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WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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REJECT JOINT SPEED-UP COMMITTEES

NO PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT!

Last Friday was an important day in the calendar of treachery, designed to shackle 200,000 car workers to the profit margins of the employers.

As selected convenors from various British Leyland plants ended three days of class collaboration at the plush Allesly Hotel in Coventry, senior shop stewards from the Chrysler combine were voting to "continue talks" on bogus worker participation proposals which will open the door to major attacks on Chrysler workers.

Despite the efforts of the trade union leaders to suggest they are separate issues, the Ryder plan and the Chrysler proposals are identical in their principle aims:

Both aim to integrate convenors and shop stewards in to the structure of management, and use their influence to achieve rationalisation, speed-up and redundancy. At the same time they seek to destroy their ability to lead resistance by making them party to company initiatives.

Both have the longer term aim of Ford-style national wage negotiations which transfer all wage bargaining into the hands of the full time union officials. It was plant level bargaining (together with the piecework system long since sold out by the union leaders) which made car workers for years the leaders in the wages fight. Both employers and union leaders want to see this ended.

Both sets of proposals are linked (with the complete agreement of the union bureaucracy) to new disputes procedures which it is hoped will further tie the hands of shop stewards, and make them liable to victimisation. Union leaders as well as employers want to curb the independent power of the shop stewards movement which has dominated the industry (and improved conditions) in the past.

DETAILED PREPARATIONS

At the meeting of BLMC convenors, which will resume on September 8th, details were drawn up for the plant-by-plant introduction of the Ryder speed-up committees throughout the Corporation. The discussions took place around a plan produced by management.

The Ryder plan itself had been accepted *not* by a normal meeting of the BLMC Combine Committee, but by a *company convened* meeting, including staff representatives - which resulted in a high percentage of those voting being either foremen or industrial engineers, whose job it is to speed-up workers anyway! This is the vote that has been used as the authority to introduce

Stoke stewards meeting for nearly an hour, and in this way obtained agreement. Local as well as national union bureaucrats are thus being used by the employers to railroad in their policies.

The capitalist press has also played its part in foisting these fraudulent schemes and committees onto the working class, by falsely presenting the committees as giving workers an 'equal' say in the running of the factories.



Ryder

Nothing could be further from the truth. The *ownership* of the plants is not affected, and the final say on *all* questions is left quite firmly with management. In addition, the terms of reference, which determines the nature of the committees, are defined as "the more efficient production of motor cars".

This means the job of the committees is to *organise production*. It means the *participating in management*. It means *doing the job of management* - and that means as they see it, *increasing the rate of exploitation of the working class*.

The Workers Socialist League is completely opposed to these committees and to any trade unionist working on them. We believe that as battles begin in Leyland and Chrysler against redundancy and in defence of conditions, they will be fought *against these committees*. It is therefore a matter of principle to be separated from them.

£50 BONUS

An indication of the value of "participation" to the employers is Chrysler paying a £50 bonus to everyone of their 27,000 employees

the year if participation is accepted in full.

The implementation of these schemes is a big victory for the employers, given to them completely by the union leaders. The experience in the motor industry will be a base to extend similar schemes throughout industry.

These moves have taken place with virtually no opposition. In Chrysler, the key decision at the Stoke plant was taken last Thursday, with a leading Stalinist and T&GWU Executive member, McClusky, on the negotiating committee which made the (unanimous) recommendation. Both the IS and the WRP have a steward in the plant, but at the mass meeting no sign of opposition or any campaign was visible.

The only consistent fight has been put up at the BLMC Cowley Assembly Plant, where the 5/293 branch has voted not to participate and the shop stewards, after being denied a meeting by the right wing convenor, are organising a campaign for a vote on Ryder, which is being



Chrysler boss Lander

forced in over the heads of stewards and members.

We emphasise that these schemes are not simply a "car industry" issue. In every industry workers are being told if they co-operate with speed-up and 'voluntary' redundancy it will "save jobs".

In reality it is the participation of the trade union leaders in management attacks which now directly threatens jobs through speed-up and rationalisation.

* No participation in Speed-up Committees!

TUC DEFENDS LAW ON PAY



Jack Jones and Len Murray in Blackpool

Meeting just before the opening of the TUC conference in Blackpool, the General Council of the TUC voted 25 votes to 10 against an ASTMS resolution opposing statutory reserve powers to back Wilson's £6 pay limit.

This means that the TUC having hidden nearly two months behind the illusion that the pay restrictions were "voluntary", is now not simply accepting the use of the law by a Labour government to control wages, but *defending* it against attack by those unions which uphold free collective bargaining.

This is the outcome of a whole stage-managed plan to foist wage-cutting policies on the working class. Jack Jones has been at the centre of this plan from the start, and railroaded the scheme through the T&GWU Conference in July, using as his main argument the lie that a voluntary agreement was the best way to avoid legislation. In fact it has been shown that voluntary capitulation was the essential prelude to Wilson's laws.

Arthur Scargill and the retreat of the Communist Party enabled the right wing to sidestep a claim for £100 per week. Shortly after that crucial retreat, the NUM executive took the treacherous decision not only to recommend support for Wilson's pay laws, but to give the government policy a boost through a ballot of miners. The ballot was anything but the decisive acceptance Wilson was looking for. Even given the participation in the ballot of supervisory staff (who would vote for legislation) and a completely fraudulent question on the ballot paper, asking if miners wanted to help "fight inflation", the right wing could only whip up a 3-2 majority.

PRESS

To follow up this there have been various press flurries by Jones and Murray to lend some air of credibility to the TUC talk of "preserving jobs". Carefully vague proposals have been leaked to the papers on calls for a government programme of public works. At the same time a viciously nationalist campaign for import controls has been kicked off by the TUC bureaucracy, to create the illusion of protecting "British" jobs (at the expense of workers elsewhere).

NUM CONFERENCE

The scene then shifted to the

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

IRELAND CIVIL WAR DANGER LOOMS



The North East of Ireland has never been so near the long predicted full scale civil war. At the root of the conflict is an unfinished national revolution which today can only be brought to completion under the leadership of the Irish working class.

The partition and dismembering of Ireland, James Connolly predicted in 1914: "would mean a carnival of reaction both North and South, would set back the wheels of progress, would destroy the oncoming unity of the Irish movement and paralyse all advanced movements whilst it endured. To it Labour should give the bitterest opposition, against it Labour should fight even to the death".

As that carnival of reaction heads towards a bloody climax it is imperative that the English working class demand the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland as well as materially support all those who are fighting for a united socialist republic in Ireland.

SAME FORCES

Those forces whom Connolly urged labour to fight to the death against in 1914 are essentially the same reactionary forces who are plotting, with British imperialism if they can, against it if they must, the ways and means of frustrating the democratic, national and socialist aspirations of the Irish people.

The Convention talks are deadlocked. Even by transferring them from the public debating chamber to the private committee rooms

the bourgeois politicians of the UUUC and the SDLP still cannot shake off their rank and file. On the basic contentious issue of power sharing the Loyalists could concede nothing whilst the SDLP couldn't capitulate enough.

All that is left for the UUUC to do now is draft proposals for a new parliament in which they will be undisputed masters. No party in the Convention bar themselves will sign it of course but as Ernest Baird, the deputy leader of Vanguard, has said "The atmosphere in which the British Government decline to accept the UUUC's report is the one in which loyalist politicians will give a nod and a wink to the activities of the protestant paramilitary groups".

REGROUPING

Anticipating that nod the loyalists have started to regroup their forces on the one hand and withdraw their forces from the official state structure on the other. The six paramilitary groups, the Orange Volunteers, Ulster Defence Association, Red Hand Commandos, Ulster Special Constabulary Association, Down Orange Welfare and the Ulster Freedom Fighters have all come together (the UVF is excluded) in the Ulster Army Council for the purpose of forging a loyalist army of 20,000 men that will be capable of holding the Province at least for a short time.

Under the new name of the Ulster Central Co-ordinating Committee the leaders of last year's reactionary strike that brought the Province to a standstill came together again this week to protest at "excessive policing" in loyalist areas and demand more measures against the IRA.

The murder of a young protestant in Newtown Hamilton was the pretext for the eight unionist councillors on Newry and Mourne District to walk out of the Council. At the same time the UUUC Association of Local Councillors threatened to withdraw all their members from office unless there is a change in the security policy.

"INDEPENDENCE"

Where all this loyalist activity is leading to was spelt out at Portadown a few days ago when the Ulster Special Constabulary Association passed a resolution "to ask the people of Northern Ireland to support independence rather than submit to shared power, a Council of Ireland or an indefinite period of disastrous direct rule".

In this situation the leadership that is being offered to the working class by those that consider themselves Marxist generally either ignores or denounces the national struggle as a "sectarian diversion" that alienates protestants. The alternative, a Bolshevik approach, would fight for proletarian leadership of the national struggle, since only the programme for a workers' republic can rally the forces North and South that can expel imperialism from Ireland.

STALINISTS

Leading opponents of this Bolshevik position are the Stalinists who lead the official IRA and the 'Militant' Group in the Labour Party. While the former pursue their reformist bill of rights, the latter pursues the panacea of nationalisation. Both however attempt to attract the protestant working class to their programmes by reducing the Irish struggle to the level of an English trade union demarcation dispute.

On August 18th the Stalinist Executive of the N.W. Republican

Clubs attacked the Provisionals in a statement which claimed that "Having declared a ceasefire against the British army they have declared open season against non-catholics". This statement, issued at a time when the nationalist population of the north east stands in danger of pogroms from the loyalists, served no other purpose but to promote Stalinist collaboration with the forces of reaction. It offers no way forward, and can only provide cover and legitimisation for the daily onslaught of protestant assassination squads.

Despite this contemptible policy the Stalinists were rebuffed the same day in an Ulster Defence Association statement which showed that the basis for the collaboration the Stalinists so eagerly seek just does not exist. "We reject the contention" (the Stalinist contention) said the UDA statement "that violence in Northern Ireland can be differentiated between sectarian and non-sectarian elements. The violence of the IRA is a direct outcome of their political aim and objective of creating a single political unit in the geographical area known as Ireland".

ILLUSION

So loyalist gunmen now have to remind the Stalinists what they are formally committed to! Nothing could better destroy the illusion that catholic-protestant working class unity can be forged by trade union and bread-and-butter struggle. While the English working class and the Irish catholic working class have achieved what they have achieved in a struggle against capital the protestant worker has achieved what he has achieved as a reward for his collaboration with capital.

And while that struggle against capital taught the English and the catholic Irish the importance of unity and the common interests of the members of their class, the rewards of collaboration have taught the protestant working class exactly the opposite.

It is for this reason that even today there is no Labour Party in the North. The NILP is a joke, not a party. Its pro-imperialist support for the link with Britain undermines the very reason for its existence. For if the link with Britain brought the advances the protestants have made,

PORTUGAL DANGER IN POPULAR FRONT

30 AUGUST

The enormous demonstration of nearly 100,000 through the streets of Lisbon on Wednesday night showed the increasing strength and determination of the Portuguese working class. Groups of sailors, soldiers and many sections of workers expressed their desire for unity in action in defence of the gains they have made since the overthrow of fascism in April 1974.

