrant workers in West Germany are first in line - as far as the government and employers are concerned - to pay the price of the economic crisis and recession. There are over four million so-called 'guest workers' and their families in the Federal Republic. Over a quarter of them are Turkish, with large numbers also from Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy and Spain.

They were drawn into the country by industry's labour shortage and thirst for profits during the boom. Now that unemployment is biting they all face attacks.

CUTS

Immediate cuts in family allowances came into force in January. Payments are to be based on the cost of living in their home-country, not in West Germany - where it is much higher. These savage measures threaten to break up tens of thousands of working class families.

Regional governments are 'urgently debating' a bill drafted by the Federal government to limit

the proportion of immigrants in the work-force in urban areas to 12%. Some districts of West Berlin have already banned the hiring of further foreign workers by employers.

Moves are afoot to delay or prevent free movement of workers between Turkey and the Common Market - due in 1976 according to Turkey's agreement of association with the Common Market states.

LAWS

Stricter enforcement of the law against immigrants without work permits is expected. Employers are legally bound to pay for the deportation of immigrants discovered to be working 'illegally'. But in the past the authorities have turned a blind eye to many of these workers, allowing the employers to use their 'illegal' status as a weapon against trade unionism.

The German ruling class has an experience second to none in using racialism to split workers and rally the middle class to reaction. Their political moves now include 'public opinion polls' organised by the capitalist press to show that immigrants - and not the

capitalist economic crisis - are the cause of unemployment.

BAN

In France, too, 800,000 Algerian workers face a state-sponsored campaign to 'repatriate' them. Since July last year the Gaullist regime has imposed a ban on the entry of further workers from all countries outside the Common Market.

And in Italy - which has over five million workers overseas - the government has called a national conference on migration policy. Their real concern is not the conditions of workers living abroad, but the impact on the balance of payments of the fact that emigrants' remittances to their families at home have fallen by more than half since 1972.

DIVIDE

All of these moves reflect the world wide crisis, and seek to divide and weaken the ranks of the working class.

The Workers Socialist League rejects this reactionary nationalism and stands squarely behind the right of all workers to live and work in the country of their choice.

TARIFFS NO ANSWER

"But for the oldest industrial country whose industry was geared to the world market and lead an offensive and conquering character, the transition to protectionism is historical testimony to the beginning of a process of mortification, and signifies in practice the maintaining of certain branches of industries that are less viable in the given world situation, at the expense of other branches of the same British industry that are better adapted to the conditions of the world and the home market. The programme of senile protectionism of Baldwin's policy can be countered not by an equally senile and moribund Free Trade policy, but only by the political programme of a socialist overturn. But in order to tackle this programme it is necessary as a preliminary to purge the party both of the reactionary protectionists like Guest [right wing Labourite and reactionary free traders like Macdonald]." (Trotsky: *Writings on Britain*, Vol. II, p. 116)

in dealing with the current crisis anyway."

TUC

The TUC in their proposals to Healey for his budget recommend that import controls should be imposed as a temporary measure.

The paper of the Communist Party, the Morning Star, says about this in an editorial: "It's call for the temporary imposition of import controls is also a measure which is long overdue, and is now a matter of urgency in view of the serious crisis shown by the huge deficit on the balance of payments."

"As a result, without physical controls on these imports, expansion would become difficult to maintain for it would suck in imports and add to the trade deficit."

Labour MP Robin Stott said to a demonstration of mill workers in Ince-in-Makerfield: "Bri-

But instead of any international perspective of fighting for car workers all over the world to struggle for transitional demands leading to the struggle for power, leading Stalinist in Fords, Sid Harraway, says:

"We believe that the profits Ford has made out of British workers are being used to build this plant (in Spain) instead of being ploughed back in this country."

As well as telling the company that the work for a new light car - destined for Spain - could equally well be done in Britain, Dagenham stewards also pressed the company to discontinue the building of Cortinas in Amsterdam.

JOBS

At the beginning of the moves in defence of jobs at Imperials, a 350 strong demonstration in London chanted "Yanks out", having been led to the conclusion that British capitalism is less ruthless than the American type.

This was played up to by the Hull "social audit" produced by the union which advocates export subsidies coupled with "some kind of import control, possibly of a temporary nature" to protect the home market against "foreign" competition.

On the 25th February, thousands of Plessey workers in Liverpool demonstrated against short-time working and against a £30m Post Office contract being given to a Swedish firm. The leadership were calling for a public inquiry into the granting of this contract.

MAIN ENEMY

Trotsky's demand to clear out the Macdonalds means just as much a fight against all these leaderships who bring into the workers movement the bourgeois ideas of protectionism.

As Lenin correctly established at the opening of the First World War "the main enemy is at home". There is no solution to workers problems in any country without an all out fight against their "own" ruling class and the fight for socialist internationalism.

by
TONY RICHARDSON

WHAT IS THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE?

The Workers Socialist League was formed on December 22nd after over 200 members were expelled from the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The reason for the expulsions was that Alan Thornett, who was at the time a Central Committee member of the WRP, set out to bring about a discussion within that party on the wrong positions being taken by the Healy leadership and the Workers Press.

The issues were first raised on the Central Committee, and that committee agreed to circulate a document written by comrade Thornett, containing a statement of his differences, and to arrange a 'full and free' discussion within the party prior to the first annual conference. That free discussion never took place. Anyone who in any way supported the document was expelled.

This split was a product of particular political conditions. The rapid development of the economic crisis and the forward movement of the working class all over the world produced the conditions to build revolutionary parties. Yet it was precisely in this period that the WRP began to decline in all its areas of work. It was this decline more than any other factor which raised questions which led to an examination of the political positions of the WRP leadership and to Alan Thornett's documents. As the split emerged, the sectarianism of the WRP, its departure from the Transitional Programme, and the way its maximum programme isolates the WRP from the working class became clear.

To understand the response to comrade Thornett's document in the WRP it is necessary to recognise the period we are now in. The defence of jobs through the fight for the sliding scale of hours without loss of pay; the defence of living standards through the fight for the sliding scale of wages related to rising prices; the challenging of the employer and the preparation of the struggle for power by the fight to open the books and establish workers control in the fight for nationalisation under workers' management; are now called for in this situation in the form of a programme of transitional demands which will form a bridge between the present consciousness and struggles of the working class to the need to take power. Yet the WRP right up to the opening of the discussion by comrade Thornett had never seriously fought for any of these demands. Instead it restricted itself to the sterile maximum demand "nationalise the economy without compensation under workers control".

The impossibility of any kind of opposition within the WRP forced us to found the Workers Socialist League as an independent organisation which will maintain and fight to develop the traditions and principles of Trotskyism. We will continue to maintain a critique of the WRP leadership, but most important for us is our ability to break from WRP method and turn to recruiting and training the new forces thrown into the struggle in this period - trade unionists, professional workers, housewives, students and youth - in the fight to construct the new party.

We will fight against all forms of revisionism - state capitalism and the Pabloite revisionists of the IMG, against stalinism and reformism. Already it is clear that our struggles for Trotskyism in Britain take place under conditions which must create similar splits and discussions throughout the world. We are confident that our movement will soon be able to play an important role in the strengthening of the Trotskyist Fourth International and the development of revolutionary parties in every country to fight capitalism.

Only five weeks after forming the League we were able to assemble the necessary political, editorial and material resources to begin regular publication of a Trotskyist newspaper. We are certain we can win a big response and very rapidly go forward to a weekly paper as the organiser of a movement of considerable political strength.

