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LEYLAND BATTLE BEGINNING

UNION CHIEFS FORCE SPEED-UP

On the instructions of the Labour government, acting through the Ryder Report, and with the active collaboration of the trade union leaders, British Leyland is set for confrontation with its workforce on an international scale.

The 4,500 workers at Leyland's Innocenti factory near Milan have been told that the factory will be closed permanently if they refuse to accept an immediate 33% redundancy. In response to this the Italian Metal Workers' Union is calling its 300,000 members in the Milan area out on a one day token strike. This action is hampered only by the leadership's concentration on the diversion of blaming closures on "foreign" companies, rather than the capitalist class as a whole.

LOCKED OUT

In Britain too the battle lines are clearly drawn. At the Common Lane plant workers were locked out by management until they were prepared to accept substantial speed-up. Leyland want over 1,000 redundancies at Longbridge and are proceeding with the reorganisation of production. At AEC, Southall, shop stewards estimate that management require 600-700 redundancies and led a march through Southall in opposition to these cuts. The same stewards lost the vote at a mass meeting in which they proposed a sit-in strike, mainly because they failed to provide a fighting perspective starting with 'open the books' of AEC.

In the Body and Assembly Plants at Cowley management are changing production schedules and imposing speed-up, dropping all pretence of retaining "mutuality" agreements. On the Princess assembly line, following a national press witch-hunt on "shoddy work", management have begun taking systematic disciplinary action against workers. And while the company went on the rampage against working conditions and mutuality, the plant convenors were in Coventry discussing "workers' participation".

DISCUSSIONS

At the same time, national officials of the main unions were meeting management at the Motor Show (no doubt over a sumptuous meal) to discuss "progress" towards "improving efficiency" in Cowley. In other words they were reviewing management's success in implementing speed-up and discussing how to tackle resistance from shop stewards and shop floor workers.

What is emerging, as details of meetings held behind closed doors filter through, is a concerted effort

at every level of the trade union bureaucracy - from National Officials through Regional and District Officials down to convenors - to drive up the exploitation of their own members.

They are acting on behalf of the Labour government. Their politics dictate that they put the requirements of capitalism in crisis and the interests of the employers in front of the defence of jobs and working conditions of the working class.

The depth of the betrayal of these bureaucrats and the extent to which they are carrying out management policy emerged in a speech made last week by Bob Wright, the so-called 'left' AUEW Executive member supported by the Communist Party.

PRODUCTIVITY

Speaking in Oxford, Wright called for a 25% increase in productivity in Leyland in the next six months, and went on to give all the employers' arguments in support of the Ryder Report - stating (along with Margaret Thatcher) that Leyland was the 'least efficient car manufacturer in the world'. And he went on to use the same witch-hunting slanders as the extreme right wing against those who oppose the Ryder speed-up, saying: "there are people who think the closure of the plant will bring about revolution".

MUTUALITY

Not at any point in Wright's speech did a vestige of trade union principle emerge. He covered up the wholesale breaking of agreements by management with the statement "we will not allow unreasonable effort" - leaving aside mutuality and who is going to decide what is reasonable.

But the problem faced by union bureaucrats and employers alike is that the working class internationally is strong. Any move to close the Innocenti plant is almost certain to lead to occupation. In the Cowley Body Plant management has been forced back temporarily from speed-up because of the strength of the workforce. And in the Assembly Plant, following the recent struggles to force the company to open the books, resistance to the management offensive is emerging strongly.

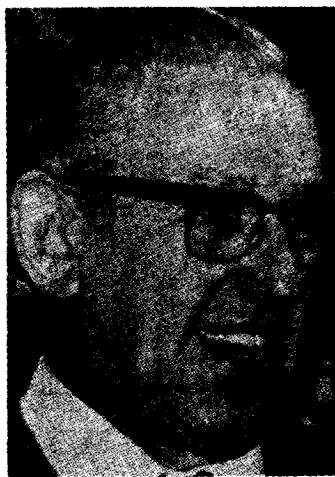
Last Thursday in opposition to new discipline procedures agreed



The Motor Show: scene of class collaboration

between management and convenors, 600 workers on the Princess track struck, immobilised the adjoining Maxi track by lying in front of the cars, deployed pickets on test beds and on other installations, and forced Leyland to close the North works. This resulted from a punishment of two nights' suspension without pay inflicted on a worker accused of failing to fit three tiny rubber grommets.

The same workers, connecting this victimisation to the collaboration of the convenors, marched on the management block and dragged out the right wing to answer questions in front of a mass meeting.



Wright, 'left' spokesman for employers

But Leyland, driven by the crisis, are determined to implement their plans - starting this week, department by department. On Friday they will again meet the national officials to review "progress".

There is no doubt this will be resisted. At the centre of the struggle again is the stewards' demand to open the books. The management base their whole "shoddy work" press witch-hunt (claiming that only 40% of cars coming off the Princess track are in a saleable condition) on the fact that they

have a monopoly of information.

Every workers knows that a major factor in the poor quality of cars is faulty and wrongly-designed components and shortages worsened by a run-down of stock. This in turn is caused predominantly by the drive for profit in the component firms resulting in speed-up, use of inferior raw materials, inadequate testing and other factors which can only be revealed by opening the books.

INFORMATION

All such information is in Leyland's files. The demand must be to open the books - not just of the assembly plants, but also of the workings of the industry and prepare the case for workers' control and the nationalisation of the entire automotive industry under workers' management. Such enquiries must also raise the question of the banks - who levy huge interest payments on loans to the car industry - and the opening of their secret transactions to elected trade union committees, preparatory to nationalisation.

Fighting on such a perspective it is possible to force a halt to the attacks and direct an all-out fight to fiefdom jobs threatened throughout British Leyland. The question is *who* - now union officials and convenors throughout the country are pledged to speed-up - will fight to defend Leyland workers?

RYDER

Certainly not the Stalinist-led Combine Shop Stewards' Committee who are up to their eyeballs in Ryder and speed-up. Bob Wright made it clear at the Oxford meeting, when challenged that participation was being forced in over the heads of the stewards, that there has been continuous discussion with the leadership of the Combine Committee.

With by far the biggest single
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SPAIN FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT!

Franco's death is, as we go to press, a virtual certainty. As the old Fascist murderer gasps his dying breath an intense bustle of activity mounts at the palace home of Prince Juan Carlos, Franco's designated successor.

Carlos' immediate power base is the army which - despite the dissident movement among junior officers (evidenced by the recent arrests of officers on sedition charges) remains firmly on the right.

The civilian politicians chosen by Carlos will likewise be from 'FEDISA' the organisation calling itself the "Civilised Right". This numbers among its members the present Spanish Ambassador to London, Fraga Iribane, who is likely to be chosen by Carlos as Prime Minister. According to press reports the new government under Iribane is likely to take 'certain steps' in the direction of 'liberalisation'.

These will include a parliament based on universal suffrage, recognition of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and a political amnesty to critics of the regime - excluding those who have engaged in armed struggle against it.

OVERTHROW

The secretary of the Socialist Party (PSOE) Leopoldo Torres talks about the necessity for "a complete break with Franco and a new democratic start". This is impossible without the complete overthrow of the ruling class that has consistently supported Franco. The Fascist state apparatus is strong and well-organised.

The fact that as Franco neared death the Fascists were permitted to step up the campaign against dissident army officers, carry through the murder of Basque liberation fighters, and make further arrests as recently as last week, shows clearly that the "democratic" wing of the ruling class is not strong enough to contemplate the dismantling of the
Continued on back page

USA UNION LEADERS HELP AXE NEW YORK JOBS

Plans to save New York City from financial collapse have been presented to the American Congress - plans which if enacted will mean massive increases in unemployment and slashing of social services and education, accompanied by the stripping of virtually all power from the City's elected officials.

President Ford and the big business bosses who have held New York to ransom are using New York City's money crisis to carry out a major attack on working class living standards and free collective bargaining, an attack which will no doubt become the basis for similar ones in the other large American cities.

UNEMPLOYED

New York City is the most extreme example of big city crisis for several reasons. It is a magnet for poor immigrants and up-rooted rural people; it has a particularly large number of unemployed and dependent citizens and tax-exempt institutions; and it has huge numbers of commuters from neighbouring states who do not carry a full tax load.

Years of corrupt and reformist city governments, backed by corrupt and reformist trade union leaders have succeeded in building up a tower of debts on a base of perpetual poverty, and exploitation,

maintained by social welfare programmes. One New Yorker out of eight is on Welfare, 25% of which is paid for out of city revenues.

In fact, half of N.Y. City's current budget is spent on welfare, charity and education. But not for much longer. The plan to "save New York" will attack most savagely the areas of social services, education and public health.

"SOLUTION"

Unemployment is envisaged as a major solution - the city's staff has recently been cut by 32,000, including 7,000 teachers and other school employees, and a further 9,000 redundancies are planned this year, (where possible through the back door of early retirement and "natural wastage"). Thus services are cut and work loads increased for those who remain employed. All municipal wages will be frozen for a period of 3 years, as will city spending on medical care and social welfare.

And where do the trade union leaders stand? Perhaps the greatest betrayal has been that of Albert Shanker (Teachers' Union) who gave in to pressures to "save the city" and advanced 150 million dollars of teachers' retirement funds to stave off the city's collapse.

DESTRUCTIVE

Shanker mortgaged the teachers' pensions despite his own admission that the measures proposed "are extremely destruct-

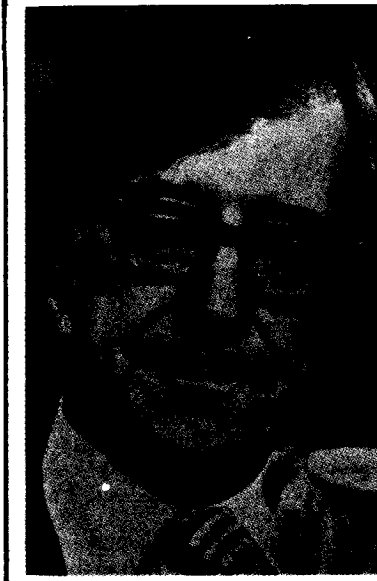
ive to our school system and to collective bargaining." The role of the trade union leaders in repressing militant action of their rank and file was clearly illustrated both by the sell-out of the New York teachers strike against the cuts, and by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union's leader Victor Gotbaum, who responded to the threat of further redundancies by apologising that he "might not be able to hold back his troops". Gotbaum's union alone, if mobilised in action, could virtually paralyse New York City.