At the same time the great dangers that now face the Portuguese revolution were clearly revealed.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party dominated the slogans and banners of the march, and they cheered enthusiastically the now ousted Prime Minister, Vasco Goncalves when he addressed them at the end. For the CP the march was a question of rallying what forces they could behind the capitalist military government, in order to prevent any independent struggle for power by the working class.

The Stalinists have found new allies for these, their traditional policies. Outside the government building, Goncalves spoke of his "great joy" at the construction of the new "popular front" between "democratic" and popular forces. And banners carried at the head of the demonstration included not simply those of the Stalinists themselves, but also those of other left organisations, such as the PRP (Revolutionary Proletarian Party, associated with the British IS), and the so-called Trotskyists of the LCI (International Communist League, one of the Portuguese sections of

groups may claim about "tactical alliances against reaction", their role in this situation was undoubtedly to give a left face to the counter-revolutionary alliance of classes designed to shore up the tottering rule of capitalism in Portugal.

It is important to stress that here in Portugal at the moment political currents of the "extreme left" exercise a considerable influence. The great danger is that so many of these centrist and non-



Antunes

revolutionary groups are giving their approval to a political liaison that ties the working class hand and foot to the capitalist state.

These developments take place against the background of continuing reactionary demonstrations in the North of the country. At Leira, about 75 miles north of here, two nights of rioting earlier this week left one dead and ten wounded. The offices of the LCI and Maoist groups were burned. Similar incidents will no doubt continue.

The main rioters have been poverty-stricken peasant smallholders whose desperate plight has been compounded recently by a

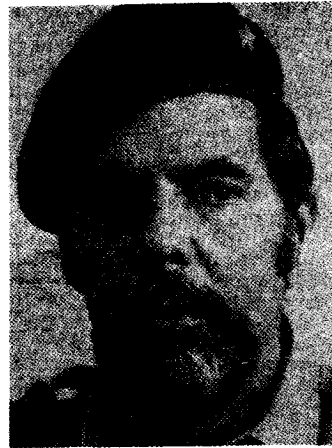
to evolve a policy of long-term credit and guaranteed prices in the country-side. The fury of the small farmers has thus been directed against them. And active in the burnings and shootings have been small bands of fascist desperadoes, the fag-ends of the old regime.

It is not these forces that at this point present the main threat to the revolution (though at a later stage they might do). Here in Lisbon, in the other big towns Coimbra and Oporto, and in the South, where the big estates have been nationalised, the working class is pushing forward the revolutionary process.

Throughout Lisbon can be seen groups of houses occupied by workers whom soldiers have refused to evict. There are workers' committees of every sort to organise anything - from running a brewery to setting up a co-operative of taxi-drivers. Political discussion goes on around posters and manifestoes that bestrew the street corners. Packets of leaflets thrown from cars are eagerly picked up and read by workers who pass by.

The balancing of competing class interests and the main political decisions are still made within the Armed Forces Movement, which despite the elections earlier this year has in no way released its grip on state power. But no section of this faction-ridden body can act independently of the class forces in society as a whole. So while the Document of the Nine put forward by Melo Antunes attempted to work out a programme friendly to the Western capitalist powers, this policy (despite the views of the European press) did not win widespread support within the ranks of an army where every order is debated, and every statement from above subject to more or less formal

er Otelo de Carvalho, together with army commander Carlos Fabaio to rally support last week within the army for a possible coup d'etat failed, because the officers even in the right-wing areas of the North could not guarantee the support of their men from mobilisation against the present government.



Fabaio

It was in this confused situation that a group of COPCON officers produced a document that was to be a 'left-wing' reply to the policies of capitalist consolidation put forward by Melo Antunes. This document reflected the views of a group of middle-class soldiers who only recently adopted socialist slogans, and are utterly unable to conceive of the mobilisation of the working class in their support.

Naturally it contained a number of points about the plight of smallholders in the North and the kind of policies needed to win them to the side of the revolution. It could thus provide the beleaguered Stalinists with the base they needed to break away from their isolated position.

On August 20th there was a demonstration - supported only at the last moment by the CP - which

away from the reactionary elements that have been gathering around Antunes and the right wing policies of the Socialist Party leaders. It provided the CP with room for manoeuvre. Any efforts of Carvalho's associates at compromise between the different elements of the AFM were shattered. But at the same time the shaky position of the Bonapartist military Provisional government was yet again confirmed.

The Stalinists were therefore forced away from their earlier favoured policies of strike breaking and their efforts to control the apparatus of local government and the mass media. They began to put forward new policies aimed at defending their positions, their relationship with the AFM, and winning support in the masses. They even began to call strikes themselves - though only one, for half an hour, on August 14th.

The ultra-left reactionaries of the various Maoist sects, who command some following amongst sections of workers, actually opposed the strike call, and persuaded some white-collar unions not to carry out even this feeble united action against the dangers of counter-revolution.

The final outcome of these efforts of the CP to present a left face in opposition to the attacks against them was the "united front against reaction" of 25th August. This agreement which was signed on the initiative of the left faction of the AFM, was an amalgam of Stalinist and centrist organisations in defence of the COPCON document. It set up a provisional secretariat to organise against reaction.

Besides the Stalinists, the Plabites of the LCI and the syndicalists of the PRP, signatories included the centrists of the MES (left socialist movement) and LUAR (League of

then the protestant worker turns to the Unionists as the real guardians of that link.

ASCENDANCY

And when the British and the old Unionist leaders are no longer prepared to defend his ascendancy over the Catholics, the protestant worker will hardly turn to the NILP. Instead he will turn to the leaders of the petty bourgeois revolt within Unionism, the Paisleys and the Craigs. The only basis for principled unity with the protestants is an anti-imperialist one.

That the protestant working class is a considerable distance from an anti-imperialist position is very clear. On 22nd August Glen Barr (whose trade union credentials are impeccable) led a delegation of loyalists to protest to the Minister of State, Orme, at excessive policing of loyalist areas.

What really upsets "trade unionist" Barr and his loyalists is that even on a temporary basis the policing has reduced the number of Catholics who are fleeing their homes, consequently reducing the number of houses that are becoming vacant for protestants without homes, or wishing to move into a more respectable area.

In Greenisland in South-east Antrim, the UDA took over "housing policy". The homes that Catholics were driven from were first given to protestant old age pensioners, then other 'needy cases'. And finally protestants from all over the Province were invited to apply. Needless to say, the prestige of an organisation that could offer a centrally heated flat for £1.50 a week rose considerably. On the White Abbey estate the number of Catholics fell from 8,000 to 3,000 and is still falling. The Stella Maris Catholic primary school on the edge of Rathcool had 1,000 pupils in 1969. It will begin its new term with only 190.

SOUTH

In the South the coalition government, fearful that the British army might pull out and that loyalist pogroms would engulf them in civil war, arrested Provisional leader David O'Connell in the hope that this would drive the IRA to aban-

don the ceasefire and engage and hold the British army in the North.

The coalition government is finding that the nightmare it feared has come to pass. The economic recession is already driving the southern working class into revolt and the government is having to face them with the northern conflict still unresolved. Its weakness is underlined by its acceptance of the trade union demand for indexation, a 1% rise in wages for every 1% rise in inflation. The employers urged the government to reject this demand. But it felt too weak to do so.

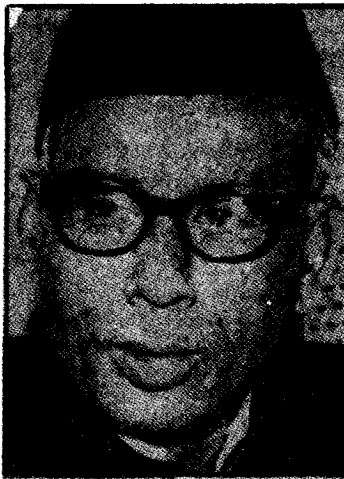
COALITION

Now the coalition is drifting apart as Fine Gael members call for a wage freeze while the Labour Party would prefer, like the British Labour government, the cowardly fiction of "fining employers". In this situation the conditions are increasingly fertile for advancing the demand for a sliding scale of wages drawn up by trade union committees.

Not only are attempts to challenge British policy being made in Dublin. The old historic allies of Ulster Unionism, the British army and the Tory Party show reluctance to follow Rees' strategy and trust the guardianship of imperialist interests to Ian Paisley and the Convention leaders.

So, having toppled one reforming unionist government after another, the Paisleyites find that the road to power is being checked by Unionism's old allies who would keep the North East under direct Westminster administration rather than tolerate a plebian takeover. The ceasefire has served both the Provisionals' need to replenish as well as Rees' need to create the conditions for the legal fiction of a Convention debate and report. Only the SDLP took it seriously and got nothing for its pains. Rees and the British government have manoeuvred themselves into exactly the position they wanted. Like the Asquith administration in 1912 they hoped to hide their connivance by allowing themselves to be presented with what they actually ordered: a loyalist declaration of independence.

THE COUP IN BANGLADESH



Ahmed

The military coup in Bangladesh involving the assassination of the President, Sheikh Mujib, and the installation of his former minister of commerce, Moshtaq Ahmed, follows a period of intensifying famine and economic crisis.

The world economic crisis penetrates the economy of Bangladesh, as with all underdeveloped countries, in the form of increased import prices of industrial goods due to inflation in the Western industrial capitalist countries. Bangladesh is dependent on imports for nearly all industrial goods as well as basic food and grain items.

In addition, earnings from the main export, jute, have been falling. This stems from a fall-off in demand (due to the overall slump in world production) as well as from increased competition from cheaper synthetic fibres. So only 25% of Bangladesh's import costs are met by exports.

This means that over 80% of "foreign aid" received by the country is immediately transmitted back

to the donors to cover the balance of payments deficit.

The chronic state of the economy in Bangladesh also owes a lot to the long period of exploitation by the bourgeoisie of West Pakistan from 1948 up to the war of independence in 1971 when East Pakistan broke away to become Bangladesh.

In 1948 at the period of partition of India into India and Pakistan, East Pakistan produced virtually all the export earnings for the country as a whole, and was comparatively fertile agriculturally compared with West Pakistan.

By 1970 however the regional income of East Pakistan was 25% below that of West Pakistan. The bourgeoisie of West Pakistan had used the East as a protected market for high priced, badly produced goods from their factories sold at prices well above value, thereby transferring wealth from East to West.

ROOTS

The roots of the present political crisis also go back to the war of independence itself. Sheikh Mujib, representing the weak bourgeoisie of East Pakistan, refused until the very last moment to break from the West - despite the suppression of the democratic constituent assembly by Bhutto and Yaya Khan in Karachi following the sweeping victory for Mujib's Awami League Party in the 1970 elections.

When the question of the fight for independence became inevitable, Bangladesh was militarily totally unprepared. Mujib had made no preparations despite pressure from the masses.

Meanwhile the Maoists, slavishly following Chinese foreign policy - which was for a 'united' Pakistan as a buffer against India - denounced the struggle for Bangladesh as "an imperialist plot". The result was an early victory for the West Pakistan military, supported by world imperialism, and the independence of Bangladesh was eventually secured only through the intervention of the Indian army acting equally in the interests of the power politics of the Indian bourgeoisie: to weaken Pakistan generally.