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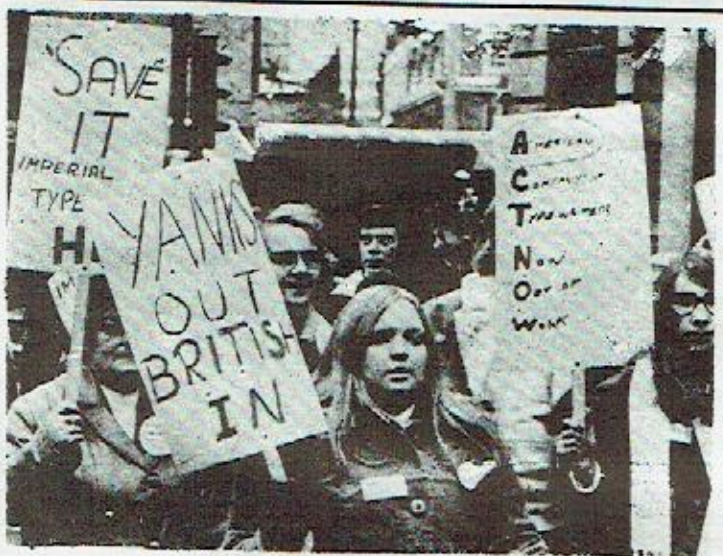
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LETTERS

THE EDITORIAL BOARD WANTS TO ENCOURAGE
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Imperial Typewriters
workers demonstrate

This is how Trotsky in 1925 saw the policy of tariffs and protectionism that we now see raising its head once more.

The policies of sections of the ruling class who complain of "too many" Japanese cars, televisions, radios and even ball-bearings being imported and calling for tariffs to be raised at a time of capitalist crisis find their echoes in the trade union bureaucracy together with the Labour leadership, even including the 'lefts' of the Tribune Group, who are all in favour of tariffs.

In the statement by the Tribune Group MPs on the 31st January they said ".....there is a strong case for selective import controls

tain has for far too long been the dumping ground for every underdeveloped country in the world."

INTERNATIONAL

Their efforts are to divert trade union struggles along nationalist lines rather than class lines. The possibility of uniting internationally the struggles of the working class can be seen clearest in the motor industry where workers all over the world are laid off or on short time.

BY HAND AND BRAIN

A STUDY OF MICHELANGELO

by ADAM WESTOBY

MICHELANGELO Buonarroti (1475 - 1564), one of the most skilled artists of all time was born exactly 500 years ago today.

His anniversary has called forth a deluge of ink from Fleet Street and the universities - much of which expresses less than a single pen-stroke of one of his most fragmentary drawings.

Why is this? Michelangelo was above all else a sculptor, a highly trained worker of stone. At the same time he was a supremely imaginative and profound thinker, continually struggling to grasp and rework the inner significance of the figures which his hammer and chisel drew out of the marble.

He was a genius because this unity and conflict of manual and mental work was carried to a point from which he seemed to tower above his time; even his contemporaries called him 'Michelangelo the divine'.

Most of the 'art critics' now spilling words over this or that aspect of his work are reduced to worshipping him as an individual 'spiritual' genius, spicing their enthusiasm with anecdotes about his working methods or the eccentricities of his life and times.

At the same time they belittle him.

Michelangelo was a genius because he was a man working, thinking among men, not in spite of it. Only historical materialism, grasping the importance of the class division between mental and manual work, can begin rationally to celebrate him.

RENAISSANCE

When, in the early 1490's, Michelangelo was a young apprentice at the Florence palace of Lorenzo the Magnificent (head of the Medici banking family, and effectively 'king' of the Florentine republic) the first period of the Italian Renaissance was reaching its peak.

Enormous wealth from trade and finance allowed cultivated and self-confident patrons to sponsor circles of intellectuals; poets, philosophers, mathematicians, scientists - and for the first time a few artists, previously regarded as mere 'mechanicals'.

To the uncouth young Michelangelo, coming in from the dust of the stone-yards to listen to talk of the Greek myths and Plato's 'ideal forms' at Lorenzo's sumptuous table, life must have seemed fresh and buoyant.

But by the time he died Italy, and Europe, had entered social upheavals on a scale unequalled until this century. Each war and crisis embroiled the Church, the Papacy (and therefore God).

In 1494 the monk Savonarola was haranguing the Florentines to burn all 'voluptuous' (i.e. nude) paintings and to return the Church from 'luxury' to religion. In 1498 Florentine rationality reasserted itself and Savonarola was himself burnt (having been previously excommunicated by Alexander VI).

Savonarola looked back towards the 'simplicity' of the middle ages. But he was the Italian preface to the German Reformation.

When Martin Luther returned from Rome to nail his famous ninety-five 'theses' against priestly corruption on the church door at Wittenburg in 1517 (thesis 50 reads: 'Christians must be taught that if the Pope knew of the exactions of the preachers of indulgences, he would rather have St. Peter's basilica reduced to ashes than built with the skin, flesh and bones of his sheep.') he spoke for the advance-guard of the German bourgeoisie.

He also set the match to a century and a half of religious wars; and the reaction to him brought the Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits and the Inquisition. A side-effect (the result of disastrous Papal diplomacy) was the Sack of Rome in 1527.



MARY HOLDING
THE DEAD CHRIST

Michelangelo was in Florence at that time. But in 1534 he returned to Rome to work for the Papacy - still rich but now highly unstable - for the last thirty years of his life; in 1546 (already aged 71) he took over the completion of St. Peter's.

UPHEAVALS REFLECTED

These social and religious convulsions are reflected in Michelangelo - both in his public works and in his more private thoughts, known to us mainly through his poetry and letters.

The abstract side of his thinking was concentrated within an intense religious belief. But the main subject, and symbol of his work was the human body - generally the male nude.

His relatively early drawing of the resurrected Christ, (illustrated) can be seen in the excellent exhibition of his drawings now on - free

- at the British Museum. The figure has an astonishing life, reflecting the miracle of the resurrection. Its proportions are perfect. It seems both to rest and to turn on a single, impossible point, a toe resting on nothing. The slightly exaggerated muscles give it a more-than-human energy.

Even without knowing what it represents we can see Michelangelo intended to convey something miraculous. And it does come, quite literally, from the dead - Michelangelo gained his knowledge of anatomy from corpses.

But Michelangelo understood his own knowledge of the human body mystically. As he wrote in a poem "I can never now perceive Thy eternal light within a mortal being without great longing."

For him it is faith, not his own training, that draws his pencil across the paper. But these two elements do not yet conflict; it is a work of youth and self-confidence. (The drawing also has something of sculpture in it. It fills space out to become three-dimensional. But it does so with the limbs and muscles themselves - particularly the foreshortening of the right hand and leg - not with the painter's devices of perspective and background.)

ARTISTIC CRISIS

In his later years Michelangelo went through a complex moral and artistic crisis. He was idolised by the rich and famous (he outlived twelve Popes, most of whom vied for his services).

He was surrounded by mediocre hangers-on and fame seekers. The commissions foisted on him outweighed even his energy, but perfectionism prevented his using many assistants.

He developed an intense emotional relationship with a handsome and intelligent young man, Tommaso de' Cavalieri. Self-doubts and guilt carried him towards an austere, reforming and sterile current of intellectuals within the Catholic Church.

By the time he came to paint his huge fresco of *The Last Judgement* (1534-41, Sistine Chapel, Rome) he could no longer use idealised figures as his symbols - most of the bodies are heavy, and in a sense, ugly.

The composition as a whole has lost the balance and sanity of his earlier paintings on the ceiling of the same chapel. And he includes in *The Last Judgement* a grotesque portrait of himself (illustrated) as a damned soul - a wretched head and skin hung over the abyss.