What the plan sent to Congress does do is to protect the private investors holding City bonds and notes, such as Jacqueline Onassis, whose investments in New York City bonds realise a third of her 341,000 dollar annual income.

SOUND MANAGEMENT

To quote Mr. Felix Rohatyn, Wall St. banker and Chairman of "Big Mac", (Municipal Assistance Corp. - set up to manage New York's finances), "The control mechanism is in place and the beginnings of sound management practices have been initiated."

New York City needs a revolutionary not a reformist programme. City employees must, through their trade unions and other organisations, demand that the books of the city be opened to elected bodies and that, in the



Bureaucrats with no programme - Shanker and Gotbaum



meantime, the Federal Government guarantees full backing for the City's current budget, and a stop to redundancies and cut backs.

GENERAL STRIKE

To achieve this demand, real preparations for a General Strike must begin now, and the bluffs must be called of the pro-capitalist trade union leaders who threaten a General Strike as a mere rhetorical gesture.

But of course there is also a political aspect to the squeeze on New York. The extreme right-wing Republicans in the finance houses are all-out to discredit Democrat Mayor Beame - linking the Democrats firmly to their own policies of all-out offensive on jobs and wages. This comes at the same time as candidates for the 1976 Presidential elections begin to declare themselves, and the Democratic and Republican parties - pushed ever closer together in the economic crisis by their common

role as bourgeois parties committed to the capitalist system - search for policies which will help the public to distinguish between them.

There are extreme right-wingers in each party (Reagan for the Republicans and Wallace for the Democrats) and no less than nine candidates for the Democratic nomination announced to date.

DECADENCE

And while accident and assassination-prone President Ford goes "pressing flesh" from California to Connecticut - with Ted Kennedy still an opinion polls favourite despite his unsavoury past - and even ex-President Nixon preparing to re-establish himself as a public presence (taking the role of a former, not a deposed President), American party politics reaches a new level of decadence.

The need has never been greater for an American Labour Party to represent the interests of the working class, and such a party must be fought for to provide an alternative in the coming elections.

ITALY

Since the regional elections in June and the gains they brought to the Italian Communist Party (PCI) resulting from the leftward movement of the working class, the Italian ruling class has been in continuous political crisis.

The need of the ruling class has been at all costs to prevent the entry of the Stalinists into the government, something that the United States has made it quite plain would be unacceptable.

After the June elections the ruling Christian Democrats made various manoeuvres to try to preserve their bloc with the Socialist Party.

They tried removing Fanfani as Party leader but only to replace him with the little known Zaccagnini who does not have wide support in the Party.

Last week, as if to underline the state of the crisis and the political problems facing the ruling class, President Leone broke the tradition of political neutrality of the presidency and sent a "state of the nation" message to parliament.

STRIKE LAWS

Predictably, he called for: a halt to the flight of capital from the country; "law and order" to be re-established through harsher sentences for lawbreakers. Leone blamed the economic crisis on strikes and stoppages and called for tough laws to restrict the right to strike.

At the same time, the Socialist Party, sensing the weakness of the Christian Democrats and seeking to adapt to the leftward movement of the working class, has announced its intention of withdrawing from the coalition at the end of the present parliament.

In adopting this strategy, which amounts simply to that of the Popular Front, the Socialist Party is attempting to win support away from both the Christian Democrats and the Stalinists. Their call is to "make our party the reference point for those Catholics, social democrats, reformers and liberals

CP AND SP MOVE TO SQUASH MILITANCY

who want to place themselves on the Left" - precisely the aim of the Italian Communist Party.

Yet by breaking with the coalition, even while offering absolutely no solution to the economic crisis from the point of view of the working class, the Socialists were able to put on a left face in contrast to the grovelling of the Stalinists.

Indeed at a time of strong resistance by all sections of workers to growing unemployment and inflation, the PCI remains committed to its policy of 'historic compromise' with Christian Democracy, while on the industrial front the tacit agreement between the employers' federation *Confindustria* (the Italian CBI) and the Stalinist leadership of the CGIL (the trade union federation) remains firm.

RESTRAINT

The Stalinists have gone as far as to sell out in advance the autumn wage negotiations, calling for wage restraint in order to "cure unemployment". At all costs the Stalinists are out to avoid another "hot autumn" of class struggle - though already the metal workers union has taken a lead in striking against unemployment. But the CP's role is exposed more and more openly with each betrayal.

In an interview with the Italian weekly *Espresso* a leading Socialist Party spokesman was able quite accurately to sum up the role of the Stalinists: "The historical compromise pleases us less and less. It is a political act to conceal the crisis and to conserve intact the elements which have provoked it".

At the same time the Socialist Party is able unfavourably to contrast the Stalinist party to its own supposed "clarity" in formulating "strategy". This, the SP spokesman stressed

"... the PCI is unable to do because of its excessive concentration on tactics and the ambiguity in the formulation of the historic compromise."

While the hard line of Leone's presidential speech has strengthened the employers' hard line. Italian



Leone

workers have developed the tactic of "autoreduction" of bus fares and telephone charges (among several items).

OCCUPATIONS

The struggle against rising telephone charges at the moment centres on Rome where refusal to pay the full telephone bill was organised through local trade union committees. This was followed by mass occupation of the telephone exchanges, to prevent the authorities cutting off the phones for the last few weeks.

In Milan mass squatting movements reflect growing working class resentment of the housing crisis and rising rents.

These struggles show the tremendous combativity and capacity to develop new areas of struggle by the Italian workers.

Politically, however, these struggles can easily be defeated if there is no fight for leadership against the Stalinists - who at the local level often adapt to them - in order to sell out at a later stage.

The building of a Trotskyist party to fight on principle against the treachery of Popular Frontism and 'historic compromise' is vital now for Italian workers.

PORTUGAL ON THE KNIFE-EDGE

This week the social and political forces in Portugal remain balanced on a knife edge. As right-wing violence mounts and new developments in the strength of the workers are shown, the Armed Forces Movement and its appointed government flounders in ever greater impotence in support of "order" and "discipline".

During last week the instances of direct right-wing violence grew. On October 15th it was reported that a member of the pro-Stalinist MDP was badly injured at Vila de Fafe in the North, and on 25th October a Stalinist printshop in Oporto was destroyed.

RIGHT WING BID

Such attacks as these are a clear preparation for a bid to restore a government of the extreme right - a bid which will be resisted by a strong and united working class, along with substantial sections of the army rank and file.

There is evidence that this movement is growing too. The soldiers who were sitting-in in their barracks in Oporto were only persuaded to end their action on 15th October by the personal intervention of army chief of staff Carlos Fabiao.

Latest reports indicate, however, that they are by no means satisfied that their grievances have been dealt with.

SEIZED

Soldiers in Lisbon, along with left-wing workers, further emphasised their determination to hold on to all the gains of the revolution by seizing once again the formerly church-controlled radio station *Renascenca* in Lisbon on 22nd October.

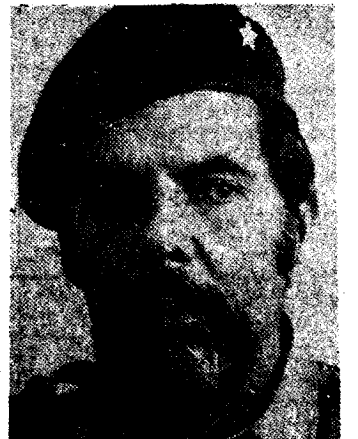
The dispute about who should control this station poses the class questions more sharply perhaps than any other.

Not are these the only indica-

tions of the strength and determination of the working class. The event given most prominence in the British press last week was of course the occupation of the 1,200 acre estate owned by British farmer Patrick Wardle.

With the usual tender concern of all reformists for the immutable rights to private property, Labour Foreign Office Minister of State Roy Hattersley told a gang of Tory questioners on 21st October that the defence of the estate would be 'robust'.

The occupation of a foreign-owned estate by farm workers was



Fabiao

to some extent a new departure, but it was simply one incident in the continual efforts of Portuguese farm workers to make sure that in future the industry is run in their interests.

More forceful expression of the same feeling came from a group of women workers from the Swedish-owned Centidel plant in Lisbon. When the employer threatened to move out and make them all redundant, they demanded to see the Swedish ambassador, and when he did not give a satisfactory answer, they broke one of his ribs.

The build-up of these tensions became clear over the last weekend (25-26th October) when a full state of alert for the armed forces was declared.

The efforts to get an arms

KREMLIN SPLIT

The great unknown in present capitalist diplomacy and politics is the more-or-less open political rift in the uppermost echelons of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

French President Giscard d'Estaing was the accidental victim of the Stalinist infighting during his state visit to Moscow ten days ago; Brezhnev abruptly cancelled a scheduled meeting with him, following sharp public remarks on 'ideological competition' in the wake of the Helsinki summit.

Brezhnev's subsequent explanation - that he was forced to stay at home for two days after having caught a chill from driving with the car window open - was universally treated as a 'diplomatic' illness. Nonetheless, the French government remain eager to encourage the architect of the Helsinki 'detente'.

'IDEOLOGICAL'

Though the diplomatic incident is passed, the veiled 'ideological' struggle of the Stalinist chiefs continues. They are divided not on any issue of principle, but on how to pursue closer collaboration with the capitalist powers without losing influence in the workers' movement in the capitalist countries.

This is, of course, a dilemma which capitalist politicians such as Giscard d'Estaing privately feel the greatest sympathy for. Brezhnev appears to be maintaining his position by means of a delicate balancing-act.

Last month he publically received Konstantin Zaradov, author of a recent *Pravda* article which prostituted the ghost of Lenin to belatedly and hypocritically denounce as 'opportunist' the moves by the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties to coalition with bourgeois parties. Of course no steps were taken to analyse the history of this undoubted opportunism, or its course in decades of bureaucratic degeneration in the Soviet leadership itself. This was followed by a similar article in the theoretical journal of the Bulgarian Communist Party a fortnight ago.