POPULAR SUPPORT

Thus despite initial popular support around the question of the ending of rule from Karachi, the Mujib regime in no way based itself on the workers and peasants of Bangladesh. Despite token nationalisations Mujib carried through no programme of wholesale nationalisation of industry. His policy was at all costs to avoid dispossession of the landlords and the collectivisation of agriculture in the context of a socialist economic plan and the State monopoly of foreign trade.

Such a programme is the only basis for launching a fight against the effects of imperialism and the

world capitalist crisis. It can only be carried out by the working class and peasantry united under revolutionary leadership. The Mujib regime had nothing in common with this.

MASS UNREST

Under pressure from growing mass unrest as famine and economic crisis worsened, the Mujib regime moved to the right. The local elections of November 1973 produced a popular backlash to Mujib's Awami League party from which the traditionalist Moslem League benefitted. This precipitated the jailing by Mujib of all effective opposition leaders, the overturning of the democratic constitution of December 14th 1972, and the installation of a one party state.

The culmination of this process was the abolition last month of press freedom in which 18 Bangladesh's 22 daily newspapers were banned and the remainder placed under government management.

The assassination of Mujib carried out by young army officers motivated mainly it seems by factional struggles within the military and frustration of the increasing corruption of the regime, in no way offers any political alternative to the masses. This can be seen in the way in which his successor Ahmed and his backers are rumormongering around to try and find some basis to legitimise their takeover.

The return to Moslem traditionalism emphasised in the few days after the coup has noticeably cooled off least it produced a hostile reaction from India. There have been no signs of any major changes in the economic policy of the regime though politically it seems that Mujib's flirtations with the Kremlin will be halted as there are signs of a more friendly attitude from Karachi.

None of this in any way solves the starvation problems facing the masses of Bangladesh for whom the only way forward consists in the building of a revolutionary party on the basis of a programme of socialist nationalisation of land and industry.



1971 Liberation forces

TIMOR INTERVENTION THREAT

Timor, Portugal's smallest colony, is now the scene of bitter armed conflict between rival political groups. As happened in Mozambique and Angola, the decision of the Portuguese army to withdraw from the colony has created a political vacuum which the right wing UDT (Democratic Union of Timor) tried to fill three weeks ago through a coup d'etat. The coup led to the outbreak of civil war between the right wing and the pro-communist Fretilin movement.

The success of the Fretilin soldiers is causing such great concern in capitalist circles that from spreading rumours about communists beating babies to death, governments in the area are now

threatening to intervene directly in the civil war.

The two countries showing the greatest interest in the situation are Indonesia and Australia. The Australians are supporting renewed Portuguese military intervention in the colony in order to forestall a likely attempt by Indonesia to take over the colony in the next few weeks.

"Humanitarian"

Whilst Suharto of Indonesia talks of intervening on humanitarian grounds it is not widely believed that he has the interests of the inhabitants at heart. Suharto's interest in the colony is twofold. Firstly, the colony is of sufficient strategic importance to Indonesia for Suharto to consider spending an estimated \$15 million a year and face the possibility of a guerilla war, in order to gain control of the country.

Secondly, the virulently anti-communist government of Indonesia is concerned that the successes of the left-wing Fretilin troops may stir up latent pro-communist sympathies in Indonesia itself, where a mass communist party existed until it was physically liquidated in the 1960s.

The Australian Labour government of Gough Whitlam was not originally opposed to the incorporation of Timor into Indonesia. However, the opposition to such a plan inside Timor itself, supported as it was by the left wing in Whitlam's own party has forced him to think again, hence his support for a new attempt to 'restore order' by the Portuguese army.

The right of the Timor people to self determination must be defended against the imperialist plans of the surrounding capitalist nations.

WHAT IS THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE ?

The Workers Socialist League was formed on December 22nd 1974 as part of the fight to carry forward the method and principles of Trotsky's Transitional Programme, the founding document of the Fourth International. The WSL now represents the continuity of the struggle for these principles in the workers' movement.

The formation of the League followed the expulsion of over 200 members from the Workers Revolutionary Party, carried out bureaucratically by the WRP leadership in order to prevent discussion of their own abandonment of the Programme both in theory and in practice. These mass expulsions showed that there could be no hope of correcting the WRP - an independent organisation had to be founded to maintain the fight for Trotskyism.

Such a split came out of particular conditions. The rapid development of the economic crisis of capitalism and the forward movement of the world working class, which has now overthrown imperialism in Vietnam and Cambodia, began to produce the conditions to build revolutionary parties internationally.

At such a point the importance of a fight for the method and principles of the Transitional Programme, against both sectarianism and opportunism is paramount in the preparation of revolutionary leadership. After a hard period of isolation from the mass movement, Trotskyism now emerges as the only tendency with a programme and a history of struggle to lead the working class in the taking of power.

The defence of jobs through the fight for work sharing on full pay, run by trade union committees; the defence of living standards through the fight for all wage agreements to include a sliding scale to compensate for

nationalisation under workers' management: all these policies are now called for in this situation. As they are fought for and workers are mobilised to win these demands, they begin to form a bridge between the present level of political consciousness of workers and the need for the working class to take the power. Yet the WRP refused to take up a fight for this method.

For this reason the most important developments in our work have centred on a break from WRP sectarianism and propagandism, bringing important gains in trade union work and opening up completely new areas. We are beginning to recruit and train from the new forces thrown into struggles in this period - not only trade unionists, but also professional workers, housewives, students and youth - in the fight to construct the party.

Our record shows that we continue to fight uncompromisingly to expose all those who attack and revise Marxism - not only the WRP but also the 'rank and file' policies of the IS group who refuse to defend the Soviet Union as a workers' state, and the IMG who liquidate the revolutionary movement into unprincipled blocs and liaisons with anti-revolutionary tendencies, as well as against Stalinism and reformism.

Already it is clear that throughout the world the movement of the working class poses similar questions for those groups calling themselves Trotskyist, particularly sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, producing similar splits and offering a rich possibility of developing a truly international movement based on the Trotskyist programme. For this reason the WSL is now engaged in a process of internal discussion prior to a full founding conference, a vital part of which is to hammer out and adopt perspectives for the building of the Trotskyist

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CAPITALISM FETTERS PRODUCTION

In the economic convulsions of the last few years the relations between both the nations and the classes of the capitalist world have been thrown into a profound disequilibrium. This is reflected in the breakdown of the world monetary system, the oil crisis, the boom and slump in commodity prices and the rebirth of protectionism; in collapsing profits and capital accumulation, raging inflation and the sharpening struggle over jobs and living standards.

High levels of utilisation of productive resources have once again become incompatible with capitalism; and the crisis is now manifesting itself in by far the most severe recession since the last world war.

In the last year industrial production in the 24 major capitalist countries (the members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) has fallen by about 12%; in the last six months the rate of collapse has accelerated to over 16%.

In the individual countries the fall over the last year was:

United States	down 12.6%
France	down 12.7%
Japan	down 17.1%
W.Germany	down 5.5%
Italy	down 18.7%
Britain	down 5.9%

Recessions since 1945 have in the main taken the form of slower growth rather than actual declines. The only previous post-war recession in which total production actually went down was in the late '50s when it fell by around 1½%.

Usually, decline in one country has been offset by increases in others; this time it is happening everywhere simultaneously.

DEPRESSION

The great depression of the 1930s began with three years of falling industrial production in the capitalist world as a whole, followed by a slow recovery. The fall in industrial production in the OECD countries in the last year has been faster than in any of those three years.

The second major indicator of the recession is the level of unemployment. In the last year the number of unemployed has roughly doubled in all the major capitalist countries.

In April of this year (on the British basis of measurement, since in its official figures each country uses a different basis) the levels of unemployment were:

United States	7.7%
Britain	3.3%
France	5.1%
W.Germany	3.4%

These figures undoubtedly underestimate the real dimensions of unemployment and they have risen (in Britain very sharply), in the last four months. They imply a level of unemployment in the capitalist world of over 15 million workers.

Moreover, the average number of hours worked by those in jobs has dropped in a year by between 2 per cent (Britain) and nearly 9 per cent (America).

stagnant prices. The present one coincides with an unprecedented world inflation. In some countries the intensification of the recession has brought some reduction in the rate of inflation.

INFLATION

But in a number of major countries (Britain, Sweden, West Germany, the Netherlands) the rate of inflation has continued to climb.

Rates of Inflation
(annual percentages)

	62-72	year to	last 6
		May 75	months
United States	3.3	9.5	7.2
Japan	5.7	14.1	10.4
France	4.4	12.1	11.0
W.Germany	3.2	6.1	7.6
Italy	4.3	19.7	14.2
Britain	4.9	25.0	33.4
Total OECD	3.9	12.0	

The declining rates of inflation in some countries is not a sign that the crisis is being overcome. It is manifesting itself more acutely in another form (recession) and thereby sharpening inter-capitalist competition which makes price increases more difficult.

The domestic inflations are dialectically related to the collapse of international monetary stability. Differential rates of inflation have helped to produce startling changes in exchange rates; and these changes have themselves accentuated inflation in the devaluing countries.

Accelerated inflation was not simply the result of the collapse of the Gold Exchange Standard in 1971; but the abandonment of fixed exchange rates has meant that inflationary policies have become a more feasible alternative for governments, fearful of working class reactions to the severe deflationary policies which are necessary to maintain price stability during the recession.

The huge recent exchange rate changes are indications of how the crisis has thrown the relations between capitalist countries into disequilibrium and of intensifying rivalries between capitalist countries as they compete to sell exports in a declining world market. (The volume of world trade dropped by over 5 per cent in the first year of the recession.)

Since the ending of the gold standard, exchange rates have

fluctuated on average by one per cent a week. The change in the value of currencies between the beginning of 1970 and June 1975 was:

Germany	up 23 %
Japan	up 7 %
France	up 5 %
United States	down 18½%
Britain	down 24 %
Italy	down 25½%

Another destabilising factor in international economic relations has been the oil crisis. The four- or five-fold increase in the price of oil has led to an annual diversion of 50 billion dollars to the oil producing countries.

A major effect of this has been to change the pattern of world credit, with the major oil producers rapidly becoming the world's major creditor nations. The debtor nations in which they place their money have their balance of payments deficits covered for a time but the stability of their currencies becomes dependent on these loans. Policies causing recession and thereby helping the balance of payments by cutting imports have partly been a response to this.

STABILISE

These policies have had some effect. In the last six months the balance of payments of the major capitalist countries have begun to stabilise. With the onset of the recession imports have fallen more than exports, which are maintained partly because of rising demand from the OPEC countries and to a lesser extent from the workers' states.

In addition the decline in commodity prices brought on by the recession has improved the terms of trade of the industrial capitalist countries.

This relative stability in the balance of payments may be short-lived, since there are indications of a new upsurge in commodity prices. This may be a new instance of something which was observable in the last capitalist boom of 1973: commodity prices for the first time since the war rose much faster than industrial production, partly because of the previous collapse of investment in primary producing industries during the recession of 1970 and 1972, and partly because of the speculative buying of commodities in the inflationary crisis.