Michelangelo never resolved this joint crisis of conscience and art. But his struggle to do so produced sculpture that reaches across the centuries to the same problems that face the best of today's sculptors - for example, Henry Moore, in his rocks carved into massive harmony with themselves.

SCULPTURE

A piece of stone sculpture is essentially just a piece of stone, cut and finished to a particular



GROTESQUE
SELF-PORTRAIT

shape and surface. It abstracts from colour and movement to place all its meaning in shape.

But this shape is no pure form - it exists only through the stone. If the form is to accord with the content, the meaning of the sculpture must come not only from its shape, but from the qualities of the stone itself - in the case of marble, cold and hard.

The true job of the sculptor, therefore, is not to work up the stone into a semblance of being other than what it is, but to bring its essence out of it.

To do this he must find, and form in his mind, a notion, an image which expresses the inner nature of his material. Then he must physically, materially, attack the stone to bring this notion into being - as Michelangelo did, working quickly without scale models (an eyewitness described how 'he attacked the work with such energy and fire that I thought it would fly to pieces. With one blow he brought down fragments three or four fingers in breadth, and so exactly at the point marked, that if only a tiny piece of marble more had fallen, he would

have been in danger of ruining the whole work.'))

Michelangelo was, at least in part, conscious of this need for an image adequate to the material. He wrote that "the greatest artist has no conception which a single block of marble does not potentially contain within its mass, but only a hand obedient to the mind can penetrate to this image", and that the sculptor goes to the 'tugged live stone, then claims that which the chisel promised, and the conception lives again in such beauty that none may confine its spirit' (Poems, between 1536-1546).

The sculptor's mind, therefore, must itself 'be obedient' to the limits which confront his hand and chisel - that is to the qualities, the 'life', of the stone. He must consciously unite mental and manual labour in the sculpture as a whole.

In the late 'Pieta' (Mary holding the dead Christ; illustrated), left unfinished when he died, Michelangelo was struggling for this unity.

He works within the images of his time - religious human figures. But the image is not accidentally chosen. Only in a corpse can the pallor and cold of the marble fully express itself.

Its hardness lives in the stiffness of the dead man's legs. The sculpture is an experiment, and in a sense a failure. The severed arm is the relic of an abandoned form. And in his struggle to get within the stone's nature Michelangelo has almost forgotten anatomical realism, so that the upper part of Christ's body is already far too thin.

But this 'failure' shows a struggle far more intense than his most virtuoso works.

In our time, now that the scientific theory of Marxism shows the material basis for the working class to end class rule, and with it the false separation of mental and manual labour, we can see new significance in the work of Michelangelo, who fought to unite these two opposites.

It is through this struggle, though shackled as he was by mysticism and religion, that Michelangelo reaches out to us today. In this sense the modern working class is the inheritor of Michelangelo.



THE RESURRECTED CHRIST

MOUTHS STUFFED WITH GOLD:

the consultants and their private patients

by R. ROBERTS

The National Health Service is now the scene of great battles, which will decide whether or not it survives. At a time when it is struggling from day to day on critically short finances, workers are now demanding an end to the parasitic private practice that continuously drains the NHS resources.

The presence of pay beds means that the half-a-million people waiting for treatment on non-urgent lists (where the patient will not die, but may suffer a long period of discomfort or disability) are subjected to a form of blackmail: if they pay they can be treated almost immediately.

This is a powerful argument since the average wait is 3½ months, and one in three has to wait over a year — a long time to watch private patients jump the queue.

It is intolerable to health workers to see two standards of medical care, and a boom in private treatment while the NHS is starved, especially when the former is riddled with abuse.

Private patients get, besides far superior amenities, more medical care to the point where it is alleged that consultants neglect their NHS patients for the lure of private fees. Certainly they can use their position as hospital top-dogs to stifle any criticism by their junior doctors.

MONOPOLY

The consultants, top-paid hospital doctors, have a monopoly of the right to treat private patients in NHS hospitals, freely using the wide range of specialised service and equipment available in a large modern hospital, but which no private finance could provide.

They can pocket the fees — the 12,000 consultants earn £20m this way last year — but have no expenses.

One Midland surgeon does one private operation a week which earns him an extra £5,000 a year and as a part-time consultant in the NHS, he can offset £2,000 of this, his car, private secretary and consulting room: at home against tax.

In fact private care is subsidised by the Government — an average charge for a pay bed is £174 per week, while fees at the private London Clinic range from £182 to £252, and start at £371 per week at the luxury Wellington Hospital, where suites cost £100 a day, and the cellar is full of Chateau Mouton Rothschild at £23.60 a bottle.

The director, Dr. Arthur Levin, admitted "if they (the NHS) accounted properly, their costs would be much higher". The fees do not benefit the NHS anyway, but go straight to the Treasury.

It was the cowardice of the Labour Party that put pay beds in the NHS. The Labour government had a 200 majority when, in 1946, Bevan moved the NHS Act through Parliament, for a Health Service free at time of use and financed out of National Insurance and general taxation. In July 1948 the Minister of Health duly took over 3,600 hospitals and clinics in England and Wales.

But the consultants were furious. Their organisation, the BMA, complained that this over-rode local authority responsibility, and thereby their power and that of other Tories; that the 'voluntary

principle' had gone (the situation where the country's health depended on flag-days for charity hospitals) and that consultants had to take state patients. Strike action was threatened.

The BMA had always been extremely reactionary — in 1911 it had even objected to the introduction of National Insurance on the same grounds of 'freedom for the profession'!

Bevan gave in. "I'll stuff their mouths with gold" he said as he made teaching hospitals independent (to give consultants more power), put a Tory-dominated bureaucracy in charge, and gave them private beds to make their fortunes with.

The Tories always loved private practice — the Heath government encouraged BUPA by giving companies tax benefits against their insurance in industry and commerce, and more private wards were opened while Barber cut £111m from the NHS budget.



CASTLE: Minister of Health..... and private patient!

They produced a White Paper in 1973 which concluded that pay beds were to the overall benefit of the NHS. It claimed, incredibly, that NHS patients had the same medical care, and that abolition of pay beds would not affect waiting lists — a complete lie since the turnover of private patients (122,000 a year) would reduce the list by 25% a year until it vanished.

The whitewash was perhaps not surprising since most who drafted the report were Tories, one of them Timothy Raison, a Tory MP and director of Private Patients Plan, second largest private health insurance company!

But a new force was to arise to challenge the Tories' determined defence of privilege. The months since early 1973 had seen an unprecedented series of wage struggles in the NHS, involving ancillary workers, technicians, ambulance-men, nurses, junior doctors and radiographers. These workers fought, many for the first time, with great determination and a new enthusiasm to end their chronic low pay, and were successful to the extent that they burst through the compromising and delaying policies of their union leaders.

N.U.P.E. BAN

Last summer this confident movement came to the defence of the Health Service when in May, at the height of the nurses' struggle, the first ban on private patients in NHS hospitals was started in 40 hospitals around Newcastle by the local NUPE branches.

The leadership of this union, organising 480,000 nurses, ancillaries and local government workers, were taken aback at this enactment of official union policy, and its spread was discouraged and impeded by local officials.

Yet, five weeks later, COHSE; the other main nurses' union, decided to ban all private patients and agency staff in the NHS, and the national headlines were caught when on July 2nd the NUPE branch at Charing Cross Hospital stopped all services to the patients on the private 15th floor, and demanded that the beds should be made public immediately.

CASTLE

As the ban spread to Manchester, Blackpool, Norfolk and 7 hospitals in London, the consultants threatened to treat only emergency cases if their pay beds were ended.

On July 6th Barbara Castle, herself recently emerged from the private ward of Guys Hospital in London, made both sides call off action with the promise that pay beds would be dealt with by the Owen Working Party, then enquiring into consultant salaries. Pay beds would stay till then.