BULGARIAN CP

The Bulgarian party is traditionally closest to 'hard-line' tendencies in the Stalinist movement, and has never significantly deviated from the line emanating from Moscow. The author of the piece in *New Times*, Dimitar Mitev, writes:

"... to regard as absolute the peaceful road of revolutionary

development creates among the revolutionary forces and the masses 'legalist' illusions."

"If the Communist Parties", he added, "wish to achieve the revolution in their own countries by the peaceful road, they must be ready to use all forms of class struggle, including armed struggle, since the reactionary forces do not give up armed resistance until they are politically isolated and are placed in a hopeless position."

'REFORMIST'

But on the other side of the scale to these formal endorsements of revolutionary policies, Brezhnev has also served up - without committing himself definitely to them - more 'reformist' positions. Three weeks ago one of his acknowledged proteges, the economist Eduard Pletnev, published in *Pravda* an article arguing that the economic crisis in the West is 'cyclical' - and that the policy of 'detente' will therefore survive through the economic recovery of capitalism.

This position reflects the main line of policy which Brezhnev has tried to pursue with Kissinger and the governments of western Europe in recent months. His simultaneous 'left' phrases certainly reflect strong pressure from within the bureaucracy not to pursue 'peaceful coexistence' with such obvious enthusiasm that the Communist Parties in the west sacrifice their 'revolutionary' credentials completely, bringing the risk of them losing their value as bargaining counters in Soviet foreign policy.

CONFERENCE

It is against this background that the Byzantine manoeuvres around the calling of a conference of European Communist Parties are taking place. Latest unofficial reports indicate that the conference will be convened, in December or early January.

Like all Stalinist conferences, it will carry out no real discussion on anything at all, but will merely act as a rubber-stamp for agreements made in bargaining sessions behind closed doors before hand.

While the Soviet Communist Party and its supporters would like the conference to adopt a joint - even if vague and elastic - political platform, an important minority are insisting on no more than a communique which would (among other things) leave each party explicitly free to follow its own 'autonomous' path.

This important minority includes the Spanish and Italian

parties, and also the governments of Rumania and Yugoslavia. Both of these wish to develop their own independent agreements with the capitalist powers, including the United States, and to leave themselves free to negotiate independently with Peking.

A major diplomatic delegation returned recently to Belgrade from Peking, setting Yugoslav-Chinese



Berlinguer, Italian CP leader, denounced as opportunist by Zaradov

relations on a friendly basis while the Chinese Stalinists continue to denounce the Moscow bureaucrats as the rulers of a 'fascist' state and the major threat to peace in Asia.

The splits among the Soviet bureaucrats concerned with foreign policy - and this includes the whole top stratum - are certainly also affected by the problem of pursuing 'peaceful coexistence' against the thrust of China's (equally reactionary) foreign policy.

Not only did the Peking leadership make a bid for closer relations with Western European capitalism by supporting (against Moscow) Britain's membership of the Common Market, but they even went so far as to censure US imperialism - in the person of Kissinger on his recent eighth trip to China - for moving too close to the Soviet bloc.

But as far as Kissinger and all other intelligent capitalist politicians are concerned the new 'triangle' emerging in world diplomacy is something to be welcomed. It means they can look forward to Moscow competing with Peking to offer imperialism the benefit of its services as 'peacemaker' against revolutionary movements internationally.

DEFICIT DOUBLE TALK

This year the gap between state spending and revenue in Britain (the 'borrowing requirement') will be over £12 billion, most of it financed in effect by printing money (getting cash from the banks in exchange for government bills which the banks treat as the equivalent of cash).

Denis Healey in recent speeches to candlelit gatherings of finance capitalists has tried to create the impression that this vast deficit results from the Labour government's valiant efforts to maintain employment and the social services during the slump in face of the united hostility of the world's bankers.

This fraudulent claim is exposed by a detailed analysis of the figures. The deficit has arisen not as an effort by the government to eliminate the consequences of the slump but as a direct result of the crisis and slump.

Unemployment and falling real incomes and spending have relatively reduced state revenue from taxes, but simultaneously increased payments in the form of unemployment benefits and social security payments.

Meanwhile inflation, aside from raising the costs of existing state spending programmes, has produced a jump in the interest rate which the state needs to pay on its borrowing. As a result the deficit increases simply as a result of the existence and growth of the deficit itself.

The Labour government's deliberate action on the deficit, far from reducing the effects of the slump, has made them worse: the cuts in government spending programmes announced in the April budget are now responsible for redundancies, speed-up and cuts in real wages throughout the public sector.

What has pushed the deficit up most rapidly however are hand-outs and subsidies to crisis-stricken capitalists, along with Healey's gigantic reductions in the taxation of profits in the November 1974 budget.

This shows clearly that the growth of the deficit results not from any effort by the Labour government to maintain employment and the level of social services for the working class, but above all from its efforts to rescue the most ailing sections of the capitalist class.

In the first year of the Labour government, spending on goods and services (education, health and oth-

er social services as well as defence) went up in money terms by 28% while grants and loans to ailing capitalist firms went up by 95%!

The government's long term plan for public spending is to eliminate the deficit rapidly and to finance it in less inflationary ways (that is, by issuing long term bonds). The higher interest payments which this involves, along with the mounting demands for rescue operations by bankrupt capitalists, means that the pressure for reductions in spending on the social services which have been won by years of struggle will be intensified.

To maintain the same real level of total state spending would involve continual reductions in the value of these benefits. The present reductions in services will appear as only a foretaste of the even more savage cuts it will try to impose as the crisis develops.

The urgency of trade union action to force a defence of health education and social services through the fight for a sliding scale of government expenditure has never been greater. In the NHS, those unions committed to defence of the service must be forced to support the junior doctors and call-out strike action as part of the fight for this demand.

In education, where even the *Sunday Times* predicts 19,000 new teachers will be unemployed next year, the NUT and the other teaching unions must take similar action and call on the whole labour movement for support.

In local government and the social services also, it is clear that only strike action can stop further savage cuts by the Wilson government.

These tasks must be taken up immediately to defend jobs and living standards.

W S L FOUNDING CONFERENCE

A major step forward was taken in the struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism in Britain, and towards the rebuilding of the Fourth International, when, at its Founding Conference on October 18th - 19th, the Workers Socialist League formally adopted a constitution as a movement.

This conference came after ten months of work in the mass movement had seen the League develop from a small group of comrades expelled from the WRP last December, into an expanding organisation with important new areas of work (especially in the Midlands and the North West), and an enlarged trade union base.

In the daily struggle to take the demands and principles of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* into the trade unions, the WSL has been at the forefront of the fight for the sliding scale of wages, and work sharing on full pay - demands which at the T&GWU Conference were the only alternative to Jones' treacherous £6 pay plan and the wholesale acceptance of redundancies by the bureaucracy.

In the Health Service, WSL comrades have led the struggle for the sliding scale of NHS spending and for trade union committees to open the books of the Authorities, along with the fight to end all private practice - policies adopted by ASTMS National Conference.

In local disputes also, WSL comrades have tested and developed the demands of the *Transitional Programme*, putting forward in every case the only real opposition to the Stalinists and the right-wing. Our struggle for the "open the books" demand in the motor industry has won a mass response, and is now aped by other left groups. The WSL alone among the groups on the left has fought the speed-up proposals of the Ryder Report since its very publication, and we have leafleted almost every major BLMC plant in the only national campaign against its implementation.

At the same time we have put forward a policy to fight unemployment calling for unity of employed and unemployed through the fight to mobilise the trade union movement, and following this initiative, the first Trades Council sub-committee to fight for these policies has already been established in Banbury.

While these practical interventions have developed the League's grasp of Trotsky's Programme there has been a consistent drive to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International, as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

This has gone alongside the development in the *International Pages of Socialist Press* of programme and perspectives on a whole range of international struggles against imperialism, in which again the method and the principles of the *Transitional Programme* are an essential starting point, and on many of which no other movement puts forward any perspective.

It was on the basis of this all-round development of the movement, therefore, - its practice, its theoretical work, its international orientation and its press - that the WSL was able to adopt a democratic centralist constitution and perspectives at the Founding Conference.

Our perspectives from the Conference will appear in *Socialist Press* in the coming weeks beginning with "The Fourth International - Problems and Tasks".

This forms the basis of our attempt in the coming period to initiate a discussion in the world Trotskyist movement on the theoretical and practical problems which lie at the root of the crisis in the Fourth International.

It represents the first steps towards an analysis of the post-war history of the Fourth International - an analysis which no other Trotskyist party has seriously undertaken.

The first part of this document will be published in a special supplement in the next edition of *Socialist Press*.

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STALINIST RECIPE FOR DEFEAT

A REVIEW by JOHN LEA OF "BRITAIN'S CRISIS, CAUSE AND CURE: THE £6 FRAUD EXPOSED" by G. Matthews.



Stalin: Source of the "British Road"

As the world economic crisis deepens, all over Europe the working class, taking up the defence of its living standards, comes into sharper and sharper conflict both with the capitalists and with its own reformist leadership.

Led by the Portuguese workers, and with Spanish workers now beginning to show openly their strength and willingness to fight, the working class in Europe is placing a question mark over the continuity of capitalism.

But this forward movement of the working class only serves to strike fear into the hearts of the Kremlin bureaucrats, who know that a socialist Europe would strengthen tremendously the working class in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in their ability and resolve to overthrow the bureaucracy and restore workers' democracy.

It was for this reason the Kremlin bureaucracy participated with such enthusiasm in the Helsinki conference in August to reaffirm, along with the leaders of social democracy, the carve-up of Europe into 'spheres of influence' originally agreed at the Potsdam and Yalta conferences after the last war.

"THEORY"

Since that time the British Communist Party has peddled its line of "The British Road to Socialism" of the "peaceful", "parliamentary road". According to this treacherous "theory", capitalism will at some unknown future date relinquish its domination by Act of Parliament, with the organised strength of the working class playing only a supporting role.