In the last two months an increase in commodity prices

seems to have begun before any increase in world industrial production based on the belief that such an increase will soon happen.

Monetary crisis and commodity inflation are not, as the capitalist press often suggests, the basic causes of the crisis. They are themselves in large part the result of more deep rooted contradictions in capitalist production.

But nor are they just passive reflections of the underlying problems of profitability and investment. They themselves come to play an active role in intensifying the crisis.

COLLAPSE

The collapse of the international monetary system is on the one hand the result of intensified inter-capitalist competition as each country, through devaluation and other policies, tries to arrest its declining profitability at the expense of other capitalist countries; on the other hand it is a further cause of declining profits as world trade is hit by the monetary crisis and the room for manoeuvre of capitalist states is reduced.

Also, the commodity inflation and the oil crisis are events from which a healthy capitalism could recover. But for a capitalist system already sick with inflation and recession they have been a further severe blow.

But nor is the recession itself the basic crisis - it is only a manifestation of it. The recession is more significant than previous post-war lulls, but not primarily because it is more generalised or because it is accompanied by inflation. These are reflections of more basic developments in capitalism.

What makes this recession fundamentally different to those in the 50's and 60's is that, rather than being a stage in an inevitably uneven - period of capitalist expansion, it is part of a major capitalist crisis.

A recession is not the same as a crisis. It is one form that a crisis can take, but not the only one. A recession is defined in a purely quantitative way. The statistics of output provide a fairly accurate measure of how deep a recession is.

THREAT

This is not the case with crises. They are defined qualitatively (as a situation in which the reproduction of capital is threatened) and their severity cannot be expressed in numbers alone.

The level of profitability in different periods can be compared numerically but the difficulty of raising profits, which depends on the balance of class forces, cannot be neatly quantified.

The development of the crisis over the last few years has included both booms and recessions. From mid-69 to mid-71 output grew at less than 1% p.a. in the capitalist world.

This mild recession was reversed by reflationary action in all the major capitalist countries in mid-71. From then until late '73 there was an extremely dramatic, if short-lived, boom, with output growing at 9% p.a. Towards the end of '73 the major capitalist states, deflated and the present recession

Throughout all this period the crisis intensified. The accumulation of capital continuously declined in relation to the growth of production. Throughout the '50s and up to 1964 output grew at around 5% p.a. in the capitalist world and investment at around 7½%. In the '64-'70 cycle output grew at 4½% and investment at less than 4% p.a.

Profitability has also suffered severely. The most recent reliable profits figures are shown below:

	Profits as a % of net national income	
	1960	1974
UK	23.0	8.0 (4th qtr)
USA	18.9	16.5 (4th qtr)
Germany	21.9	17.0
Italy	12.5	11.5
Japan	16.0 (1970)	11.5 (4th qtr)

Profitability is being still further reduced as the recession takes hold. And this has led to a further fall in investment because firms have neither the funds nor the incentive to invest when profits are low and the low level of production has led to enormous excess capacity.

INVESTMENT

Investment has fallen by an average of 12½% in the 7 major capitalist countries from 1973-1975 and there is an average 20-25% idle capacity. Low profitability has also forced many firms heavily into debt and threatened them with bankruptcy in the absence of state aid.

What makes the present



Unsold Chrysler cars

economic crisis so historically significant is the fundamental disequilibrium which exists between the two major classes of capitalist society. Through the long post-war boom the working class has become too strong to permit capital to earn a rate of profit sufficient for the sustained accumulation of capital.

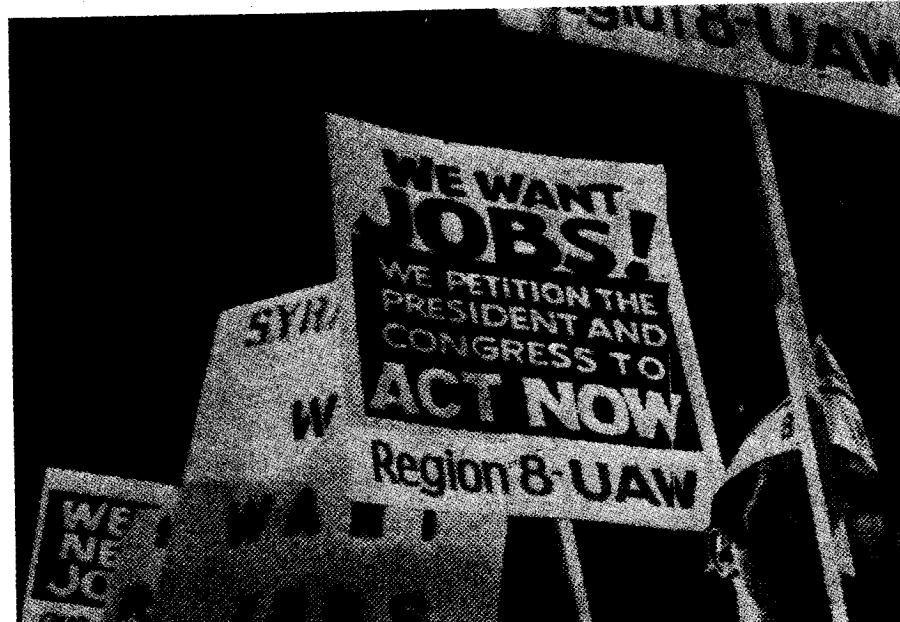
As Trotsky said of the remarkably similar period in the aftermath of World War I:

...speaking theoretically and abstractly, the restoration of capital equilibrium is possible. But it does not take place in a social and political vacuum - it can take place only through the classes. The more restricted becomes the material foundation under their feet, the more fiercely must classes and groups fight for their share of the national income.

In other words renewed capitalist equilibrium can only be founded on the most thoroughgoing defeat of the working class. In no country has this defeat been effected.

The recent inflation is a symptom that capitalist governments fear the necessary confrontation with the working class. And the fact that rapidly rising unemployment is leading to short term reflationary measures in a number of countries (the United States, Japan, France, Germany, Italy) is a further symptom of that fear.

For several months the bourgeois press has been predicting an imminent upturn in production - though like the end of the



WILSON'S FIRST PAY LAWS

continuously receding prospect. Many sections of the left have also become obsessed with predicting exactly when and where the upturn will begin.

For revolutionaries, however, this is not the crucial question. There is increasing evidence that for a time at least, the recession may abate. But the recession is not the crisis.

An upturn in production would temporarily raise the rate of profit by increasing the use of industrial capacity but it would further exacerbate the more important constraint on profitability, the relative strength of the working class.

When discussing the world recession of 1921, Trotsky rebuked those who predicted that the recession would continuously worsen until it ended in the revolution. It is necessary to do the same today - and equally to counter those who place great weight on predicting the timing of an upswing.

In the short-term both a limited upswing and a continuation of the decline are possible. Capitalist governments can have some effect on this through their policies and it is impossible to predict short-term developments with certainty.

However, although they are not irrelevant to revolutionaries since they will affect emphasis and tactics, they make no difference to the *direction* or *strategy* of the revolutionary struggle.

What is certain is that no government tinkering with economic policies can resolve this crisis. The capitalist class needs to massively defeat the working class



over living standards, jobs, and social services, to achieve that.

The short-term deflationary and inflationary policies between which bourgeois governments oscillate, contain huge dangers for the capitalist class. They represent different ways of attacking a working class which refuses to lie down and be beaten.

Yet, while the working class in all the major countries has remained undefeated through 5 years of severe capitalist crisis, workers are now suffering increasing material hardships and uncertainty, which in a crisis are all that capitalism has to offer.

The working class is undefeated but not invincible.

PROGRAMME

It can emerge victorious from the present crisis only if armed with a leadership fighting for the Transitional Programme. This programme alone furnishes a set of consistent, internationalist demands which offer both a way to defend its existing position, whatever economic policies capitalist governments pursue, and a way forward towards the only possible solution to the current crisis which does not involve a major historical defeat for the working class - the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the construction of a socialist society.

The task is to build the party to carry this programme into practice.

The introduction of state pay laws through the £6 wage limit by the Labour government means that a new period of struggle is opening up for all workers. Together with this decisive attack on workers' living standards, Wilson has obtained unprecedented collaboration with union leaders in witch hunting in the unions and Labour Party all those who try to lead a struggle to defend wages, and against accepting record unemployment.

Wilson's Labour government is being revealed as absolutely anti-working class and the fight to defend wages and jobs can clearly now only be successful if it is turned into a political fight to remove Wilson, Healey and the right wing and a fight for the transitional demands that this paper alone puts forward, demanding that they be implemented by those who replace the right wing.

It is necessary to understand that no Labour politician will carry out such a programme since the fight for demands in defence of jobs and wages immediately starts workers on the road to the revolutionary ending of capitalism itself, which even the 'left' in the Labour Party are pledged to defend. But the struggle against the Labour Government is essential to demonstrate its reactionary, cowardly nature in a concrete way to the largest number of workers.

The successive Labour governments have always behaved as poor relations, feeling themselves barely tolerated as guests in the employers' house, and frantically careful never to offend their hosts.

This does not come from the individual position of Wilson or any other MP but rather reflects the political position of the reformist: the tolerated guest will never take over the whole house.

Pay laws were used against the working class by the Wilson Government of 1964-70, and to look at this period helps us to understand how to campaign against the present pay laws.

CRISIS

The Labour Government of 1964-70 was dominated by the emergence of the economic crisis which has now turned into world recession and the beginnings of mass unemployment. The weakness of British capitalism especially came to the fore with massive balance of payments deficits (£800m in 1964) and continued speculation against sterling which resulted in its eventual devaluation.

Wilson attempted to defend capitalism by helping it wring more value from the working class and immediately appointed George Brown at the Department of Economic Affairs to discuss a prices and incomes policy to hold down wages and increase productivity: ie speed-up. The *Mutual Declaration of Intent on Productivity, Prices and Incomes* was signed in December 1964.

Wilson's own memoirs show where the pressure was coming from for these attacks. In August 1965 he met Fowler, American Secretary of the Treasury. He "... was afraid of an inflationary situation developing and in particular doubted whether the voluntary prices and incomes policy which George Brown had negotiated would be able to withstand the pressure for wage increases to which we were subject. Whilst he did not attempt in any way to make terms or give us orders [!!] he was apprehensive that if further central bank aid were required it would be difficult to mount if we had no better safeguard against inflation than a voluntary system. It was in these circumstances that we began first to think in terms of statutory powers".

(Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964-70: A personal record* p131)

MANAGERS

Accepting that their job is to manage capitalism, the Labour Government must accept the dictates of bankers and employers, the dictates of capital seeking profit!

The Labourites then went to

order to stifle and render leaderless any opposition from the working class, and to spread confusion over the nature of the wage cuts.