Albert Spanswick of COHSE led the retreat: "Private practice has no home within the NHS. This agreement with Mrs. Castle has in effect, whether the BMA likes it or not, put private practice on notice to quit".

But Castle did not reduce pay beds at Charing Cross, did not support the action there and had no intention of "arbitrarily reducing numbers of pay beds".

However, she would cut the NHS — only £47m of the £111m cut by the Tories was replaced, and inflation is doing even more damage.

The NHS is presently being sabotaged by the work-to-contract of the consultants which started on January 2nd. This is no ordinary pay claim, but a deeply reactionary rearguard action.

The consultants, now earning between £5,433 and £7,947 asked Barbara Castle for a new contract early last year to eliminate unpaid overtime due to increased work-load. The Owen Working Party was set up in April 1974 and Castle reported the new contract on December 20th.

This pays for extra sessions (overtime) but is far more generous to whole-time consultants not allowed private practice income than to part-timers who do private work.

NEW CONTRACT

For example, whole-timers will get a 'total commitment' allowance of possibly £1,700 p.a. — private practice brings in an average of £2,000 p.a. Additional 'extra effort' awards and extra work will go mainly to whole-timers.

This would cut the income of the 57% of consultants who do private work so much that the BMA estimates that 80% of them would give it up.

It has rallied its members under the old banner of 'freedom for the profession' which means the right to knock up huge fortunes at the expense of the NHS.

Since January 2nd the consultants have been penalising NHS patients to demand that their lucrative private practice carries on. This has severely hit the already crisis-ridden health service.

In Crewe the sanctions started



Consultants use NHS facilities free



on December 11th and outpatient waiting times are now 7 months; in Birmingham there is a 70% reduction in non-acute treatments.

The Labour Government cannot stand up to the consultants because they will not abolish private practice, which is why the health trade unions must take the initiative.

The consultants' bluff of resigning from the NHS must be called. The NHS gives them their reputation, their full medical back-up, and access to both NHS and private patients under the same roof.

As it is the cost of private treatment and poor facilities of private nursing homes means the NHS gets most acute illnesses and major operations. Said one consultant: "I don't do an acute case privately unless it's easy money".

The consultants wield power over their junior doctors by the allocation of 'merit awards' ranging from £1,506 to £7,947 p.a., termed by one ASTMS doctor "a political weapon to keep people in line", and also by the guild-like 'firm' system they preside over in hospitals which obstructs promotion of medical staff and means juniors are dependent on them for references, i.e. the whole progress or their training.

They oppose the expansion of their grade because it will mean they have to share the local private practice revenue.

To call their bluff means to abolish the post of consultant and replace it with groups of specialists in which there is continuous promotion of doctors for seniority and actual skills.

Neither can the Provident Associations and the other companies be allowed to reap fat profits from nursing homes for the wealthy run on NHS-trained personnel, and on agencies hiring such nurses back to the short-staffed NHS at

twice the rate an NHS nurse is paid.

Allied Investments, a tin mining group, has three nursing homes and the British Nursing Association, the biggest nursing agency.

BUPA has not only an income of £28m a year from its insurance subscribers, but 24 nursing homes with 800 beds in the Nuffield Nursing Homes Trust, and a nursing agency.

The Harley Street Clinic, 75% owned by Americal Medical International, which wanted to put up wings of NHS hospitals for private care, has a £½m turnover.

Only the expropriation of these private agencies, hospitals and clinics and of the monopoly drugs and equipment suppliers can guarantee the provision of a free medical service of the highest quality for all.

This situation calls for action by all workers.

To defend the Health Service, health workers must demand that all private admissions be stopped immediately and that private wards be made public.

The Labourites are quite willing to preside over the collapse of the NHS, which in many areas had not the finance to replace workers who leave or to continue to keep wards open. The fight against pay beds, to defend the NHS, to defend standards of living for health workers must raise more and more the ownership and control of the whole health service.

Joint committees must be set up of all health service unions to look at the accounts of the Area and Regional Health Authorities, and to fight for a controlling voice in the allocation of finance.

This fight must begin in the Labour and trade union movement without delay. Every day that nothing is done, more workers and their families are put at risk by the collapse of the NHS.

MARXISM, MINORITIES, AND THE WORKING CLASS

In the British Leyland Body plant in Cowley, where the right wing leadership has been under heavy pressure from workers as they collaborate with management over speed-up, and hold back a wages struggle on the annual wage review, the entire strategy of the right wing has been to attack minorities.

Every action by a group of workers against speed-up or in defence of their conditions is taken to a mass meeting where they are labelled a 'minority' and voted down.

This of course is not confined to Cowley. The right wing have developed the technique throughout the trade union movement. The campaign against minorities begins with the employers, however, and is essentially an argument of capitalism. British Leyland preceded the victimisation in Cowley with a prolonged campaign against minorities. But it finds its reflection in the actions of the lackeys of capitalism in the labour movement.

It is important to recognise that it is not just the right wing and the employers who attack minorities. The revisionists of the IS and the IMG, through their 'rank and file' positions, arrive at the same point. In the recent tuners' strike at Cowley for example - a dispute which very much reflected the strength and combativity of the working class - the IMG attacked the tuners for a "sectional dispute" (i.e. a minority) and criticised them for splitting the 'unity' of the plant. This attack came at a time when the only basis of any real unity was through full support for the tuners and through their victory, strengthening the whole plant.

Wilson uses the same terminology as the IMG in his attack on British Leyland workers on January 3rd, when he said: "We cannot afford any avoidable surge in production costs, which would work through relentlessly to household costs, caused either by thoughtless or by calculated sectional demands for higher living standards which are unrealistic in the year or two ahead".

Today, therefore, as the working class moves into struggle against both the employers and their own social democratic and stalinist leaders, a clear understanding of the relationship of both the revolutionary party (the advanced revolutionary minority) and the advanced layer of the working class to the broad masses is crucial to the development of leadership.

RANK AND FILEISM

Rank and fileism means in practice the subordination of the advanced minority to the spontaneous movement of the working class as a whole. This is a centrist conception, wavering between open reformism and revolution. It prevents a clear understanding of the role of minorities and is thus in line with the requirements of the employers and the tasks posed for them by the crisis.

In attacking minorities in the interest of 'unity' the revisionists make the issue of unity into an abstract principle, a quantitative question - starting from agreement between the largest number of workers. They are unable to understand the development of consciousness of the masses through contradiction and conflict between the advanced minority and the mass of workers, and within this struggle, the fight of the communist workers for programme through the building of the revolutionary party.

Today the victimisation of militant workers is on the agenda as the employers are forced to implement speed-up, short time, redundancy and plant closures. They know that to carry out such attacks against the resistance of the working class brings the prospect of all out confrontations, of sit-ins,

of occupations and the struggle of workers to establish workers control over production and to defend jobs.

The employers also know that central to all these struggles is the influence of the most class conscious section of the working class - the advanced minority - which forms the focus of the resistance around which less conscious layers rally, and around which, as spontaneous struggles emerge, the fight for leadership and programme centre.

EMPLOYERS' MOVES

Central to the employers strategy, therefore, is the need to victimise this minority and attempt to isolate them from the broad layers of workers.

In this the ruling class are moving in a number of different ways. Firstly by direct action of the employers in the factories, where strengthened by the emergence of the right wing in the Tory Party, the victimisation of individuals and

Lords by a Tory Peer - Lord Chalfont.