This nonsense is reiterated in the latest version of the Stalinist programme *Time to change course* by Jack Woddis published in 1973 in which it is envisaged that:

"With a changed composition at Westminster and using their democratic rights to change existing institutions the working people would be able to ensure that Parliament carried through major legislation to challenge capitalist power."

By politically disarming the working class in this way the British Stalinists in concert with some of the major West European Stalinist parties have sought to carry out the Kremlin policy of 'peaceful co-existence' and to preserve that bureaucracy by preserving capitalism in Western Europe.

The latest excretion of the British Party entitled *Britain's Crisis, Cause and Cure: The £6 fraud exposed* continues its energetic defence of capitalism. It puts forward a "programme" against inflation, unemployment and the cuts in the social services which involves, as its central framework, a policy of

"Expanding the economy at the rate of 6 per cent per year - the policy which used to be advocated by the TUC and is the minimum growth rate needed ... [which] ... would increase production by about £3,600 a year, providing more jobs and reducing the cost of unemployment benefit."

George Matthews, the author of this tract, late editor of the *Morning Star*, after advocating that military spending "should be cut by half" and a wealth tax "should be introduced", then concludes that: "By these means enough

money could be raised to finance the jobs programme, the expansion of the social services, the re-equipment of industry and the other measures outlined above."

Two pages later on we read that: "All this would bring nearer the day when the British people get rid of capitalism and establish a socialist system in our country."

It is a pity that Mr. Matthews' nimble intellect will escape the understanding of most workers reading his pamphlet. For if by the measures he mentions "enough money" could be found and the economy expanded accordingly under capitalism then they will no doubt conclude that it is not necessary to bring nearer the day when capitalism will be replaced by socialism. But of course this is by no means the case.

proposal to ensure that profits are invested in the right place. "The main national and multinational firms should therefore be taken over" (nationalised). Of course, such nationalisation must somehow be "democratic not bureaucratic control, with representatives of the workers and of the TUC having a majority on the management boards."

IMPORT CONTROLS

Fourthly, together with the TUC and an increasing number of right-wing Labour MPs in addition to the 'lefts', Matthews calls for import controls, on the grounds that it will help British capitalism expand. "In the past", he goes on, "all attempts to expand the [capitalist!] economy have

Wilson government, and which must worsen if capitalism is to restore its profitability.

The proposal to increase wages and stimulate demand is a case in point. It is quite true that wage reductions have contracted the market for commodities and so sales have fallen and more firms gone bankrupt.

Why then do the capitalists and their lackeys in the Labour movement advocate the £6 limit? Because they have no choice. As long as capitalism faces a crisis stemming from the falling rate of profit, then employers have to demand wage cuts to cut costs and increase exploitation in an attempt to restore profits.

An increase in wages would expand purchasing power without expanding profitability. It is widely known by all except Matthews, who for his own reasons chooses to deny it, that the rate of profit in British industry has fallen continuously over the past ten years. It is because of this that investment has fallen off.

CLOSURES

The only way known to capitalism to restore profitability is to destroy unprofitable capital by closing down inefficient sectors of industry and increasing productivity through speed-up, labour force reductions and wage cuts of the remainder. Wage increases would simply add to costs, worsening the profits crisis.

Only when profitability has been restored will capitalist expansion be resumed. In such circumstances, involving massive deprivation and unemployment and political defeats inflicted on the working class, capitalism seeks to solve the problem of its markets without the economic advice of such willing assistants as Mr. Matthews.

Indeed the role of Mr. Matthews and the Stalinists is to prevent any working class understanding of the crisis, and to derail any revolutionary struggles by workers who resist the logic of capitalism.

In a similar context the nature of Matthews' 'price freeze' stands exposed. He is totally unable - and does not attempt - to explain why the Labour government's pathetic price freeze failed. Why did the employers fight it tooth and nail and the government capitulate?

LABOUR LEADERS

Matthews could only explain this as a question of will. But the real reason, covered up by Matthews with his allegations that British capitalists are making massive profits, is that the Labour leadership, determined to defend capitalism, understood only too well the real profits crisis of British capitalism. From this position, having long ago abandoned any idea of ending capitalism, they were prepared to accept the "necessity" of price increases as part of an attempt to fend off the falling rate of profit.

It is because there is a profits crisis that the massive attack on workers wages and living standards now takes place. It is because there is a profits crisis that the only way the working class can act to defend itself is by acting independently to end the capitalist property relations onee and for all.

This requires a programme to spell out the steps leading to this and to show concretely that they are the only steps the working class can take to defend itself.

DEFENCE

Wage increases must be fought for, not with the perspective of expanding capitalism, but with the perspective of an all-out defence of workers living standards, while understanding that each victory on this worsens the crisis of capitalism.

Wage increases must further be secured against inflation by a sliding scale of wages. This is the only defence for workers against inflation. But at the same time it deprives the capitalists of inflation as a weapon to take back wage increases from the working class, posing sharply the question of power between the capitalists and the working class.

WAGE CUTS

At the same time unemployment cannot be fought by calling for the "expansion of the economy". Capitalists will not expand the economy until profits are restored through further massive wage cuts and unemployment.

Only the working class can now expand production by taking it out of the hands of capitalists. The demand for work sharing on full pay - the division of the total amount of work between the total number of workers, poses the issue clearly and openly.

To bring this about without any cuts in wages is beyond the capacity of capitalism now. Such a policy flies in the face of the employers need for speed up, pay cuts, and redundancies. Again it poses the question of power, between the classes - now.

NATIONALISE

To guarantee jobs and production a policy of nationalisation of all bankrupt industries is thus required. This cannot be called for in Matthews' manner. For him it is just propagandistic hot air. Neither he nor the Stalinist party he represents has anything to contribute to the mobilisation of the working class to fight for nationalisation.

On the contrary the Stalinists act to prevent such a struggle beginning. They do this firstly by advocating nationalisation alongside expanding the capitalist economy by other means (wage rises), so that nationalisation becomes one policy among many.

'LEFTS'

Therefore the fact that the employers will fight tooth and nail against any massive programme of nationalisation is covered up. Also covered over is the fact that the 'lefts' in the Labour Party have completely abandoned the leadership of such a fight.

Nationalisation comes into conflict with the requirements of capitalism. The only way nationalised industries can co-exist with capitalism now is by taking a leading role in job cutting and increasing productivity. (As is currently the case with the steel industry).

UTOPIA

A programme of nationalisation to defend jobs would clash irreconcilably with capitalist profits since it would require a massive increase in spending which would involve a diversion of capitalist profits. This is why it is sheer utopia to talk of a "parliamentary road" to large-scale nationalisation today. Nationalisation will only take place in those industries where the most determined struggle of workers establishes workers control over production and the full occupation of threatened factories. The capitalists, along with the Stalinists and reformists will try at each stage to prevent this taking place.

Also for this reason the fight for nationalisation cannot be separated from the fight to drive out



Brezhnev and Ford: United against the Working Class

Let us now see what Mr. Matthews' programme for an expanding capitalism involves.

Firstly, he wants to create "a thriving home market by stimulating demand. The £6 curb on wages should be removed and Britain should cease to be a low wage economy."

Secondly, inflation will be controlled through a price freeze which: "should last at least six months and should be followed by effective price controls on food and other necessities."

PROFITS

Thirdly, profits must of course be dealt with. Here Mr. Matthews is at his most subtle. He begins by attributing the crisis to the fact that British capitalists, "instead of re-equipping British industry with the most modern and up-to-date machines ... encouraged the investment of vast sums abroad for the greater profit of the big monopolists and the multinational firms."

But he then goes on to argue that a price freeze "would not mean bankruptcy for the big firms, many of which increased their profits last year faster than the rate of inflation." He follows this up by a

floundered because the resultant increase in imports has worsened the balance of payments problem."

Matthews is able to put forward such a reformist programme for an expanding capitalism because he refuses to locate the crisis of British capitalism in the very organisation of capitalist production itself.

...Instead it is for him the result of the wickedness and bad faith of British capitalists in taking their capital abroad in search of higher profits, putting up prices in Britain to increase profits and indulging in various types of commodity and monetary speculation.

He proposes to deal with this not by giving a clear leadership to the working class. Indeed nothing is further from his thoughts than putting forward a programme to show the necessity for the working class to end once and for all the capitalist system of production in favour of a socialist planned economy, and mobilise workers for such a struggle.

Instead he proposes reforms which though radical-sounding in places, act only to increase illusions in the possibility of an expanding capitalism. The Stalinists thus attempt to totally disarm the working class in the face of the massive attacks on its living standards and democratic rights being carried out now by the



McLennan: CP General Secretary

the reformist leadership from the labour movement and replace it with one prepared to carry forward the fight against the employers. None of this is called for by Matthews.

ESCAPE ROUTE

Finally the Stalinists give their support to the reactionary diversion of import controls which by assisting the contraction of trade will serve only to worsen the crisis, while directing the working class into an unprincipled bloc with its "own" capitalist class against "foreign" capitalists. Thus at the same time it provides a convenient escape route for the Stalinists and their co-thinkers among the 'lefts' and the right wing from giving any leadership in the real fight to defend jobs against the attack of the main enemy - the employers at home.

"Callaghan tells the international press we have 'more hardship to look forward to,' while Healey at the Lord Mayor's banquet promises us a 'hard and painful winter for millions,'" said Mr. McLennan.

"But not a word from either of them about changing their bankrupt policies. Despite trade union pressure they refuse to impose new import controls.

"They argue it would not mean more jobs in Britain and would involve massive retaliatory action by other industrial countries," he said.

CONTROLS

"Here in Luton we should explode this false theory with facts on the motor car industry presented this week by the Labour Research Fact service. Between January and September 1975, UK new car registrations of cars made by British firms fell by 93,767. In the same period, new car registrations of imported cars increased by 53,135.

"In January to September this year, imported cars took 33 per cent of the British market. The comparable figure in 1970 was 13.3 per cent.

"These figures establish the case for import controls in relation to the motor car industry.

DEMOCRATIC

"But a completely new economic policy encompassing import controls and other proposals made by the Communist Party, the Tribune group and others needs to be fought for even as we fight against the consequences of the present disastrous government policies.