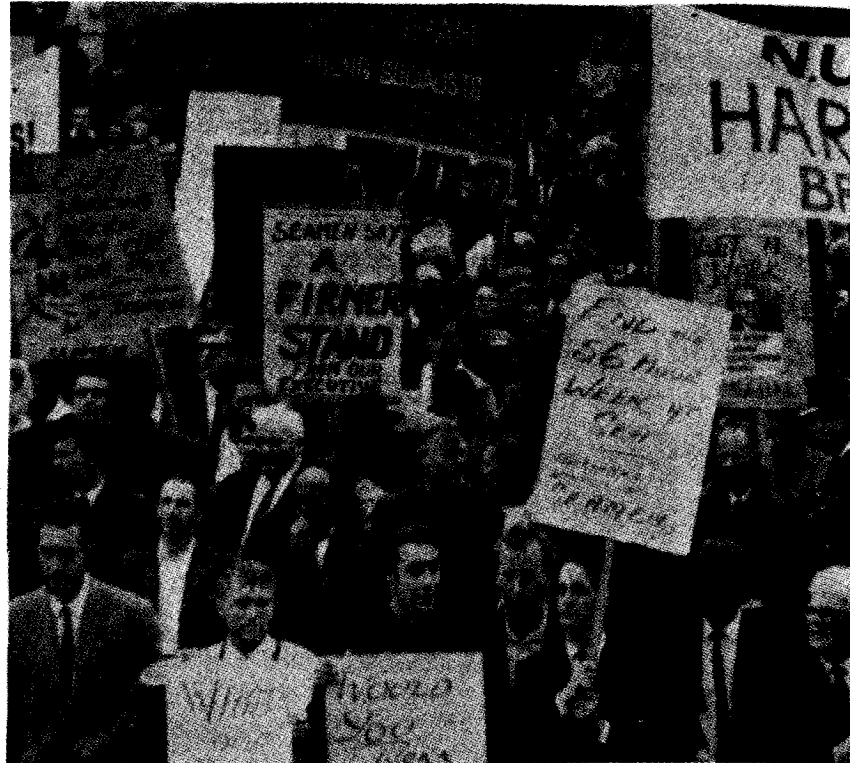
First they convinced Frank Cousins, General Secretary of the T&GWU, who sat in Wilson's Cabinet as Minister of Technology. He had opposed the voluntary 'restraint' on wages but apparently 'took it calmly'. Brown went round to have long private talks with George Woodcock, the TUC leader, before the Brighton Trades Union Congress to get him to agree to statutory wage control.

At the Cabinet meeting on September 1st 1965 Callaghan explained the plan for statutory powers. The existing National Board for Prices

for a General Election in March and wanted to avoid at all costs an election campaign during which the Labour Government would be confronting a large section of striking workers fighting for wages against Labour.

On February 11th Brown came up with the idea of ante-dating the settlement, which was defeated by only one vote by the NUR. Wilson, who was telling everyone he wasn't asking for money or more backdating, made a last-minute personal plea to the NUR executive including a future productivity deal (which meant, as always, wages in exchange for jobs) and managed to get the strike called off.

Immediately after the election,



1966 Seamen's Strike: Young Socialists Lobby of Parliament in support of the strikers, demanding the left MPs fight Wilson

and Incomes was to be made a statutory body and the Secretary of State (Brown) was to have power to refer any price or wage issue to it and enforce its decisions by ministerial order. Price or wage increases could be deferred while the Board held an inquiry, and there was an early warning system for such increases.

Price control is of course always talked about to make the deal seem 'fair' but never gets off the ground because of nameless 'difficulties', admitted by Wilson in 1965 and by Shirley Williams in 1975.

COVER

Just as today, the TUC leadership put up no opposition to the introduction of pay laws. Today of course it is the TUC's plans which are being legislated, and they hide behind the cardboard defence that the £6 limit is voluntary and that workers will not be jailed - both completely meaningless when it comes to the shrinking value of the wage packet. In 1965 the General Council agreed with Brown before that although the legislation was passed by Parliament it would only be activated by a specific Order in Council requiring the assent of both Houses so that the voluntary system could 'prove itself'. Woodcock proposed further that all wage claims be submitted to the General Council for vetting. This behind-the-scenes deal was accepted by the Congress the next day and opened the door for the TUC to intervene and collaborate in holding down workers' wages.

Although the bureaucratic leadership had carried out the betrayal, the pay laws were never accepted by workers.

FIRST CLAIM

In January 1966 the Prices and Incomes Board faced its first major pay claim, that of the NUR and joined with the employers in recommending a mere 3½% on basic rates for some of the lowest paid workers in Britain. Wilson did not consider living standards of workers, however, but rather the bankers' confidence in sterling: "to yield incontinently to strike threats would mean the end of any meaningful prices and incomes policy, with serious effects abroad". (Wilson, *ibid.* p199)

But the NUR rejected British Rail's final offer and announced,

which Wilson won, they forced the same situation again. The Queen's Speech in April announced what was to become the Prices and Incomes Bill and Wilson embarked on a tour of trade union conferences and the Scottish TUC to argue wage restraint and productivity. Then in May 1966 the seamen put in a claim including big changes in their conditions of service and higher overtime pay, amounting to a 17% increase. The shipowners' offer was 5%, with 4% in each of the next two years.

Gunter, Minister of Labour, met the NUS executive and urged them to accept the employers' offer, promising an inquiry into conditions of employment. This was rejected on three occasions and the NUS was ready to strike on May 16th. Wilson made a personal intervention on the 13th, arguing to the NUS the damage a strike would do to the economy, the benefits of Gunter's enquiry and so on, but was unable to get the sell-out he wanted:

"Their reaction was militant and bitter, and with many offensive [!] comments on the shipowners' methods and their excessive profits, and with political attacks on us for backing the bosses against the workers". (Wilson, *ibid.* p227)

Having failed to get betrayal, Wilson went into all-out attack on the NUS, while the Navy stood by to take over if voluntary strike-breaking failed, and while he prepared a State of Emergency, declared a few days later, he appeared on television to spread the hoary old lie that he was really protecting jobs, familiar to us now and even more incredible now with over a million on the dole.

"I had to re-emphasise our incomes policy, and, stressing that maintenance of that policy was the only means to full employment, made clear that we could not accept an inflationary settlement."

The Court of Inquiry report, under that noted friend of the working class, Lord Pearson, hardly made a Peer for services to striking seamen, was rejected by the NUS at the beginning of June, and Wilson brought another big gun to bear on the seamen. Woodcock flew back from holiday to tell them that the TUC refused to support them, an unbelievable stab in the back. Even Hogarth, 'moderate' General Secretary of the

is a fight with the Government, not the shipowners.'

So a Labour Government emerges as more capable of fighting the working class than the employers, and is used by the latter for that purpose.

Wilson then resorted to the lowest and most vile form of attack.

"It is difficult to appreciate the pressures which are being put on men I know to be realistic and responsible (now they are called moderates), not only in their executive capacity, but in the highly organised strike committees in the ports, by this tightly knit group of politically motivated men, who, as the last General Election showed, utterly failed to secure acceptance of their views by the British electorate..." and commented, "I did not use the word Communist."

In fact there were no members of the Communist Party on the NUS executive and Wilson, called upon to explain himself after an outcry in the trade union movement, resorted to even cruder smears. He mentioned Jack Eward, chairman of the London strike committee, as a CP member and referred to Joseph Kenny and James Slater on the NUS executive: "over the past few weeks, when attending the executive council in London, they have stayed at the same flat as Mr. Jack Eward. Of course, they are free to stay where they like, but Mr. Ramel son (CP Industrial Organiser) has visited the flat while they were there..."

WITCH HUNT

On the basis of this witch-hunt the right-wing outvoted the militants on the NUS executive and the strike was called off.

Some detail on the seamen's strike has been necessary to show how far Labour is prepared to go to stand in the front line for the employers against the working class, and how low they will sink, to smear campaigns and their logical conclusion, expulsion of anyone who stands on principle against pro-capitalist policies. There are signs of this coming again in the aftermath of Newham N.E.

After this defeat for the seamen, Wilson felt strong enough to announce on 20th. July 1966, a six-month standstill on wages, and a further six months of severe restraint. In the face of such an attack, the TUC had to express reservations, and Cousins, who had resigned from the Cabinet in June (not because he was opposed to wage control, but he wanted the impossible price control too) declared that the T&GWU would not observe the freeze. This move of Wilson to the right, dictated by a growing run on sterling made other union leaders join Cousins with even a right winger declaring: "You asked us for voluntary restraint to avoid a freeze, and we agreed. Now you're asking us for a freeze to avoid unemployment."

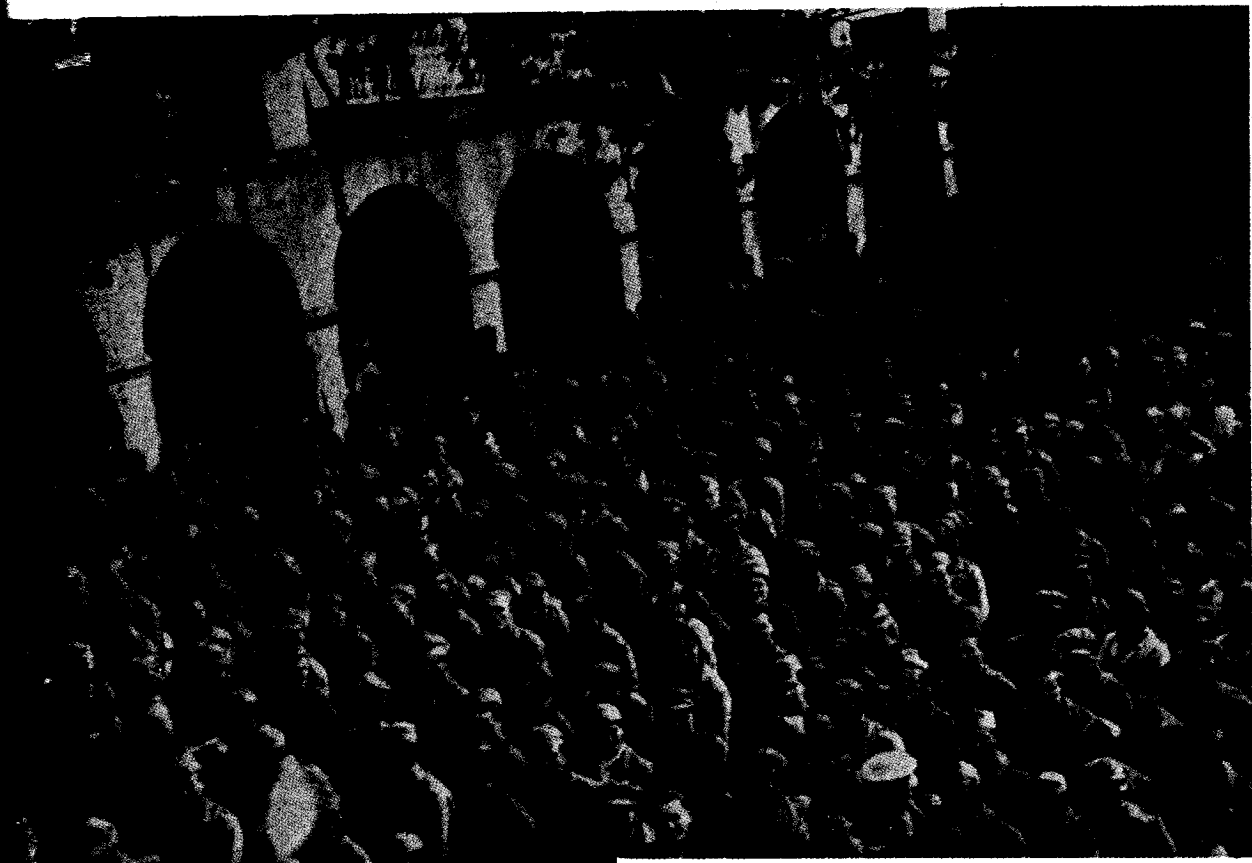
But the babble of noise was made just to cover their tracks, and even if they resented being hoodwinked, they allowed themselves to be taken in again. The Labour Party left-wing challenge amounted only to a motion, signed by 47 MP's and calling for import controls (i.e. let workers be unemployed abroad) and the TUC eventually said they would acquiesce, with the meaningless proviso that "social equity was preserved."