This motion called attention to "subversive and extremist elements in our society". Chalfont said his main concern is not the IRA: "My intention is to concentrate upon other forms of subversion and extremism which, although not yet as spectacular as the indiscriminate violence of the IRA, nevertheless constitute, in my view, at least as serious a threat to the security of this country?" He went on to talk of the "disproportionate power wielded in the unions by members of the Communist party" and "ultra-left revolutionary organisations," and of the "increasing influence of extremists in the Parliamentary Labour Party."

Yet all this is only a beginning for the employers - a test run for much bigger struggles which must be fought if the capitalist class is to restore profitability to bankrupt

a force in history without any form of organisation. Yet even in the early stages impressive displays of working class unity took place, particularly on economic questions - such as wages, conditions and hours.

Under the harsh conditions of expanding capitalism, in the years 1800-1850, the repressions of the employers made building unions extremely difficult. Yet throughout this period small groups of workers dedicated themselves to the struggle for independent organisations for the working class, prepared to risk sentences of transportation (as in the case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs in 1834) or jail and fines for organising against the employers.

These small groups, though a minority, reflected the historic strength of the working class as a whole, and contained its most conscious elements. The employers attempted all kinds of tactics to defeat them. Yet the principles fought for by these first trade unionists laid the basis for a broader development of unionisation following 1850.

The minority fought the first battles, marking out the way for the masses. Similarly the gains won from this initial organisation of skilled sections then constituted a base for the struggles to establish general unions in the period from 1880 onwards.

Today, as in these early days, the strength of the majority is reflected through the determination of a class conscious minority to fight for principles and for class independence - which is the backbone of the trade union movement.

Again as Trotsky wrote: "Would not a trade union mass organisation, not containing a class conscious minority, be a purely formal and meaningless organisation?" (*Marxism and the T.U.s*, p24.)

Trotsky goes on: "For it is only through its class conscious minority that the working class gradually becomes a factor in history."

CONFLICT

To win this active minority to the revolutionary party means that the Marxist party must come into conflict with the historically rooted reformist and syndicalist illusions deep-set in the thinking and daily activity of trade union militants. Lenin in *What is to be Done?* dealt with the conflict between the revolutionary party and the daily trade union and "economic" struggles of the working class, which is different in its origin and content from scientific socialism:

"We have said that there could not have been Social-Democratic



"For it is not enough to call ourselves the 'vanguard', the advanced contingent; we must act in such a way that all the other contingents recognise and are obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard." Lenin in *What Is To Be Done* p. 83

[i.e. revolutionary] consciousness among the workers. It would have to be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class,

exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade-union consciousness, i.e., the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers, and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism however, grew out of the philosophical, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the



"It is the very reasonableness and moderation of the majority coupled sometimes with lack of action, which allows determined fanatical minority groups to manipulate events in the interest of extreme political cults." Thatcher - speaking to Tory trade unionists - last Saturday March 1st.

property classes, by intellectuals. By their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia." (pp 31-2)

In Britain the working class has a long history of reformism, of precisely trade union consciousness. The historical advantage of British imperialism - the first country to undergo a bourgeois industrial revolution and develop a capitalist economic system - was that it could exploit the Empire for cheap raw materials and sweated labour. This meant that although the employers fought the working class every inch of the way, they were - when necessary, able to make considerable concessions in wages and conditions.

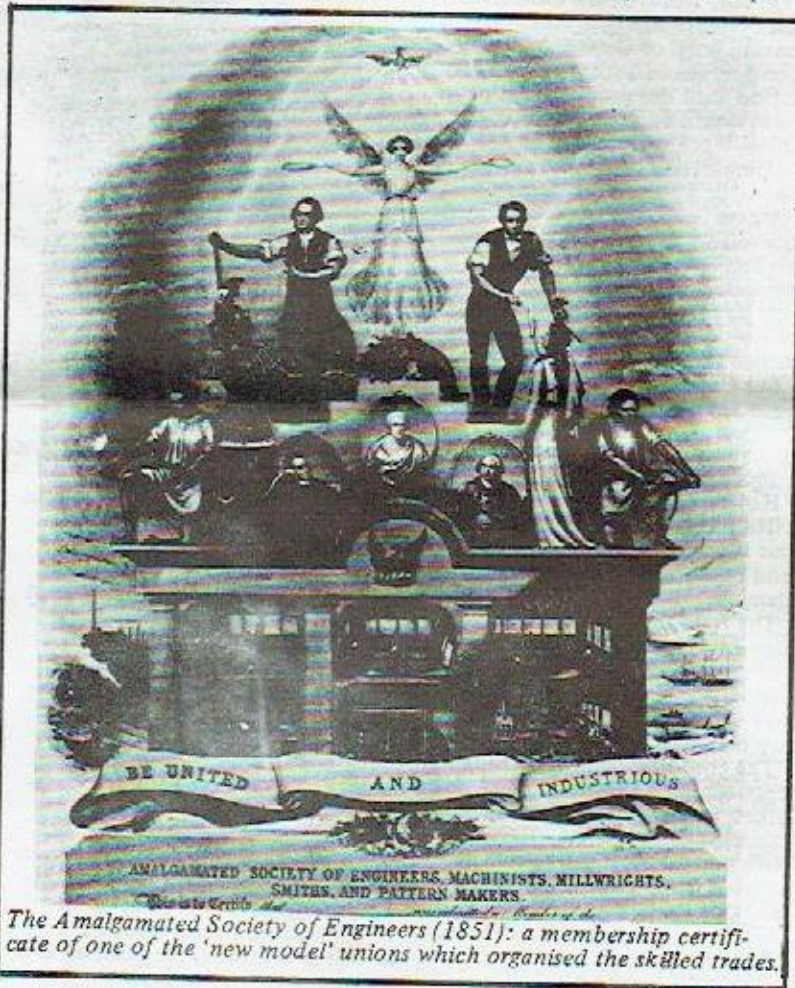
IMPERIALISM

Trotsky says: "Britain had far earlier based her capitalist development upon imperialist plunder. She gave the upper layer of the proletariat an economic interest in her domination over the world. In upholding its interests the British working class confined itself to pressure upon the bourgeois parties which had in turn accustomed it to the idea of capitalist exploitation of the backward countries. It began to start upon the path of an independent policy only as Britain began to lose her positions on the world market, being squeezed out in the process by her main rival, Germany....." (*Trotsky Writings on Britain*, Vol 1 pp13-14)

This has had a contradictory effect in the workers movement. On the one hand it has established conditions and living standards which are now unsupportable by a capitalist economy, and which have to be attacked by the employer - conditions which will be defended in the coming revolutionary struggles.

Yet these same concessions have strengthened the illusion that these conditions can be defended by trade union militancy alone, that politics should be kept out of the unions, and that the system can be reformed through the pressure of the Labour party - which is a workers party with a bourgeois leadership.

Continued . . .



The Amalgamated Society of Engineers (1851): a membership certificate of one of the 'new model' unions which organised the skilled trades.

small groups of workers has escalated dramatically with workers being driven to speed-up by the instant victimisation of any individual or group of workers who resists.

The employers also carry out well prepared victimisations of key workers in which they are prepared for bitter conflict and to which they assign considerable resources, knowing that if they win, a blow is struck at the very foundation of shop floor organisation. The road would then be opened to speed-up and rationalisation. The victimisation struggle in Cowley last April (carried out with the collaboration of the trade union leaders) was an example of this.

The other line of attack is the direct use of the capitalist state through the law to deal with 'minorities' as with the imprisonment of the Shrewsbury builders pickets and the arrest of Franco Caprino, the young Italian worker arrested under section 42 of the Immigration Act after being involved in picketing.

The main attack comes on the political minority, in particular those workers fighting for revolutionary leadership in the working class. Last Wednesday a motion was introduced into the House of

industry at the expense of the working class.