Beating the nationalist drum for import controls:

Morning Star,

Monday Oct 20th 1975.

The Stalinists' call for import controls exposes their consistent narrow nationalism. The British Communist Party carries forward Stalin's betrayal of the building of an international working class movement.

Nowhere in Matthews pamphlet is there any mention of the fact that the capitalist crisis cannot be solved in one country precisely because it is an international crisis.

The task of building an international leadership to co-ordinate workers' response to the world crisis of capitalism falls on the shoulders of the Trotskyist Fourth International which must be reconstructed in the coming period of struggle.

IMG MAJORITY REJECTS TROTSKY'S PROGRAMME

The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International* is a programme whose power becomes visible only with and through the offensive of the working class and its sharpening struggles with the imperialist system.

Since the French general strike of May-June 1968 the European workers' revolution has been a fact in every nation of the continent - an objective development which the spokesmen of the capitalist class, and their lieutenants in the Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies, wriggle and prevaricate as they may, can no longer bury or deny. The offensive of the working class reverberates in every corner of political life.

It is reflected in the shift to the right by the Tory leadership, the crisis of the Spanish fascist dictatorship (in which Franco's illness and age is purely secondary), the open divisions in the Soviet leadership over how to maintain 'peaceful coexistence' in face of the Portuguese revolution - to give just three obvious examples.

The development of the European and world revolution is at the same time the material force which is producing a whole series of splits and crises within the international 'Trotskyist' movement - crises in which, whatever the intentions of the participants, the question of the Transitional Programme - its method and scope, its relationship to the task of constructing the revolutionary party - pushes itself ever more boldly to the fore.

PRINCIPLED STRUGGLE

The Workers Socialist League itself arose from a principled struggle taken up against the degenerating leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party to grasp and defend the Programme, and to make it the basis of the day-to-day struggles and initiatives of the party. It was because the Transitional Programme is the most concentrated antagonist of all centrism, sectarianism and propagandism that the WRP leadership were driven within weeks to bureaucratically expel the opposition in order to preserve their own position.

Any serious discussion of the Transitional Programme necessarily raises - though in many forms - the central questions of revolutionary politics. The internal struggle presently under way in the International Marxist Group, British section of the 'Trotskyist' Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International (USFI) is therefore one which - no matter how frivolous and partial the intentions of some of those involved - deals in deadly serious matters.

The political life of the IMG reflects that of the USFI as a whole - which is to say that it conducts itself less as a party than as a continuously renegotiated coalition of factions.

The major faction (Tendency B), which controls the leading bodies of the organisation, is one of two which claims to represent the positions of the Mandel (Pabloite) within the USFI as a whole, against the 'Leninist Trotskyist Faction'

led by the Socialist Workers Party, the sympathising organisation of the USFI in the United States (the SWP is prevented from affiliating to the USFI by reactionary US legislation).

The two major tendencies within the USFI are now publically engaged in political struggle against one another, centring on the question of Portugal.

The key struggle within the IMG has, however, taken up the question of the Transitional Programme in a way which is not directly related to the split within the USFI as a whole. At the beginning of October a minority were excluded from Tendency B after their document *Continuing the Struggle for the Transitional Programme* was voted down at a tendency conference.

CONTRADICTION

What drove the leaders of Tendency B (who are at the same time the political leadership of the IMG) to exclude the minority were two factors - that the minority were raising sharply the contradiction between the policies of the IMG and the methods of the Transitional Programme, and that their document attempted to connect this contradiction with the historical origins of the USFI itself in the faction, led by Michel Pablo, which split the Fourth International in 1952-3 and led the way towards political liquidation vis-a-vis the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies.

It is not possible in a short article to give a complete analysis of the significance of these splits within the IMG. But it is possible to indicate one essential fact. A leading figure within the Tendency B majority has attacked his own minority (and with that the Transitional Programme itself) in the following terms:

"It is true that the adoption by the working class of the transitional programme is the only way to guarantee a successful socialist revolution. But it is totally untrue to say that the workers struggle cannot go forward unless the transitional programme is adopted. It is sheer ultra-left sectarianism to put the transitional programme forward willy nilly as an immediate perspective. Only when the question of power is posed as the next step would this be the case".

(Clynes, for Tendency B steering Committee).

RELEGATE

On this basis the IMG leadership relegate to the indefinite future the building of a cadre based on the programme and the attempt to carry its essential method and central demands into the workers' movement.

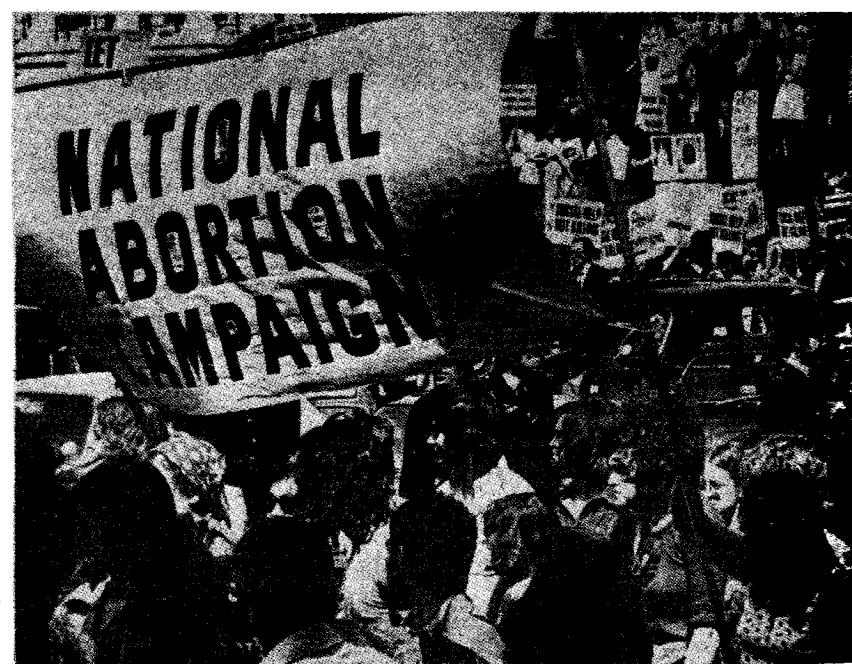
Instead they substitute an interminable series of 'united fronts' and 'intermediate' tactics - an 'action programme', a campaign through the bourgeois-feminist National Abortion Campaign, a 'Class Struggle Left Wing' based on the

supposed shift to the left of various Labour parliamentarians, a campaign to involve union and Labour Party bureaucrats in the Medical Committee Against Private Practice . . . each tactical turn follows the last in an arbitrary and disconnected string of knots.

What is generally missing in each 'intervention' is the conflict within the unity - the struggle to build the political and material forces of a revolutionary leadership against those (left Labour MPs, Stalinists and union functionaries)

struggle to mobilise the advanced workers, in their concrete struggles, against the bureaucrats and for support of the Programme.

The idea that the working class will ever 'adopt' the Transitional Programme is itself a ludicrous adaptation to parliamentary-bureaucratic prejudices; the modern working class no more 'adopts' revolutionary policies and leadership than a child 'adopts' walking. Both arise from a struggle, both material and conscious, to solve concrete questions. And in both cases it is



National Abortion Campaign: bourgeois feminist movement supported by the I

who are hypocritically driven to put a 'left' foot forward (and sometimes not even that) by the offensive of the working class and its resistance to the Labour Government's policies.

CORRECT

The minority opposition within the IMG's tendency B are essentially correct then, when they denounce the leadership's idea that the programme of the revolutionary party "is not in any sense formulated with its starting point as the need to create a differentiation from the the bureaucracy".

They are equally correct to insist that the Transitional Programme is not something to be left on a dignified shelf till "the question of power is posed", but that its method and many of its central demands can and must be fought for in the trade unions - in the struggle for the sliding scale of wages against inflation, and in campaigns to open the books of firms threatening redundancies, and for work sharing with no loss of pay.

DEMANDS

The IMG leadership episodically adopts many such demands - but what it rejects is the fact that they acquire their meaning and can be driven to a head only by creating "a differentiation" in practice with the bureaucrats, and by fighting for each demand as part of an overall revolutionary programme.

To do this is not "ultra-left sectarianism" - on the contrary for revolutionaries to do anything else is to conceal the anarchic and destructive crisis of capitalism under a bushel in the name of political 'realism', and in doing this to capitulate politically to 'left' elements in the bureaucracy.

As the Transitional Programme clearly states in its first lines the central task of the socialist revolution is the resolution of the crisis of working class leadership - and this requires of revolutionaries a

necessary to reject the fabian, 'realistic' prejudice that the only way to get anywhere in the short term is on one's belly.

Yet in one respect it must be granted that the minority were correctly criticised by the leaders of the IMG: that their positions were 'incompatible' with membership of Tendency B.

To struggle for a consistent creative application of the Transitional Programme within the IMG is similar to campaigning for atheism within the Vatican. You encounter 'polite' sympathy in private; indifference and ostracism on the leading bodies; and as the issue is pressed - excommunication!

DISCUSSION

In Britain today only one revolutionary organisation fights to apply and develop the essential method of the Transitional Programme in carrying them into the day-to-day struggles of the workers movement - the Workers Socialist League. At the same time only the WSL take up seriously and honestly the history of the world Trotskyist movement, to hammer out the political and theoretical basis for rebuilding the Fourth International.

The only correct course for members of the IMG who wish to take up these tasks is themselves to join the ranks of the WSL. For our part we pledge ourselves to a serious and thorough discussion on all questions with any such comrades.

*FOOTNOTE

The basic programmatic document of the Fourth International, adopted at its founding conference in 1938. It was drafted by Leon Trotsky, crystallising the gains and perspectives of the Fourth International movement, especially in its struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of the Third International in other countries.



Troops Out Movement demonstration - another bogus united front.