LAW

After this collapse, wage-cutting became law in August 1966. It is clear that the Labour Government act in the interests of the employers, gaining strength not from workers' support, but from the weakness, collapses and betrayals of working class leadership, and from the defeats of workers.

We demand: Make the 'left' MP's fight! Sack Wilson and the right wing as preparation for removing the whole rotten amalgam, and for an alternative leadership in the unions for a socialist transitional programme.

by R. Roberts



British Battalion International Brigade

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

THIRD & FINAL PART

In our last article we discussed on the central question of leadership in the war against Franco. We showed how the failure of the anarchists in the POUM to take a fight to win over the ranks of the anarchist workers who were becoming more and more disillusioned with their leaders of the CNT) led the POUM to betray the masses.

Yet Spanish workers were betrayed also by the treachery of working class leadership internationally. All the problems of the world proletariat found sharp expression in the struggles in Spain.

As soon as the civil war broke out in 1936 the question of international support for the republican government against fascism immediately arose. France at the time had a Popular Front government led by Blum, while in Britain a number of Labour ministers were participating with the Tories in the National Government.

These social democrats, however, served the class interests of the capitalists and not the workers. The last thing they wanted was the seizure of power in Spain by the working class and the peasants. If they were to give massive military support to the republican government there was no guarantee that the workers and peasants would not use those guns to destroy not only Franco but capitalism as well.

TALK

The consequence of these fears was that while the workers' leaders in the capitalist countries talked sympathetically about the struggle against Franco's army, they proposed not military aid to the republican armies but a 'non-intervention pact' between the great powers, Russia and the fascist countries.

By this time, the Russian Communist Party, led by Stalin, had degenerated so much that the interests of the world's working class, linked as they were to the development of revolution on a world scale, did not even enter into the thinking of the Stalinist bureaucracy. What most concerned Stalin now was the existence of a potentially very hostile Nazi regime along one of the borders of the Soviet Union.

In order to counter the threat posed by Nazi Germany, which was

of Britain and France. He hoped that with Russia to the east and France and Britain to the west, Hitler would think twice about invading the Soviet Union.

For Stalin, the Spanish civil war presented an opportunity to demonstrate his good faith to Britain and France. He therefore readily agreed to the 'non-intervention pact' and for the first part of the civil war, Russia refused to send any military aid to the Republican armies.

INTERVENTION

The fascist governments of Italy and Germany on the other hand, never had any intention of abiding by a policy of non-intervention. Mussolini, in particular, sent not only military aid, but large numbers of Italian troops as well. Feeling very much the junior partner to Hitler, he intended to use the civil war to demonstrate the 'heroism' and 'might' of the Italian fascist armies.

The Nazis themselves also provided Franco with military equipment, and sent pilots to Spain to fly the aircraft they were supplying. The notorious 'Condor' legion was also sent against the Spanish working class.

Apart from materially assisting a cause with which the fascists were most decidedly sympathetic, their intervention in the Spanish civil war also enabled them to test out the military equipment with which they had been busily re-arming themselves. It also further provided the fascists with the opportunity of giving their soldiers war experience in preparation for the imperialist world war that everyone (except the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow) realised was getting closer by the day.

The cause of the Spanish workers and peasants was taken up and supported by millions of workers throughout the world. This support took on a whole variety of forms from support for the 'non-intervention' pact in the misguided belief that, if properly enforced, the Republican armies would be victorious, to the collecting of money for medical aid and volunteering to join the International Brigades.

BRIGADES

Thousands of class-conscious workers, trades unionists and intellectuals also, from all over Europe and America, travelled to Spain to join the International Brigades

Pyrenees into Spain. At first the French government turned a blind eye to these volunteers but because they were technically in breach of the non-intervention pact the French government began to take active steps to prevent volunteers for the International Brigades from crossing the Pyrenees.

Nevertheless, the thousands of volunteers who arrived in Spain fought in many of the main battles of the civil war and very many of them lost their lives in the fight against Franco.

Russia's non-intervention in the civil war was putting an enormous strain on Stalin's credibility as the leader of the world's first workers' state and on the influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist states which he used to back up the manoeuvres of the Kremlin with imperialism. Moreover, there were certain advantages to be gained from supplying a limited amount of arms to the Republican armies. The Spanish Communist Party was then able to determine where the arms which Russia supplied were to be allocated.

MASSACRE

This meant for example that the militias and later the regiments which did not support Stalinism could be deprived of arms and therefore, ill-equipped, would be open to massacre by the fascists who were of course equipped with the most sophisticated weaponry available, supplied by the Spanish bourgeoisie and the fascist governments in Berlin and Rome.

It was the coolness of the British and French governments to Stalin's proposal for a 'triple' alliance that finally persuaded Stalin that he had nothing to lose but more than a little to gain by sending strictly limited quantities of arms to the Republican armies.

This totally treacherous policy of the Stalinists made it all the more essential for the Spanish working class to take the power in those areas of Spain free from fascism, by overthrowing the bourgeois-Stalinist coalition, which fulfilled an increasingly counter-revolutionary role.

One final opportunity to defeat the counter-revolution presented itself, in Barcelona at the beginning of May 1937. Here the workers' militias, dominated by POUM and CNT, still patrolled the streets. Increased attempts to disarm them led to clashes between the CNT and the combined Stalinist-Socialist party, the PSUC, who supported the bourgeois government.

On May 3rd state forces arrived

control of it. Within two hours the workers were throwing up barricades throughout the city.

The Stalinists in the PSUC who supported the attack on the exchange were forced to withdraw, and the Left sections of workers from the POUM and the CNT issued calls for the seizure of power by the workers through the development of democratic organs of defence.

But the leaders of these working class organisations refused to heed the call. Instead they decided to negotiate with the government who insisted that the streets be cleared first. With the greatest difficulty the CNT and POUM leaders cleared the streets of the workers and ordered a return to work.

They followed this up with instructions to allow state forces into the city and to vacate the telephone exchange. The negotiations were ended and the telephone exchange immediately occupied by the police. This gave the government and the Stalinists control over the whole telephone system.

Whereas under workers' control the telephones had been open to all anti-fascist forces, the Stalinists and the government used their control to prevent CNT and POUM communications.

This story was repeated throughout Catalonia, except that as the government forces and Stalinists grew more successful, they began to murder CNT and POUM members at will.

Meanwhile the CNT sent delegation after delegation to the government to discuss the situation. By this time in Catalonia 500 workers were dead and 1500 wounded. In the days that followed hundreds more died as the POUM and anarchist troops were 'cleansed' by sending them into the line of fire without air or artillery cover.

Having provided the necessary service to the bourgeoisie, the services of the POUM and CNT could now be dispensed with. They were unceremoniously thrown out of the government and the POUM was declared illegal.

Not long after, the Stalinists created a situation in which a formal end of workers control and the disbanding of factory committees was called for, which they know Caballero would find intolerable. He too then left the government he had been instrumental in forming which was now comprised solely of the 'liberal' bourgeoisie and the Stalinists.

Republican Spain in half, and not long after the heroic workers of Barcelona were forced to surrender to the fascist forces. The International Brigades were withdrawn from Spain and with the fall of Madrid early in 1939, the civil war came to an end.

What then are the main lessons to be learned from the terrible defeat of the Spanish working class who had fought so heroically and so desperately against fascism?

The first point is that when the bourgeoisie is posed with the tasks of the bourgeois revolution and is too weak to complete them, the only alternatives are the fight for workers power or the victory of reaction.

It is not possible to fight for the establishment of a bourgeois democracy and then at a later stage, socialism, as the socialists and Stalinists argued. The material conditions did not exist in Spain upon which a stable bourgeois democracy could rest.

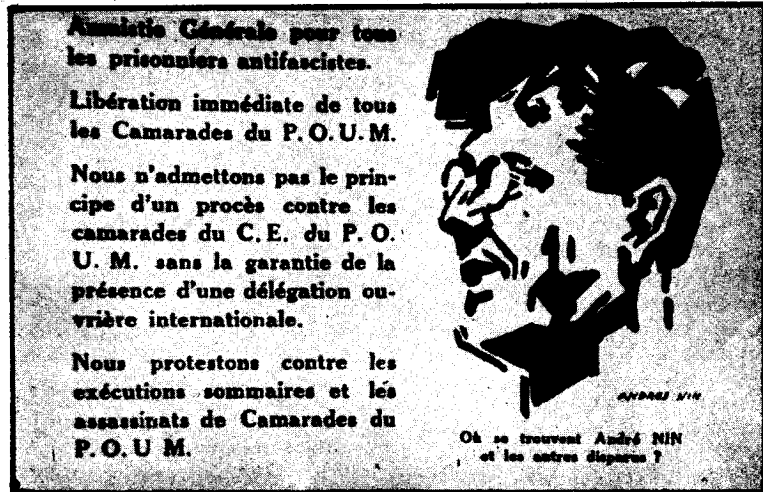
Secondly, in the fight against reaction and for the basic demands of the democratic revolution the working class must base itself on its own class organisations and a programme which represents its own class interests. Any other organisation, any other programme must be that of another class which, however friendly it may be at a given moment, has different interests and is therefore, in the long run, hostile to the working class.

STATE

Thirdly, it is impossible to carry out a struggle against fascism by trying to use the bourgeois state. The bourgeoisie fear the masses more than they fear fascism. Only by setting up rival working class organs of defence, production and supply united into a national council, only by establishing dual power and then going beyond that to the conquest of power and the establishment of the workers state can the struggle against fascism be successfully carried out.

The destruction of the capitalist state, workers control of the factories and the distribution of the land to the peasants also serves as the essential basis for politically undermining the support of the fascists who only gain in strength because the bourgeoisie are paralysed.

Fourthly, the need for every worker to understand the completely counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism as demonstrated in the



The bourgeoisie took greater and greater control of the government while the Stalinists physically liquidated the opposition on the left. The leaders of the outlawed POUM were arrested by the Stalinists and murdered.

Andreas Nin, the veteran ex-Trotskyist and leader of the POUM, was himself abducted by the Stalinists. They denied any knowledge of his whereabouts but this did not prevent widespread protests against their action throughout the workers movement.

However, the counter-revolution was now too far advanced, and the leaders of the workers parties too far compromised for any effective opposition to the actions of the Communist Party to be mounted. Andreas Nin, along with many lesser known and unknown opponents of Stalinism was brutally tortured and finally murdered by the Stalinists.