OPPRESSED CLASS

Under capitalism production takes place only for profit - for surplus value extracted from workers in the production of commodities. All wealth in society is produced by the working class. For this reason, and because the working class is an oppressed class, it is a revolutionary class and the only force which can end capitalism and establish socialism.

The working class has more than enough strength organised in the trade unions to remove capitalism from the stage of history, but of itself it cannot do it. The enormous economic strength of the working class requires political leadership if it is to be the instrument of revolutionary change. The lack of such leadership has held back the working class from all out struggle for power during successive capitalist crises. As Trotsky says: "Were the proletariat as a whole capable of grasping its historical task, it would need neither party or trade union. Revolution would come simultaneously with the proletariat." (*Marxism and the Trade Unions*, p24)

In the development of capitalism the working class first appeared as

Continued from previous page

It was a minority of advanced workers who first grasped the importance of trade union organisation, and the small group around Marx and Engels who first analysed and fought for an independent workers party in Britain - later to be built by the unions in the form of the reformist Labour party. Now in this period it is the revolutionary minority which starts out from a struggle to understand and test out in practice Marxist economics, philosophy and history which is decisive in the development of new leadership for the class battles that are to come.

To defend jobs or living standards today pose questions which go far beyond spontaneous trade union consciousness. Questions which pose a threat to private ownership, to the freedom of the capitalist to exploit, to the very basis of capitalism itself. Such struggles can only be carried forward in a fight for Trotsky's Transitional Programme which starts from the daily material struggles confronting workers and through its revolutionary method and its demands, which take workers beyond today's consciousness, forms a bridge to the revolutionary tasks facing the working class - to end capitalism and establish socialism.

The fight of the revolutionary movement is to put forward such demands. To defend living standards through the fight for a sliding scale of wages, or to demand that the books of the employers be opened to reveal the inner workings of capitalism. To establish workers control of capitalist firms. To defend jobs by demanding a sliding scale of hours without loss of pay. To demand that capitalist enterprises are nationalised under workers management with no compensation to the major share holders. For state contracts to be negotiated with committees of workers to ensure that the factories nationalised are kept open. It is only by making this programme the basis of a principled fight in the trade unions that the ground work can be laid to challenge the existing reformist and stalinist leadership, which refuses precisely to take the struggle of workers to the point where private property is threatened and the taking of power posed.

NEW LEADERSHIP

As Trotsky says of the communist movement: "Their party is not one for the political parties of the bourgeois system, it is the active, class-conscious minority of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard. Hence the communists have no reason, either in their ideology or in their organisation, to hide themselves behind the trade unions. They do not mis use the trade unions for machinations behind the scene. They do not in any way dispute the independent development of the trade unions, and support them in action in every respect. But at the same time the Communist party reserves the right of expressing its opinion on all questions, including the trade union question, to criticise trade union tactics, and to make definite proposals to the trade unions, which for their part, are at liberty to accept or reject these proposals. The party strives to win the confidence of the working class, above all, of that section organised in the trade unions." (Marxism and the T. U. s p25)

The task therefore is a qualitative one of winning and training the best and strongest layers of the class in the method of scientific Marxism. In the coming struggles this qualitative preparation is the only way revolutionary leadership can be prepared. To build such a leadership it is vital to understand that the working class depends on the class conscious minority within the revolutionary movement. It is this understanding which is one of the great strengths of the Workers Socialist League.

OSCARMAN COVER-UP

The report of the Scarman Inquiry into the demonstrations in Red Lion Square last June is part of a conscious preparation by the ruling class.

The issue posed in those demonstrations was the right of the working class to defend itself against extreme right wing organisations such as the National Front, which at the time was witch hunting immigrant workers.

Scarman, of course, does not recognise this right. He deliberately diverts attention away from the National Front and focuses it on the International Marxist Group, by blaming them for the death of Kevin Gately.

This slander is a continuation of the campaign by the Tories and the employers to suppress left-wing minorities in the working class.

Only the day before the report was published, Lord Chalfont, (formerly a Labour Peer but now an 'Independent') introduced a motion in the House of Lords "calling attention to subversive and extremist elements in our society".

He named: the Communist Party, the International Socialists, the Workers Revolutionary Party and the IMG.

While he spreads lies about the IMG, Scarman is careful to build up the image of the police force. The evidence of police violence is dismissed in this incredible paragraph:

"The photographic evidence of specific incidents involving identifiable officers (particularly photographs of forcible arrests) does call for explanation by the officers concerned. I recommend that the Commissioner be invited to seek explanation."

Although the inquiry was unable to discover the manner of Gately's death, it specifically exonerated the police:

"He was not the victim of a brutal policeman".

In all of this, Scarman clearly has an eye to the future role of the police against the working class:

"I am not prepared to make any recommendations which would have the effect of reducing the ability of the most highly equipped urban police force in the world to deal swiftly and decisively with disorder."

What he did recommend, however, was the introduction of an "independent element" into the procedure for examining complaints against the police (at the moment these are investigated by the police themselves.)



The dying Kevin Gately being dragged away by police

pendent element" into the procedure for examining complaints against the police (at the moment these are investigated by the police themselves.)

This is a deception. It is not possible to be 'independent' in relation to the police. They are part of the armoury of the capitalist state, along with the armed forces and the intelligence services.

Ever since their formation they have been used against the working class: to break up unions, to protect scabs, to smash factory occupations and so on. Scarman's pur-

pose in calling for an 'independent element' to overlook the police is to give these actions a veneer of respectability.

The Communist Party, along with the National Council for Civil Liberties and the National Front, has praised the Scarman report. This is a betrayal of the interests of the working class. The report aims to strengthen the police, to attack left-wing minorities and to promote the growth of extreme right-wing groups. It must be completely rejected by the labour movement.

SCANLON ATTACKS STRIKE

The 600 striking toolmakers at British Leyland's Castle Bromwich Plant decided at their last meeting (by an overwhelming majority) to continue their strike. This decision was taken despite an instruction by the AUEW National Executive for the men to return to work immediately.

The strike, now in its fourth week, has resulted in 15,000 other men at Leyland's plants in Coventry and Longbridge being laid off.

The men who began their strike on 14th February are claiming an increase of £12.65 per week, and argue that their differential over production workers has been eroded.

During the events that led to the decision to strike the company were very reluctant even to negotiate with the toolmakers. This is despite a previous agreement to allot the three months before the implementation date for the increase to negotiations. This is highlighted by the fact that the toolmakers had to give notice of impending sanctions to even get negotiations under way.

As the date for implementation (Feb 9th) drew closer, and so settlement was in sight, the toolmakers stated their intention to strike from that day.

The company in the first instance offered an increase of £4.50, which was raised to £5.25 at a further meeting, a final offer that was completely unacceptable to the toolmakers.

The company have used several well-tried manoeuvres to get the men back to work. They have begun by sending personal letters to the strikers, and backed this up with the threat to give a recently won overseas tooling contract for Huyandia of South Korea, to another manufacturer.

Finally the employers contacted the AUEW, whereupon Hugh Scanlon had a meeting with Leyland's Industrial Relations director, Lowry. The men were ordered back to work, despite the fact that the local District Committee had endorsed the strikers' actions. Scanlon used as his main argument British Leyland's "considerable difficulties", and reminded the toolroom men that they had been given a direct instruction a week before by their national executive to end the strike.

Yet BLMC workers in the Coventry and Birmingham districts are already being paid more than the present Castle Bromwich offer, which would take wages to £59.30 weekly.

Leyland are also in the process of buying out some of the Jaguar workers with payments of £1,000 per man (total cost £½m) to end their bonus system and weekly wages of £62.