FROM 'LEFT' TO RIGHT

SECOND OF OUR OCCASIONAL SERIES OF ARTICLES TRACING THE CAREERS OF 'LEFT' MPS

NO 2. ALF PURCELL

by John Docherty

Viewers of the recent TV films "Days of Hope" will have noticed the brief appearance of the figure of Alf Purcell, a left on the general council in the crucial days before and during the 1926 general strike. Many will have been struck by the words of a Communist Party leader portrayed in the series about the need to ally with such people as Purcell in order to win the commanding heights of the trade union movement and the parallel with Stalinist policies of today cannot have been lost.

However, one of the political weaknesses of the TV plays was their inadequacy in showing the basis of the failure of such "left" figures as Purcell and A. J. Cooke. We intend to return to the *Days of Hope* series when there has been more time to examine the published version, but for now something must be said of the role of the prominent "left" trade unionists of the time, and of the reasons why in the end they proved incapable of serving the interests of these millions of workers who looked to them for leadership.

MILITANT

It must be emphasised at the outset that Purcell all his life was a selfless and militant trade unionist. When he died in December 1935 hundreds of workers followed his coffin through a bleak winter day. Purcell was no molly-coddled bureaucrat, living off the backs of his members, he was a skilled and principled negotiator on behalf of many groups of workers. For example, he brought some of the toughness derived from his career as an amateur boxer into negotiations lasting 23½ hours in November 1919 when he won important concessions for workers in shops run by the Co-operative movement. It was precisely such strengths as this that highlight the profundity of the failure of Purcell. The reputation he gained as a militant, a syndicalist, and a founder of the Communist Party, precisely made it possible for him to carry on his shoulders a large proportion of the betrayed aspirations of the workers in 1926. His failure was not a personal one but was part of the inability of an entire generation of the British working class and socialist movement to break from the bounds imposed upon them by syndicalism and dogmatic Marxism.

Alf Purcell's life encompassed every phase of working class militancy and political radicalism during his active life. Born in the East End of London in 1872, he was a french polisher, by trade and active in a series of trade union bodies that eventually in 1910 became the National Amalgamated Furniture Trade Association. As the national organiser for these semi-craft workers, whose jobs were seriously threatened by technological change, Purcell long recognised the vital need for mutual support between workers in different industries. Based in Manchester he became a delegate to the trades council of that city in 1903, and a leading and respected Trade Unionist in the area.

PROMINENT

After the First World War, Purcell became a prominent figure in the working class movement nationally. From 1919 to 1927 he was a member of what became the General Council of the TUC and in 1924 its President. He was also a Labour MP for most of the

was well known as a left-winger, an active supporter of the Soviet Union, and a continual advocate of united action by different sections of workers in Britain and internationally.

LEFT WING

Nor were Purcell's activities confined to the trade union movement. He was associated with virtually every left-wing political organisation that existed in his day. As early as 1890 he joined as a teenager the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League, a body set up under the inspiration of Engels to campaign not simply for the aim set out in its title, but also for the setting up of a Labour Party.

During the 1890s Purcell was a member of the Social Democratic Federation at a time when this was the only body in Britain claiming adherence to the principles of revolutionary Marxism. He joined the Independent Labour Party when this campaigned for the political interests of the workers as a class. He was also actively associated in the years before 1914

much more than the series of dead dogmas presented by Hyndman and the SDF.

Purcell's early development was part of the struggle for the mobilisation of the mass of the workers that built the non-craft unions, and for the expression of its political independence that made possible the establishment of the Labour Party. Later, however, he reverted to that separation of 'political' Marxism from militant trade unionism that characterised the movement in the years before 1914.

Thus even though Purcell was always a militant trade unionist and a passionate denouncer of the capitalist system, he was never able to be these two things together. He put on his 'political' hat as a member of the ILP and the Communist Party and his 'trade union' hat as a negotiator and union leader. This was how he could be associated for a time with the pathetic efforts of the middle class syndicalists of the guild socialist movement in the early 1920s to set up islands of socialist enterprise in a sea of capitalist depression and slump.

After the collapse of these schemes during the depression

state, but it could not be in any sense an instrument in the overall emancipation of the proletariat.

The alliance played its part in establishing the position occupied by Purcell in the General Strike period. He came into his own in reflecting the mood of disillusionment with the lack of achievement of the 1924 Labour government.

While many of the right-wingers were away in the Cabinet, Purcell told the Congress of that year that what was needed was "a well disciplined industrial organisation", as 'the principle weapon of the workers', and through this could be forged 'an instrument of solidarity capable of changing the existing structure of capitalism and bringing about a workers' state'.

CHALLENGE

However, such policies were quite inadequate without a challenge for the leadership of the unions. Purcell of course was hostile to those openly right-wing union leaders like J.H. Thomas and Arthur Pugh who re-established their predominance in the movement just before the General Strike.

However, because he saw no

then shocked, and then bitter. Members of the Coventry Council of Action sent a delegation to the TUC headquarters to ask "the national leaders not to give way", since "our ranks were solid".

One of the members of the delegation later recalled that when they arrived they were ushered into a room to meet Purcell. It was only then that this trade unionist realised that "the mighty leader whom I had known as a fighter", the "iron man who had enthralled me at May Day meetings", "had feet of clay". Purcell was said to be "the most disappointed man in the country", but he had himself played a key role in bringing the disastrous situation about.

So it was that the most consistently 'left' trade union leader of his day failed the working class. He did not immediately lose his position, but reverted instead in the period of enormous attacks that followed the defeat to his basic syndicalism and reformism. Now abandoned and criticised after the event by his erstwhile allies of the CP, Purcell along with the other TUC leaders abandoned the pretence in 1927 when they took the initiative in disbanding the Anglo-Russian Committee.



Outcome of the 1926 betrayal: the Organiser of a Bermondsey Labour Bureau explains the 10% dole cut to unemployed workers 1931

with the Industrial Syndicalist Education League, which put forward militant policies for the trade union movement.

Purcell represented the South Salford branch of the British Socialist Party at the foundation of the Communist Party in the summer of 1920, and proposed the important motion expressing support for the Soviet system of government. Though he left the CP soon afterwards, he was a member of two labour delegations to the Soviet Union, actively opposed the imperialist intervention against the new workers' state and was generally associated with the Minority Movement of militant trade unionists.

It is against the background of his undoubted toughness and proven support for left-wing political causes that Purcell was able to play the role that he did in 1926. It was his reputation by then for effective and daring generalship that put him in a position to deal such a tragic blow to the forces that massed behind his leadership.

Purcell's failure and ultimate betrayal derived from a number of influences. One was the native narrowness and theoretical weakness of British Marxism. Engels fought at the end of his life in the early 1890s together with Eleanor Marx and a few others to establish

from 1921 onwards Purcell's syndicalist background made him consider that militancy and unity on the part of the working class would be enough to defeat the enormous onslaught of the employers and the Tories. Because he had no other policies or programme to put forward to the working class, he could denounce capitalism with as much eloquence as he liked without being able to pose in any way the means for its overthrow.

INADEQUACIES

It was these inadequacies that made Purcell into such a convenient foil for the traitorous and regressive policies of the nascent Soviet bureaucracy under the leadership of Stalin and Zinoviev. The Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee was a meeting stage for Soviet leaders in retreat from revolutionary Marxism and some British trade union leaders who had taken steps towards it.

The policies of 'socialism in one country' and the native narrowness of the British trade union leadership complemented one another in this alliance. It was described by Stalin as a 'united front', but in fact it was nothing of the kind. The committee might perhaps have

fundamental conflict with them and in no way vied with them for the leadership of the movement he became simply a helpless junior partner in their systematic betrayal of the workers in the smashing of the General Strike.

So it was that although Purcell did not play a conspicuous part in the negotiations leading to the General Strike and its ignominious calling off, he was nevertheless part of a leadership that held back the struggle. Purcell was a member of the Organising Committee set up by the General Council at the last possible moment to organise the offensive.

One of the main purposes of this body, particularly as seen by its other main member Ernest Bevin, was to prevent independent initiative of any kind on the part of the rank and file workers. Purcell had no means to fight this. His allies in the Communist Party put forward no policies to bring about the independent mobilisation of the masses, so they were doomed to enter the battle under generals who had no strategy other than retreat.

The millions of workers who took part in the General Strike had no desire for this outcome to their struggle. Given any other kind of leadership they could and would have fought on. When the surrender was declared on 12th

After this, Purcell retired from the national scene and for the last few years of his life was Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council. In this role he became again a simple trade unionist concerned with such issues as road safety and municipal finance. As a fighter for the overall interests of the masses in those dark days, the worst of the depression, Purcell was a spent force.

It is important to end by stressing that Purcell remained all his life a militant, and never consciously capitulated to the employers in the same way as Thomas, Bevin and the others. But he was always incapable of putting forward policies to challenge the role of the others, and thus became a perfect illustration of the inadequacy of British syndicalism and the treachery of Stalinist tutelage.

TRENDS

These are political trends that live on in the working class movement, and are frequently in some measure combined. By understanding the failure and ultimate betrayal of Purcell, we can go some way along the road to developing that revolutionary leadership that is essential to defend and maintain the interests of the workers in the

WILSON SLASHES EDUCATION

Colleges of education face the prospect of deterioration and closure over the next few years. At least thirteen are now to "discontinue initial training", in the jargon of the DES, and many others are to be merged with other institutions.

Fewer than half can have any confidence in an independent future. And even that confidence is misplaced, for it would be mad to trust the Labour government to refrain from further more savage attacks on education.

Figures tell part of the story. The Labour government, by radically cutting earlier plans, has set a target of only 640,000 students in higher education by 1981. This will probably soon be reduced by another 15,000.

The share of the colleges of education in these targets, which will dramatically gouge staff levels and facilities in every area of education, is only 60,000 total places. It is on this basis that announcements of closures and mergers have been made.

CLOSURES

Worse still, the DES plans for about a fifth of those to be reserved for in-service training (rather than used for new students), which means that if the Labour government's sense of "reality" prevails, several more colleges will have to close.

Savage though the Labour government's plans may be, they are not original. Much of their substance was contained in the White Paper laughingly called "Education: a framework for expansion" (1), which Tory leader Margaret Thatcher issued as Education Secretary in 1972.

In education, as elsewhere in the social services, and virtually every other area of British political life, Labour is putting into practice the policies which the Tories themselves would implement but for the

hostility and organised strength of the working class.