The successful advance of counter-revolution within the ranks of the republican forces, coupled with the treacherous policy of the Soviet Union meant that the fate of the Spanish revolution was by now sealed. With the disbandments of the backbone of the fight — the workers militia and factory committees — the more the fascist

Spanish civil war and the building of a section of a revived Fourth International in every country is now the most important task facing the working class internationally. In Portugal, where the Armed Forces Movement rests precariously as do all Bonapartist regimes, on both the working class and the bourgeoisie, the lessons of the Spanish Civil War must be learnt by every class conscious worker.

There can be no substitute in such a situation for a revolutionary party based on these fundamental planks of Marxist theory. Centrist movements like the POUM which used the vocabulary of Marxism to cover over their capitulation to the Stalinists and reformists play a treacherous role of confusing the working class — regardless of the enormous sacrifice and dedication of their members.

The Spanish Civil War was a defeat for the working class that could have been a great victory. As Trotsky said as early as 1931, the decisive question was leadership: "For a successful solution of all these tasks, three conditions are required: a party; once more a party; again a party!"

Now in 1975, as the Spanish proletariat after 36 years of fascist oppression is again to stir and threaten

QUESTION MARK OVER BOMB TRIAL

With the Birmingham pubs bomb trial concluded and life sentences passed on the six convicted of murder, some questions remain. For this trial, though maybe one of the biggest show trials in British history, has aroused no protest in the British working class.

Six men were convicted of murder and three more of conspiracy to cause the explosions. All nine were accused of being members of McDade's team. (McDade was an IRA member blown up in Coventry while planting a bomb).

Of the six convicted of murder five were arrested at Heysham on the night of the pub bombs as they were travelling to Belfast for McDade's funeral. The defending lawyers emphasised that men who had just planted a bomb would be unlikely to fry and leave the country immediately by a major port.

It is significant that the chief prosecution witness, Thomas Watt, who worked with three of the defendants, admitted to harbouring Littlejohn from the night of the pub explosions until his arrest.

Watt said he was sympathetic to the National Front and regularly informed the police about IRA



LITTLEJOHN

members. Further the press reported that the Birmingham police knew Littlejohn was staying with Thomas Watt although they did not arrest him until the following month.

Littlejohn is the self-confessed British agent who carried out a bank raid in Dublin for which the IRA was blamed.

Thomas Watt's testimony includes such statements as that John Walkers, said to be one of the commanders of the IRA team, asked him where he could buy cheap alarm clocks, drew a sketch of a bomb and warned Watt not to go out on the night of the explosions.

Further prosecution evidence was based on forensic tests which were positive on three of the nine and the confessions of some of the defendants. The defendants claim

that these were extracted by the police after crude torture and mock executions.

This ties in with the testimony of the prison doctor who certified that the wounds were received between twelve hours and two days before the prisoners arrived at Winson Green prison - in other words while they were in the hands of the police. However, in the closing days of the trial the judge rounded on the prison doctor and accused him of perjury or gross incompetence.

Prison Wardens

The judge argued that the wounds were obtained solely in the prison and thus cleared the police. As the trial closed the *Birmingham Evening Mail* printed a remarkable interview with the prison warden in which he "confessed" that the wardens had beaten up the prisoners.

He reminded us, however, that should charges be brought against them, then Winson Green prison would have to close since wardens cannot continue their duties while on trial. It looks remarkably like the prison wardens being the cover or the scapegoat for the police.

It seems clear that eight of the nine convicted were members or sympathisers of the IRA. One was

not. He, James Kelly, convicted of conspiracy was an avowed Orangeman and claims to have been "infiltrating" the IRA.

The prosecution summing up seemed to emphasise the malevolent nature of the defendants, describing one as "a cocky, aggressive little liar".

Sophisticated Bombs

The defending lawyers each seemed to be concerned at their own clients acquittal at the expense of the rest. Lastly we must note that no mention was made in the press of the site of the bomb factory, although the bombs used were highly sophisticated, and designed (unlike other IRA bombs aimed at non-military targets) to maim humans more than to destroy property.

What are we to conclude? The instigators of these particular bombs could be connected to Littlejohn, the Loyalists or the Provisionals. However this is speculative: the majority of the British working class believe it to be the work of the IRA and have reacted to it as such. Many sympathisers of the national struggle in Ireland were beaten up in the aftermath, some lost their jobs.

On the streets of Birmingham it became risky to reveal an Irish

accent and many Longbridge workers demonstrated under the "Kill the IRA". In Birmingham shop steward was sacked for defending the job of his members known to be a sympathiser. In the chaos the Government was to pass the pernicious terrorist legislation".

Whoever was politically responsible for the bombing they provided a considerable target to the forces of reaction achieved not a single gain for the Irish working class.

Scepticism

While we defend therefore absolute right of the Provisional IRA to defend the Catholic population in the north of Ireland against provocative harassment by the British and Loyalist thugs, and to support the national independence of Ireland, we do not in any support the Birmingham bombings or similar policies which can aid counter-revolutionary forces.

A serious question mark over this trial, however, demands that the workers movement demand the fullest information to treat the verdict, along with sentences, with scepticism.

IMG EXPOSED

The recently formed Lambeth Campaign against the Cuts held its third meeting last week. The highlight of the evening was the continuing political acrobatics of the International Marxist Group, the self-proclaimed Trotskyists who form the British section of the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International. The IMG claim to support the Transitional Programme, the founding document of the Fourth International. However, the news does not seem to have reached the IMG in Lambeth.

The main item on the agenda

of the meeting was the programme which the committee should adopt around which the working class of the borough could be mobilised against the cuts in public expenditure being introduced by the Labour Government. Members of the Workers Socialist League proposed a series of demands based on the Transitional Programme. These demands included a sliding scale of public expenditure to protect against the erosion of the social services through inflation, the opening of the books of the area health authorities and education authorities to committees of trade unionists, a call to the local Labour Party to demand that local MPs and councillors vote against the cuts and the demand that Junior Minister and Tribune MP for Norwood, John Raser, resign from the government and begin a campaign in the Parliamentary Labour Party to remove Wilson and the right wing from power.

The WSL members present proposed this as the only programme that could mobilise the working class against the cuts. Revealing their utter contempt for the working class, the IMG opposed accepting this programme as the programme of the committee on the grounds that it would hinder the development of a broad united front against the cuts. The IMG claimed that while they were not opposed to the demands presented by the WSL, that what was needed first was a series of actions around the slogan fight the cuts.

Indeed, the IMG's own 'Programme' did not include a single demand that would show the working class how to start fighting the cuts.

When the WSL programme was put to the vote it was rejected with the IMG voting it down along with everyone else. The IMG programme was not put to the vote and an alternative programme scabbled together at the meeting was accepted.

CAMMELL PICKET STOP SCABS



Over 1000 building workers representing all sections of the trade - from ship repair to the new Liverpool underground railway - picketed against police action and in solidarity with the sacked Peter Lind workers at Cammell Lairds shipyard, Birkenhead.

Scabs from the new contractors, Wimpey, who have (supported by customary police violence) been breaking the picket lines for weeks were "given the day off". The arrogant boast of a Wimpey spokesman was: "Our men have got the bit between their teeth and are determined to carry on work and not even lose a day" turned into its opposite when faced with such solidarity and determination.

Sites that backed the Action Committee's call included: Teaching Hospital Site (Liverpool), Skelmersdale building sites, Nuttals (Liverpool), Townson (Birkenhead), IPI Ship conversion, Stanlow Oil Refinery,

Cubitts (Arrow Park) and many others including Liverpool Corporation workers who took the day in support.

Jim Saddler told *Socialist* how the police broke his picket line whilst arresting him on the picket line "Four of them grabbed then one of them seemed to my arm in a Judo hold then I had a snap".

Other comments came from a member of the Peter Lind Action Committee: "We've approached the Labour MPs on Merseyside and Heffer included, and they've done nothing for us and yet the government owns 51% of C. Lairds shipyard." "The union officials are useless they haven't even been down the picket line - they support no way".

Jim Saddler added "I realised that the right to work is so closely linked to the right to picket."

The picket must be followed up by the labour movement in the Merseyside area.

in this situation. Such a party must fight, without qualification, against the bourgeoisie and its agents in the state machine, in the army, and in the workers' movement.

It must fight to strengthen and develop the workers' committees which are now growing up in every factory and place of work, to the point where they can challenge for power. It must set up these committees set up armed defence squads against the threat of reactionary violence.

At the same time a Trotskyist leadership must join the struggle to strengthen the sailors' and soldiers' committees, and the tenants' committees and ensure they act independently of the control of the military authorities and the landlords. Joint meetings on a regional and national basis must be

within which the majority workers' parties, the CP and the SP, must break from the AFM, take control and enact policies to tackle the daily problems besetting workers and peasants. The refusal of AFM, Soares, and the Stalinist leaders to allow such a government to act will strengthen the fight for workers to form their own organs of power and a new leadership in opposition to the bourgeoisie.

The fight must be developed to win over the peasantry to the side of the revolution and to organise them jointly with workers and rank and file soldiers. Only on the basis of such a programme can concrete sub-

PORTUGAL from p2

the FSP (Popular Socialist Front, one of the many left splits from the Socialist Party).

The danger of this alliance is its domination by the Stalinist policy of support for the bourgeois AFM government: it also utterly fails to provide a fighting policy to develop the independent strength of the working class.

A government based on the scattered expressions of workers power in factory committees, house occupations, etc., is not at this point an immediate policy. It is however a perspective towards which all serious revolutionists must now aim. Thus the correct demand that the workers parties - the CP and the SP, which won a clear majority in the last elections - form a workers government and for an independent constituent assembly distinct from the AFM junta. This can only be fought for through mobilising the class and strengthening these local organs of class rule.

If the working class is solely directed to seeking 'democratic' rule within the confines of a capitalist Portugal, the necessary direction towards the struggle for power could be lost. At the same time it is certain that the demand for a functioning independent constituent assembly can expose Soares' links with the AFM to those workers who have been taken in by his demagogic talk of "democratic rights", and who seek the parliamentary road in Portugal where every major workers party is tied to the bourgeois AFM.

supporters of Gerry Healy's LCRP (League for the Construction of a Revolutionary Party) were punched and their papers burned.

A more effective intervention was made by the PRT (Revolutionary Proletarian Party, associated with the *Hansenite* minority of the "United Secretariat" and pursuing policies opposed to those of the official section the LCI). They distributed a document on the demonstration welcoming the desire for unity against reaction but warning of the dangers of the Popular Front. We saw animated discussion between demonstrators and those who gave out this leaflet, which seemed to provide some hope of breaking these workers from the Stalinist policies that had brought them there.

At the same time, the PRT leaflet contained a number of weaknesses. Despite the real physical dangers, a more effective way could have been found to confront these policies of the CP which have allowed reaction to grow in the past and will certainly encourage it in the future. Above all, the PRT leaflet did not mention the need for unity in action with those workers who still support the biggest working class organisation - the Socialist Party. The slogan "down with Social Democracy!" was shouted with great fervour on the demonstration and while many workers expressed their justifiable hostility to the reactionary policies of the Soares' leadership, the Stalinists must not be allowed to prevent the growth of joint action between



Carvalho

The announcement last night of the replacement of Goncalves as Prime Minister by navy chief Azevedo will further weaken the Stalinists, but will not provide any solution to the instability of bourgeois rule. The storm against Goncalves' appointment as Armed Forces chief and the reported threats of anti-communist rebellion amongst troops in the North show that this compromise will resolve nothing.