The Castle Bromwich men must be supported in their struggle to defend living standards, but this can only be done by taking this fight on to demand in addition a full sliding scale of wages to compensate for rises in the cost of living.

ABOLISH MONARCHY

Amidst all the hullabaloo about "documents" and Tory middle class frenzy-mongering, Parliament has approved the £420,000 increase in payments to the Queen, with a minority of Labourite reactionaries ganging up with the Tories for the vote.

Yet even many of those Labour MPs who voted against the increase did so only to preserve the "balance" of the treacherous Social Contract, suggesting that we "all have to make sacrifices"!

Not one of these reformists had either the principle or the class consciousness to propose the necessary abolition of the monarchy which is much more than just a relic of long-gone feudalism. As Trotsky wrote in 1925:

"The royal authority is weak, so long as the instrument of bourgeois domination is the bourgeois Parliament, and so long as the bourgeoisie has no need of extra-parliamentary methods of action.

But in case of need the bourgeoisie can make use of the royal authority with great success, as the concentration point for all the extra-parliamentary, that is to say, the real forces directed against the working class."

[Where is Britain Going? p39]

Workers Diary

KNOXGATE

The refusal, after Watergate, to believe any official US announcement has led to the greatest scepticism about the reply to Dr. Peter Beter's allegation (he was the counsel to the US Export-Import Bank) that the gold in Fort Knox is not all it is meant to be.

The reply, published after a delay of 4 months, failed to explain why the gold sold in January's famous auction was taken from the meagre stock of the Exchange Stabilisation Fund, and not from Fort Knox - where the gold is said to be not only much less than it should be, but also of inferior quality.

Even worse, the report of the committee, which saw only 1/5 of the gold alleged to be in Fort Knox, has been quietly played down - no press conferences or publicity in leading newspapers has been provided. And, the fact which clinches the matter, p. 4 of the report is missing, an omission which supports the allegation that many members of the committee were not even prepared to sign the whole report.

UP AND ATOM

Leafing through the 'Nuclear News', we came across the 'Appointments Vacant' section.

Evidently in these years of crisis there are still shortages of labour here and there.

Take the CIA for example. It has 'openings for nuclear engineers to engage in the analysis of information on foreign nuclear activities... little or no experience is required'.

Unfortunately for English workers with time on their hands, US citizenship is obligatory. But, the ad assures us, the CIA is 'an equal opportunity employer', and leaves the way open for the keen amateur.

GOOD LORD!

Mr. Lec, a Labour MP from Birmingham, tried to introduce a Bill to take away the rights of hereditary peers to attend the House of Lords when the present incumbents die.

Needless to say his Bill had about the same chances as a snowball in a crematorium.

While other Labour MPs limited themselves to derisive laughter, a Mr. Stokes (Halesowen and Stourbridge, Conservative) took up the cudgels for 'the age of chivalry'.

The Bill, he claimed, 'sought to make a violent, almost revolutionary change' in a constitution which 'had been refined and handed down over the centuries'.

'The strength of the House of Lords', he went on, 'is due in part to the very illogicality of their selection, due perhaps to the workings of inscrutable providence' 'The English still love a Lord'.

Peers were 'honest, brave and true and many ordinary people would prefer to be ruled by a fourteenth earl than a fourteenth Mr. So and So.'

Without Government support Mr. Lee's luckless Bill was resoundingly defeated. We await with bated breath news of which Labour MPs will find themselves elevated by 'inscrutable providence' to bedfellowship with Lord Lambton in the next Honours List.

DEFEND ALL JOBS continued from page 1

A firm nationalised in this way must be integrated with the beginnings of a planned economy through state contracts, in order to guarantee the job of every worker. The sliding scale of hours - dividing the work available amongst the whole labour force at no loss of pay - must be introduced. This is the socialist alternative to the capitalist policy of short time on cut wages.

Clearly, until the capitalist economy itself can be replaced by a planned socialist economy inflation will continue at a rampant pace. Government contracts will add to this. The way to fight inflation is to struggle for the sliding scale of wages, linked to the rising cost of living (as established by trade union committees)

Without such a programme to defend jobs and wages the working class faces an onslaught from the employers with no leadership whatsoever. The TUC and Labour leaders who allow the Shrewsbury Two to rot in jail and support the class-collaboration of the social contract will not challenge the right of the employers to exploit.

That task must be undertaken by the undefeated strength of the working class, under a new leadership, which starts from the defence of the rights of the working class.

SELL-OUT HATCHED AT COWLEY

The sell-out of the annual wage review, due on February 3rd, for the 20,000 manual workers in the Cowley complex is being hatched behind the scenes.

It is now a month since talks broke down at the final stage of procedure with a top offer of £5.60 and the claim put in the hands of the national officials.

The tactics of the sell-out are clear. Things will be allowed to drift on until the employer can come forward and offer a large sum of back-pay (which is workers' own money anyway) hoping that this will influence the vote. At the same time the employer will say that to increase the offer will endanger everyone's job, and the trade union leaders will say - this is not the time to fight.

Workers in Cowley must not sit back and see this happen. Meetings must be demanded immediately and preparations made to fight for the full claim.

WE REPLY TO PRESS SLANDERS

The decision of Vanessa Redgrave, a Political Committee member of the WRP, to take Alan Thornett into the High Court for the return of £4,000 lent to him last May became - by last Monday - the basis of a witch hunt against the Trotskyist movement in the capitalist press.

Most of the press slanders in one way or another, seek to connect Comrade Thornett with corruption, suggesting that at the time workers were on strike in support of him last year Thornett was receiving large sums of money. Any such insinuation under the atmosphere of witch-hunt prevailing in British Leyland is highly damaging and endangers not only Comrade Thornett and the WSL but the trade union movement on the plant.

Because of this Comrade Thornett issued a written statement on Tuesday which was deliberately confined to an explanation of the circumstances and purpose of the loan and specifically excluded any political material in order this being used against the WRP or the WSL under witch-hunt conditions. The full text of the statement was as follows: "I am making this statement to clear up the distortions and inferences which have appeared in the press over the past two days concerning the writ served on me regarding the £4,000 loan made to me by Miss Vanessa Redgrave last May.

Following my divorce, I was left with the choice of either selling my house or raising half its value (£4,000) as a settlement. The loan from Miss Redgrave was a personal arrangement to deal with this problem and was considered only after it had proven impossible for me to raise the money through any of the building societies. Having received the loan it never remained in my hands but was passed on immediately to my ex-wife.

The loan was made on the basis that repayments would be made in the normal way once the details were agreed. In June the solicitor acting for me wrote to Miss Redgrave pressing for a final arrangement to be concluded. A reply was received six months later demanding repayment in full by February 11th 1975. I replied to this through my solicitor proposing a reasonable monthly figure for repayment. This was rejected by Miss Redgrave.

The loan therefore was received in good faith and with Miss Redgrave having full knowledge that I would only have the resources to repay it on an instalment basis. In these circumstances it is regrettable that this entirely unnecessary action has been brought."

No other statement has been issued by Comrade Thornett or any other member of the WSL on this matter. Newspapers such as last Wednesday's Telegraph which give the impression that other statements have been made, or that Comrade Thornett has spoken to them, are guilty of fabrication.

The WRP Political Committee statement of Wednesday March 5th, made during this witch-hunt and attacking the WSL publicly, is gross political irresponsibility.

The statement accuses Comrade Thornett of triggering the witch hunt when it was entirely precipitated by Vanessa Redgrave's completely unnecessary High Court action pressed under conditions where she knew full well the consequences. This action was also pressed after a reasonable arrangement for the return of the money had been offered, the details of which were still negotiable.