Even the most positive point of Thatcher's plan, to develop and strengthen nursery education has been eroded to nothing by the



Education Secretary Mulley

Labour government's latest round of cuts.

"OVERPRODUCTION"

One argument put forward to justify the swingeing attacks on higher education is the present "overproduction" of teachers. It is true that this year more than 5000 trained teachers have been unable to find work, a rise of over a thousand from the figures of a year ago. It is also, however, true that school classes throughout the country are too large for really effective education, and that in many areas conditions are so bad that teachers can do no more than "keep order" in the classroom, if even that.

Trained teachers are available and more trained teachers are needed, yet the government shuts down colleges. New and improved school buildings are needed, building workers are unemployed, and yet the reformists say 'make do' with what you have, however inadequate it may be. It is vital to locate these contradictions where they belong: in the nature of capitalism itself, its inexorable tendency to crisis, and its inability further to develop productive forces.

Even in the best of times, the capitalist class is not friendly to

state spending on social services. Every advance in support of education, medical care, and other aspects of welfare has been won either by the direct action of the working class or through fear of their strength and militancy.

RECESSION

But now in deepest recession, in the midst of the crisis of capitalist profits, the employing class oppose state spending as part of their fight to survive, carried on the backs of the workers. Whether supported by taxation or by credit, state spending eats away at the rate of profit, and as part of their mortal struggle to drive up that rate, the capitalists must attack it.

The Labour government is their willing instrument. It will continue to respond to the bayings of the Tories to cut the "social wage", just as it has responded by imposing state control of wages while inflation and redundancies continue to rip.

Who will defend the education system? Certainly not local governments or LEA's, who with furrowed brows and rapid pencils draw up "contingency plans" of capitulation.

ABANDON

The Warwickshire County Council, for example, has recently prepared a scheme to "trim" its annual spending by £6.39 million (about 14% of the total budget) in case of further calls for reduction by the government, and over half of this is in education. It would involve dismissing more than 250 full-time and part-time teachers, the closing of schools and libraries and the abandonment of a number of programmes.

Oxfordshire Education Committee predict that their recent decision to cancel their 'rising fives' policy whereby children enter primary school before their fifth birthday, will result in more teacher unemployment and in empty class-

rooms which they may then offer to groups of parents to run voluntary playgroups!

The trade union bureaucracy have, for the most part, rallied to the government's call for support, divorcing specific issues from the general problem and discouraging their members from effective action.

Groups such as Rank and File (IS) have tended to attack the problems of teachers and the education system piecemeal, substituting militancy over individual issues for a general and politically conscious struggle.

PROGRAMME

They are at the root of the proposal of the Extra Metropolitan Association of the NUT that teachers should refuse to take the classes of colleagues who are absent for more than three days. Such fights are right and necessary, and we support them. But they cannot replace the need to struggle to show teachers the need for a thoroughgoing socialist programme to ensure an adequate education system and full employment.

We must campaign in the teacher training colleges for full union rights for unemployed teachers, fighting here as elsewhere against the disorganisation and demoralisation of those on the dole. The "second-class citizenship" of trainee teachers in the union must be ended.

There must be no closures of colleges. Students and staff, both academic and non-academic, must prepare co-ordinated campaigns to occupy buildings in the event that threats of closure are carried out.

Jobs must be guaranteed to all trained teachers, and sackings must be fought tooth and nail. Our demand is for improved, not worsened classroom conditions and staff-student ratios. In no case should increases in work load be accepted, and attempts to cut back supply teaching must be resisted.

While building workers are out of work, school building programmes must be carried forward to improve conditions in the schools.

We oppose all collaboration with government wage cuts beginning with the TUC's £6 limit. A fight must be waged in the unions to force its rejection and to call for a sliding scale of wages to rise in pace with inflation, as determined by elected committees of trade unionists.

Those union bureaucrats who prefer class collaboration to the protection of their members' jobs and living standards, must be kicked out and replaced by a leadership willing to fight.

These demands require an increase in government spending, not a reduction; we must struggle for a sliding scale of education expenditure, hedged against inflation. As part of this struggle we call for the opening of the council's books to committees of trade unionists, in order more effectively to resist future plans to attack education.

SUPPLIERS

A major problem in the budget of all institutions has been the violent increase in the price of educational supplies, amounting to about 50% over the last two years. The books of the supply industry must be forced open as well. If their price rises are diverting funds from education, then it is time to nationalise them without compensation.

"Open the books" committees in which representatives of all unions involved should play a part and students' representatives as well - are the place to begin the defence of the education system. These committees should also link up with bodies fighting cuts in other areas of the social services to construct a workers' plan for their defence and expansion and to campaign throughout the labour movement for its implementation.

JUNIOR DOCTORS MUST UNIONISE TO FIGHT CONTRACT

Caught by both the state pay laws on the one hand, and Healey's spending cuts on the other, which are savaging the NHS, the Junior Hospital Doctors are now at the forefront of the fight against the most reactionary policies of the Wilson government.

The new contract recommended by the supposedly "independent" review body on Doctors and Dentists pay is an insult which any right minded trade unionist would tear up instantly.

PROPOSALS

It proposes that on top of a basic 40 hours week, doctors should:

- * Work the next 4 hours for no pay at all!
- * Do additional hours on standby or working, at the hospital, at 30% of basic rate.
- * Be available on call at 10% of basic pay.

Under the previous contract, junior doctors received overtime only for hours worked in excess of 80 hours a week, so a number of doctors will receive an increase in pay even on this slave contract. But for most doctors this plainly represents a real cut in salary, as can be seen by the fact that it will cost no extra money to implement.

In real terms the contract would mean less doctors will be employed in the NHS, and forced to work

longer hours, since it is obviously massively cheaper to employ one doctor for 120 hours than three for 40 hours. So while doctors face a worsening of their conditions, standards of health care will plummet as fewer doctors are placed under increasing physical and mental stress in a decaying Health Service.

AXE

There can be no mistake - junior doctors can only win their fight through defence of the NHS against spending cuts. Already the Labour government's axe is smashing into the hospitals - Camden and Islington AHA has only a half to a third of the cash needed in the next few years. The Queen Elizabeth Hospital for Sick Children - a major paediatric centre - has ordered £70,000 in cuts by closing sections of departments, curtailing pathological services and not filling vacancies. In the W. Midlands only 10 out of 60 recommended new consultants posts are to be filled. Meanwhile 1 person in 100 (600,000) are in line in lengthening hospital waiting lists. The system faces collapse if there is not an immediate injection of cash - and in the wreckage would vanish all prospect of secure or satisfying employment for junior doctors.

REACTIONARIES

Yet the reactionaries who lead the BMA, and their allies leading the Junior Hospital Doctors Assoc-

iation show no interest in defence of the NHS. While the BMA refuses to lift a finger to defend the junior doctors, they threaten sanctions to preserve private practice. And the JHDA leaders follow on in support of pay beds and the profits of the drug monopolies. If followed, these policies could only lead to the majority being denied medical treatment while a handful of consultants grew fat on the proceeds.

ORGANISE

For junior doctors the fight must now be with the labour movement in defence of the NHS. To do this they must organise outside the BMA and JHDA - join the doctors union MPU-ASTMS, which supports the junior doctors action and fights for a 40-hour contract together with a sliding scale of NHS expenditure and an immediate £1,000m injection of state cash. In line with the policy fight of the WSL, MPU-ASTMS is also pledged

to fight to end private practice both inside and outside the Health Service. In joining the union, doctors must take up the fight to implement these vital policies.

* Full ASTMS and all-union support to the junior doctors!

* Open the books of the Area Health Authorities to elected committees of trade unionists, to supervise and control resources in the interests of all NHS workers and consumers!

* Open the accounts of the drug monopolies and NHS suppliers, to prove the case for their nationalisation!

* Nationalise private hospitals and clinics without compensation under workers management. Integrate these into an expanded NHS!



Castle - destroying Health Service

SLATER STRIPPED IN CITY

Last week's ignominious demise of the once successful asset-stripper Jim Slater is interesting not so much for the financial crimes he may have committed in Singapore (those happen in the City every day), but for the panic reactions of the rest of the City to the possible collapse of Slater Walker Securities.

A wave of terror brought the most prestigious traditional bankers (Rothschild and Hambro) onto the board of a company they once reviled as an upstart. This is a symptom of the real danger of a cumulative collapse of a credit system, which has never been so extensive.

The rescue attempt was staged by the Bank of England which has in the past two years poured hundreds of millions of pounds into saving several secondary banks which would otherwise have collapsed like the Herstatt Bank in Germany a few years ago.

On one occasion in the last year the Bank was even forced to plead with British Petroleum not to withdraw several hundred millions which it had deposited on short term with the National Westminster Bank.

This is all part of a world-wide fragility of credit which in the last month has thrown up such varied examples as the near bankruptcy of New York City (saved at the last minute by the pension fund of the teachers' trade union) and the default on international loans of the African Republic of Zaire.

WRP RAID

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE
WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To G. Healy, WRP General Secretary:

October 27th 1975

Dear Comrade Healy,

The Workers Socialist League unconditionally defends the WRP against the massive police raid on its Derbyshire premises, and against the vicious and scurrilous witch hunt of revolutionary socialism by the capitalist press and right wing Labour circles by which this was preceded. We have called on all our members and supporters to support the WRP's defence petition; we have given practical support within the labour and trade union movement for the call for a workers' inquiry into the circumstances of the raid and the involvement of cabinet ministers in it. On the Hull Trades Council and in other areas our comrades have fought for motions of support.

We have given this support - in which we are joined by virtually every organisation of the revolutionary left - because a most basic principle is at stake. The raid on the WRP - including especially the police claim to have 'discovered' live bullets - is an attack on the political rights of the entire labour movement. More particularly it is aimed - in a new and dangerous manner - at the right to fight for revolutionary policies in answer to the capitalist crisis and the reactionary policies of the Labour government. As such it is much more than an attack on the WRP alone.

Along with the witch hunt of left-wingers and supporters of the Militant in the Labour Party, the WRP raid is an assault on the basic democratic rights of the working class, an assault employing the armed force of the capitalist state and the monopoly of the media and press barons.