In a situation where changes take place hour by hour it is possible we could shortly see the open intervention of fascist military bands now being amassed in Spain and doubtless expecting to find many supporters in the large numbers of reactionary Portuguese now returning home from the African colonies. Also in the wings are the CIA and other agencies of US imperialism. At the moment however the strength of the working class remains predominant and in the short term there should be a heightening of the revolutionary struggle. Portugal is thus the cockpit of the European revolution at this point in time.

Workers Socialist League National Committee Statement

Unite Employed and Unemployed Workers

A POLICY TO FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

The Labour Government, acting as the representatives of British capitalism in crisis are working jointly with the TUC leaders to create mass unemployment. This is in an attempt to solve the economic crisis of capitalism at the expense of the living standards, jobs and working conditions of the working class whose votes put them in power.

The collaboration of the union leaders in this is blatant. The TUC advocates 'voluntary' wage restraint to hide Wilson's introduction of state pay laws restricting rises to £6. Every trade union leader, every local official, every right-wing convenor now argues for the viability, on capitalist terms, of private industry in order to avoid fighting for the defence of jobs or for wages.

CAPITULATION

Their capitulation to the employers is concealed by the reactionary demand for import controls - made loudest by those who have done least to defend jobs. Such a policy amounts to support for British capitalists against "foreign" capitalists, under conditions where capitalism internationally exploits the working class and stands in the way of improving living standards or developing the productive forces.

In the steel industry, where the trade union leaders have accepted the loss of 20,000 jobs, with wage cuts and speed-up for those remaining, in order to make the Corporation viable, the same leaders now hypocritically call for import controls - to protect jobs!

In British Leyland, where the union leaders are enthusiastically implementing the Ryder Report - which is almost solely concerned with the reduction of the labour force - they join with management in the company newspaper to demand sanctions against Japanese car imports.

Nor are such betrayals confined to the right wing. It is now National Committee policy of the

Stalinists of the Communist Party to advocate import controls. Now the *Morning Star* has come out in favour of the implementation of the Ryder Report (along with its class-collaborationist "worker participation" committees, whose job it is to force in the rationalisation of BLMC).

Precisely because of the treachery of these leaders workers face a situation where unemployment of 1,250,000 will grow rapidly worse. At the same time living standards will fall at an alarming rate under the impact of inflation. The most conspicuous aspect of the present mass unemployment is the total silence of every one of the TUC leaders, 'left' and right.

In earlier periods of unemployment, such as 1963, 1966 and under the Tory government in 1971-1972, there were lobbies of parliament, demonstrations, or at very least militant speeches from the trade union leaders to cover over their complete inaction. Now they recognise that the situation is much more serious.

The working class is still capable of defeating the Labour government's reactionary plans. Even the lightest breath of leadership in this situation could kindle the unbroken strength of the working class and force a major struggle challenging capitalism itself. Under such conditions the struggle of the working class to overthrow capitalist property relations and establish state power would be posed. The trade union leaders, dedicated to preserving and reforming capitalism, shrink from this perspective.

This is why they sit silent - even while their unions' membership is eroded by unemployment - and raise not a finger nor a voice to defend a single job.

To answer this situation the Workers Socialist League puts forward a programme on which the fight against unemployment can begin.

The starting point must be to demand that sackings are ended and instead a policy of work-sharing on full pay fought for where jobs are threatened.

Where the employer refuses this demand, the threatened factory must be occupied, and a committee elected to demand access to the books of the company and report back the real state of its finances.

NATIONALISATION

Only in this way can the 'bankruptcy' or otherwise of the company be revealed, since otherwise the employers have a monopoly of information. If, indeed, the firm is bankrupt, then it proves *not* (as the employer and union leaders will argue) that the workers should drop their claim, but that the factory or company is fit for nothing but nationalisation under the control of workers' elected committees, preparatory to full workers' management.

As the Norton Villiers Triumph experience shows (where a powerful occupation now stands in great danger), the demand for nationalisation within the capitalist state is not enough. The fight must be

for socialist nationalisation - without paying compensation except to small savers, but with a programme of state contracts to keep production going while workers' committees begin the development of an economic plan for the factory and the industry as a whole. Such a plan, produced by workers themselves, would stand as a clear alternative to the anti-working class rationalisation 'plans' of the employers.

But public works programmes must not be restricted to preserving existing jobs. Rather trade union committees in each area must draw up plans for useful programmes of building and other work to provide additional employment on full average industrial earnings (*not* the dole). Only if such steps are taken can the thousands of unemployed school leavers and workers already on the dole be found jobs. The demand must be that the government carry out this programme - not by subsidising the building monopolies and land speculators, but by nationalising building firms without compensation, expropriating the land and putting the schemes under workers' management.

UNITY

In a situation where 1,250,000 are unemployed there are other key issues on which unity must be fought for between employed and unemployed workers. While workers must fight for the sliding scale of wages, to provide increases linked to the rising cost of living as assessed by trade union comm-

itees, those committees must also include unemployed workers and pensioners and must lead the fight to ensure that state benefits keep pace with inflation.

The illusion peddled by the TUC leaders that high wages cause unemployment must be fought. As the standard of living falls, even more workers are thrown on to the dole as further sections of industry go bankrupt.

In order to fight for such a programme the unemployed must be organised by the trade union movement. We urge all our members and readers to demand in their union branches and committees that the unions make provision for the recruitment of unemployed workers.

Where such provisions do exist, the demand should be put forward that these facilities are advertised, and campaigns waged for the recruitment of unemployed workers and youth.

Trades Council delegates have an important role to play. Motions should be moved that Trades Councils set up specialist committees to organise and deal with the problems of the unemployed. It should be the job of such committees to fight also for a programme to defend jobs and challenge the union leaders who stand on the side of the employers against the unemployed.

COMMITTEES

The trade union movement, through these committees, must take on the responsibility of solving the individual problems faced by the unemployed - both those who are able to join a trade union and those who are not. If the working class movement does not act to organise the unemployed, the danger is that the racists, the fascists and the scab racketeers will, and will use what forces they win there against the organised working class.

The defence of jobs and the organisation of the unemployed are thus linked in this period and are the obligation of every class-conscious trade unionist.



NVT BOYD MOVES IN

John Boyd, right wing general secretary of the AUEW has called for Varley to organise a government inquiry into the operations of Mangnese Bronze Holdings.

This call, endorsed by a mass meeting of Norton Villiers workers in Wolverhampton excludes any demand to defend all jobs. Instead the government is to be asked to draw up a plan to create "a viable nationalised motor cycle industry". In other words, Boyd though forced to show some signs of action over the threat of 10,000 redundancies in NVT and component suppliers, will not make the fight for nationalisation central.

A government inquiry into the MBHolding company holds out little hope for workers in NVT. The government has sponsored the Boston Consultative Group's report which rejected further aid and already holds over 50% of the

ing the books of MBH to the committees of trade unionists must be fought for.

NVT has already declared 300 redundancies in the Small Heath plant with many more to follow. They propose to keep on 400 of the workforce *only on condition* that all trade union rights are given up - the ending of demarcation, domestic agreements, the tool room agreement etc., - a vicious attack on the part of management.

Instead of a government white-wash, the AUEW and T&G leadership should fight for nationalisation under workers management without compensation. Instead of tying jobs to creating a "viable" industry when already thousands of redundancies are being carried out, the AUEW and T&G leadership should be fighting for the implementation of work sharing on full pay.

Boyd's letter is designed to

TUC Continued from front page

Now as the TUC opens to the scene of 1,250,000 thrown out of work by conscious policy of a Labour Government, inflation at an annual rate of 37% with wages pegged to a legal maximum, Jones comes again to the fore in weekend speeches which have been the delight of the Tory press. To cover over the Tory policies which he above all is advocating within the Labour movement, Jones threatens that opposition to the £6 limit could bring a general election and a "Tory-led coalition coming to power in Britain".

TRIBUNE GROUP

This is why the *Tribune* group, by giving Jones a platform on Sunday for an equally reactionary speech is carrying out such a treacherous role. Posing as a left grouping of MPs, the Tribunites have been distinguished only by their spineless acquiescence to every aspect of Wilson's policy, garnished by vague left rhetoric and meaningless gestures.

Jones has traded on his past history as a 'left' to build up his authority in the fight for wage-cutting. Now the Tribunites allow him to speak at length on the impossibility of socialist policies to meet the crisis:

"Socialist ideals are fine, but that is not on the agenda for today", said Jones to an audience which would no doubt agree on this question. By allowing Jones to speak in this way at their meeting the *Tribune* Group wound up any notion of a fight against the pay laws.

All is not yet signed and sealed on the size of the vote in favour of Jones plan. The UCATT delegation has now joined the engineers, NUPE and ASTMS in leading the opposition to the proposals. Other delegations may well vote against and amass a substantial total in opposition.

future:

"Just imagine what would happen to the Labour government if unemployment gets much worse. We know how skillful our opponents are at twisting the knife in the wounds of people badly treated by inflation and redundancy", he said. In other words people suffering from policies deliberately carried out by leaders of the Labour Party, backed by leaders of the trade unions, in defence of the employers.

Jones is right when he shows the poor election chances of the Wilson leadership. But the conclusion that he draws is not that these bankrupt, Tory policies should be reversed or the working class defended, but that more hardship could be inflicted in the name of preserving Wilson and Healey:

"We say that the return of the Labour government is so vital in this crisis that if there are sacrifices to be made, we should be prepared to make them".

But it is at this very point - where the Tory leaders are applauding every attack on workers carried out by Wilson and carefully keeping him in office, that workers must be encouraged to fight to defend their interests even at the expense of defeating the Labour government. At the same time the sharpest struggle must be carried out in the labour movement to kick out the right wing MPs and expose the lefts through demanding they fight Wilson's policies.

LEADERSHIP

But the decisive question of alternative political leadership has to be resolved in the struggle to defend jobs and wages. TUC leaders, 'left' and right wing, the Communist Party and the *Tribune* Group have all played their role in building up the vote for Jones' plan.

A break must be made from these

W.S.L. Public Meetings

NUNEATON

Tuesday, 9th September, 7.30.
Public Library, Church St.
"A Programme to fight Inflation and Unemployment."

WILLESDEN

Thursday 11th September, 7.30pm
Willesden Junction Hotel,
47 Station Road, London NW 10

Defend wages and jobs!

OXFORD

Thursday 4th September, 8.00 pm
Cowley Community Centre,
Barns Road, Oxford.

Fight Ryder!

£500 monthly development fund

The struggle for leadership within the trade unions and the splits now developing within the Labour Party show clearly the necessity for a paper fighting for the principles and programme of Trotskyism in the working class. It is precisely for such a situation that *Socialist Press* has been established.

For this reason we are fighting for a £500 per month development fund.