The most incredible claims made in the WRP statement are that Thornett, who is being witch-hunted by the capitalist press, the employers and the right wing in the T&G as a continuation of a previous victimisation is "the darling of Fleet Street", that he has had a "great reception in Fleet Street circles". It goes on to say that "the same papers that vilified him are encouraging him" and that he is "feted in the capitalist press."

The most obvious lies contained in the statement are the expulsion figures - put in to lend credibility to the argument. All the figures are invented but Oxford and Yorkshire are the most blatant. The statement says that there were 26 expulsions in Oxford and 1 in Yorkshire. Yet at the August Central Committee meeting there were 109 registered members in Oxford. Since there are now only two members left that would appear to leave 107. In Yorkshire the WSL has three branches made up almost entirely of members expelled from the WRP.

The WRP statement directs away from politics claiming a "personal" split. In reality the expulsions were to silence criticisms by organisational methods.

STOCK MARKET RISE

Behind every picture there lies a story, and the story behind the doubling of the prices on the London Stock Exchange is one of deepening world recession and renewed attacks on working class living standards aided and abetted the Labour Government and the official trade union leadership.

In May 1972 the F.T. index stood at 543.6, but in the following 31 months it plummeted by more than 70% to reach 146 on 6th January this year - its lowest level since 1954. (In fact, because of inflation, shares were actually worth only half of their 1954 values.)

Yet by the end of February the index had more than doubled. What lies behind this unprecedented rise?

Speculation, of course, is never absent. But the recent rise has a more solid foundation.

The world wide recession has been accompanied everywhere by a sharp drop in the demand for money to finance investment. Consequently, there has been a sharp fall in interest rates.

The Bank of England has reduced its Minimum Lending Rate

from 13% to 10%. Those capitalists not prepared to accept reduced interest payments on their cash deposits are trying their luck on the world's stock exchanges. This is the first main reason for the increase in share prices.

The second main reason is to be found in the activities of the Labour government since the beginning of this year. Constant attacks on the working class have accompanied repeated concessions to the demands of big business.

There are persistent rumours of an end to all dividend and price controls. Big concessions have been made on North Sea oil tax, on the Capital Transfer Tax, and on the pensions bill. The CBI is said to be confident of concession on the Industry Bill.

The government's efforts to protect profits are reflected in the rise in share prices.

On top of this the city is strengthened by the shift to the right in the Tory party with the emergence of people who are prepared to use unemployment to take on the working class.

TUC Deserts Two (cont'd from p1)

The march had succeeded in raising the demand for general strike action amongst many layers of the trade union movement, but suffered by being dominated by the centrist politics of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The WRP throughout the march published a number of lengthy and hysterical articles making various charges against the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group, both of whom supported the campaign, as justification for having excluded these groups from the march.

ATTACKED

Workers Press has also attacked the Workers Socialist League for "wanting to disrupt" the march, and stated this as the reason for excluding trade unionists members of the WSL from "public" meetings. Needless to say, all the allegations against the WSL are baseless, and generally too ridiculous to refute in detail.

The hostility within the trade union movement to these unprecedented political exclusions can be judged from the reaction of the 5/293 BLMC Assembly Plant T&GWU branch in Cowley.

On February 17th the remaining WRP member in the branch moved support, plus £20.00 donation for the Wigan Builders march. Speaking on the motion, Alan Thornett reported that the entire branch delegation to the TUC lobby (the WRP member did not attend) had been physically excluded from the Central Hall meeting of the Wigan Builders Action Committee, and moved an amendment to the resolution of support.

EXPLANATION

The amendment called for the £20.00 to be withheld unless an explanation was given by the Wigan Committee as to why such action had been taken, and an assurance that branch members would not be excluded in the future.

The next day the branch secretary contacted Mike Farley, secretary of the Wigan Builders, who said that the exclusions at Central Hall occurred because the workers concerned had been distributing leaflets outside (which is not even true). He went on to say that workers would not be excluded if they attended as members of the 5/293 branch.

On Wednesday the 19th Alan Thornett and another member of the branch went to the Wigan Builders meeting in Watford and were excluded at the door on the basis that they were not branch delegates (who heard of delegates to a public meeting?)

After hearing this report the branch meeting on March 3rd voted by 28 to 3 to withhold the £20.00 and then with only one against decided not to let Mike Farley to address the next meeting.

PRENTICE BLOWS THE GAFF

It might appear that there is a split on policy developing between former 'left' Employment Minister Michael Foot and extreme right wing Education Minister Reg Prentice.

This is the way the Tory press has built up the row over a speech made by Prentice last weekend, on the question of the social contract. Launching a vicious attack against "Marxists" who reject the contract, Prentice said:

"It is no good blaming the declared enemies of the social contract... The fault lies with those who allow them to get away with it. Every member of the TUC General Council should stomp the country in support of the social contract. Every leading figure at district and branch level should give the same message. Every individual trade unionist must accept his personal share of responsibility. The contract was agreed by his delegates in his name."

"The Government have kept their side of the bargain. The trade unions must not waltz on theirs."

(reported, Times 1/3/75)
The abject class-collaboration in this speech is clear - Prentice agrees with the employers that the value of wages must be cut to solve the "national" crisis of bankrupt British capitalism and is demanding the trade union leaders help the government carry this out. He shows this in his own ministry by eagerly pursuing the Tory cuts in education spending with reminders that not even children are exempt from the crisis. Prentice speaks straight Tory policy from the bureaucratic ranks of the Labour leadership.

Yet Foot is unable to challenge any of these aspects of Prentice's speech, because as Employment Minister Foot himself is at present "stumping the country" in support of the social contract. The Tory press regard him as the Cabinet's "most passionate supporter" of the contract (Financial Times, 26/2/75). In order to intimidate TUC Leaders into selling out legitimate pay claims, Foot is using the employers' threats of redundancy, with statements such as this:

"Wages should not be pressed to such a degree that they would increase the risk of unemployment"

What then is the basis of Foot's anger? There is no essential dif-

ference in policy - both are fighting for wage cuts to preserve the employers' profits. Foot is perturbed because Prentice's open attempt to call the TUC to heel, just at the moment Foot is selling the social contract with a "left" colouration, in the aftermath of the miners strike, could upset the agreement he has with the TUC leaders. This is why he replies that Prentice's speech "failed to take into account all the pressures and problems on trade unionists and their leaders have to face in grappling with the nation's immense and complicated economic difficulties."

The same reason motivates Prime Minister Wilson, who "angrily took the view that the Education Secretary's choice of words could create much more difficulty for the Government in its attempts to persuade the union leaders to honour the contract with greater wage restraint."

Prentice, then, is under the hammer from Wilson and Foot for bad tactics, not for any difference on the strategy of defending capitalism.



FOOT

Very different however, are the increasing moves amongst rank and file trade unionists and Labour Party members to clear out Tories like Prentice from the Labour movement. This must begin by fighting to remove him from the T&GWU list for sponsoring as an MP, and for his Newham CLP to withdraw support for him as a candidate and expel him from the Labour Party, as took place with Taverne in Lincoln. All out war must be declared by workers on all those who, like Prentice, defend the employers within the workers movement.

£500 monthly development fund

The escalation of mass unemployment as the crisis bites deep into industry, driving the employers to sackings and plant closures, has already demonstrated that an eight page fortnightly paper is inadequate for the role which must be played by the WSL.

We are therefore appealing to our readers for a £500 monthly development fund to expand "Socialist Press".

It is vital that the policies our paper fights for are read widely in the workers movement as leadership becomes the crucial question.

Donations should be sent to: Socialist Press, 11 Lower Basildon, Near Reading, Berks.