This assault can be met only by principled, revolutionary policies. This is why we write to protest in the strongest possible terms at the conduct of the WRP within the defence campaign. At the 'public' meeting called by the WRP in central London on October 13th as part of the campaign WRP stewards - on the instructions of WRP Assistant General Secretary Sheila Torrance - prevented members of the Workers Socialist League from entering the meeting. This was done on the grounds that they were alleged 'provocateurs'! Not only this, but one of your platform speakers had the impertinence to hypocritically demand "Where does the WSL stand?". The answer, of course, was - outside the door: in a campaign on which *Workers Press* daily pleads "Let the movement speak now" and "Everyone welcome"!

This exclusion of a labour movement tendency is in stark contradiction to the welcome now daily - and completely uncritically - given in *Workers Press* to the signatures of such political figures as "corporatist" Jack Jones (architect of the state pay laws); scab convenor Eddy McGarry (who as he signed the petition was instructing drivers to cross an ACTSS picket line in Standard Triumph, Coventry); and leading Stalinists; Bert Ramelson and Peter Kerrigan - long time supporters of Stalin's Moscow Trials. More surprisingly even while calling for a labour movement campaign, you have applauded the support of the Young Liberal, Peter Hain, so warmly regarded by Jeremy Thorpe.

We note from *Workers Press* that you have correctly invited the full participation of the Communist Party in your defence demonstration in London on November 16th. You have sent a letter to their General Secretary, Gordon McLennan, offering them the right to bring their banners and a speaker.

Despite our differences with the WRP and our criticisms of aspects of the campaign the WSL also wants to give full support to the November 16th demonstration, on the same terms as those of the Communist Party. But we first want clarification on three basic questions:

- * Why have our members been excluded from your 'public' meetings?
- * Will you publicly undertake that all tendencies of the labour movement will be permitted to bring their contingents and their banners on the November 16th demonstration? Since you have invited the Stalinists, we do not see how you can refuse.
- * Will you permit a speaker from the WSL to address the rally following the march, to express our support for the defence of the WRP and the whole workers movement against the attack on democratic rights? Again your offer of a platform to the Stalinists in our view precludes your refusal.

I.S. ACCEPT RYDER

While the bureaucracy moves to the right, and workers move to the left in struggle, the revisionists of the International Socialists seek desperately to cover their tracks. Clearest example is in the I.S. dominated "rank and file" paper 'Leyland Worker'. On its front page it splashes its policies on the Ryder proposals under the deceptive headlines "Break The Silence - No Secrecy; Let Us Decide" - deliberately chosen to suggest a struggle against Ryder.

Nothing of the sort is proposed. Instead this opportunist group propose to accept the framework of bogus participation. See how they wriggle into position from apparent militancy to complete capitulation.

"That's why we should reject participation. But if we get it anyway? Our negotiators are quite right to insist that nominations to the three tiers of committees should not be open to all on the shop floor ..."

So from pretending to oppose participation, I.S. is now debating how its committees should be elected.

"The only way that workers' representatives can be effectively controlled ... is through elections by mass meetings of shop

stewards. They should also be fully accountable to the shop stewards ..."

All this ignores the fact that the committees are all fully accountable to management and have written into their terms of reference that they recognise "executive responsibility rests with management". I.S. are careful also to ensure that foremen and industrial engineers are fully represented, when they insist that "staff" unions be included.

The completely craven position is summed up in a concluding paragraph:

"None of this means supporters of Leyland Worker should not stand for any of the committees. We cannot just ignore participation and hope it will go away of its own accord."

The message of I.S. then can be summed up as 'if you can't beat management, join them!', and they thus give a blank cheque to opportunists such as Arthur Harper whom they support, but who is up to his neck in the class collaborationist meetings of the Ryder 'ad hoc' committee.

On the back page of the same paper a large article deals with the 'Open the Books' fight at Cowley. But nowhere in the entire paper do I.S. point out their consistent national campaign against this demand.

Leyland Worker should clearly be retitled *Opportunist Worker*, in line with the politics of its 'rank and file' leadership.

20,000 MARCH AGAINST CUTS

20,000 students, teachers and public service workers marched through London last Tuesday in opposition to the government's education cuts.

This reflection of the enormous anger against Wilson's policies attracted trade union banners from NUPE, NALGO, ATTI, and NUT, as well as contingents from the Association of University Teachers and the National Union of Students, supported by delegations from car factories and other sections of industry.

The need for a policy to challenge these government cuts emerged as the central question. While union speaker after union speaker called for "unity against the cuts" and right "priorities", all of them are involved through the TUC in implementing state



pay laws - the other side of the spending cuts, directly cutting living standards. Not one speaker called for strike action to halt the cuts and force a sliding scale of expenditure. And if no action is proposed, then all the words under the sun will not change

Wilson's course.

The strength of the demonstration showed up once again therefore the huge contradiction between the readiness of the working class to fight, and the determination of its leadership to betray.

TUC ATTACKS JOBS DEMO

The TUC has sent a letter to Trades Councils and affiliated organisations aimed at destroying the demonstration against unemployment called by the North West Region of the TUC on November 26th.

With the jobless standing at 1 1/2 million, TUC leaders know that the demonstration will assume national proportions expressing the hatred of the working class against unemployment.

Because unemployment is created by the Labour Government and accepted by the TUC leadership, such a demonstration would direct against the Wilson leadership and question the position of the TUC.

It is for this reason that Murray attempts to kill the demonstration and confine it to regional action taking up regional problems. Murray acts entirely in the defence of the right wing of the Labour Government and against the interests of the working class.

We are convinced of the importance of the demonstration and that it has the potential to be a powerful action in spite of Murray.

Although the WSL consistently opposes the policy of import controls and the demand for a capitalist investment programme which are advanced by the NW TUC, we fully support the demonstration and lobby. We urge all our members and supporters to organise coaches and fight for delegations.

Assemble at 1.30, Euston Station, Wednesday 26th November.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETINGS:

WOLVERHAMPTON

Tuesday 18th November, 7.30

Rose & Crown, Penn Rd.

"Attack on the Trade Unions"

LONDON

Students and Teachers; Fight the Cuts!

Thursday, 30th October, 5.00 pm.

University of London Union, Malet St, London WC1.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

W.S.L. Marxist Society

Public Meeting:

"A Programme for the Crisis"

Trade Union speakers.

Wednesday, 12th November, 8.00
'The Blue Room', Wadham College, Parks Road.

CHRYSLER LAY-OFFS

As sales dwindle and the battle for what remains of the market intensifies Chrysler is fast emerging as the 'sick man of the British car industry'. Following losses (reported in the last issue of *Socialist Press*) the company has announced massive lay-offs.

At the Linwood plant in Scotland, where 1400 hourly paid workers have left in the last 12 months, all 5600 manual workers will be on a 3-day week until the New Year. During November and December working days will total only 17. For workers in Vehicle Assembly this brings the total of lay-offs for this year to 75!

The Stoke engine plant in Coventry, up to now cushioned from extensive lay-offs by a components order from Iran, is expected to announce production cut-backs shortly.

However, it is at the Ryton (Coventry) plant that the most extensive lay-offs have been announced. Over the next two months there will be only 11 working days. There will be no more car production in

October. In November 12 days will be lost leaving only 8 at work and in December only 3 days, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th will be worked.

Managing Director Lander has said that "the future looks very difficult for 12-14 months".

Attacks must obviously sharpen and the situation calls for the clearest perspective.

So far, however, it is understood that Senior Stewards at Ryton have limited themselves to demands that the three December working days be transferred to November, to allow advantage to be taken of increases in unemployment benefit due to come into effect at the end of that month.

Something like 95% of workers have now nearly exhausted their lay-off pay following short time working in September and October. We say all available work must be shared with no loss of pay. Workers with only 11 days work before Christmas have no idea what they will be doing in the New Year. The company books must be opened to inspection of trade union committees thus showing the extent of the Chrysler crisis and establishing the necessity for nationalisation under workers management.

Spain: continued from front page

Fascist state and rule through parliamentary democracy.

Civil war is therefore on the agenda. It is likely that the first incidents will be between the working class and the notorious Guardia Civil, the paramilitary police renowned for their brutality and terror since the Civil War.

The working class will undoubtedly demand the dismantlement of this force. The Spanish bourgeoisie, unable even to break from the monarchy as a mechanism of political stability is certainly not able to contemplate the dismemberment of such a powerful organ of class rule as the Guardia Civil.

LESSONS

The lessons of the Civil War which ended with Franco's victory in 1939 must be learned. There can be no stable republic in Spain other than a workers' republic. The tasks that were interrupted by defeat in 1939 must now be taken up. The demand must be for a workers' government based on the strength of independent organs of workers' power.

This must involve a break with the Stalinists who intend to act at all costs to preserve the rule of the bourgeoisie (see *Socialist Press* previous issue). The most recent statement of CP secretary Santiago Carrillo reported in Monday's *Morning Star* speaks for itself: "It [the CP] would participate in a government which included right wing groups provided they were willing to respect the results of elections held after the establishment of a provisional government."

The Stalinists will learn nothing from the defeat of 1939 and their policies threaten a repetition. Spanish workers must learn, and build a Trotskyist leadership for the coming struggle.

£500 monthly development fund

As we report on Page 3, our successful Founding Conference last weekend was able to register a number of gains and significant growth in the Workers Socialist League.

We also adopted the perspectives document for discussion towards the rebuilding of the Fourth International which will appear, starting in the next edition, as a special supplement to *Socialist Press*.

This supplement is a big development for our press, but will obviously add to our expenses. We want therefore to urge all readers to make a donation towards this month's £500 development fund. All donations to: WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

UNION CHIEFS, cont from page 1
attack ever launched on workers in the Corporation, they have not called a single meeting. They have accepted that paid meetings of convenors called by management and national officials can take key decisions on the future of Leyland workers.

Both the Stalinists and the reformists refuse to challenge this Labour Government and its capitalist policies and without being prepared to make such a challenge it is impossible to defend jobs or working conditions. They end up carrying out precisely those capitalist policies.

In this situation the need for new leadership in the car industry stares every worker in the face.