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EEC IS CLASS ISSUE

LABOUR MUST SACK WILSON

Harold Wilson's sacking of Eric Heffer from his ministerial post last Wednesday because he spoke in Parliament against Common Market entry must be the signal for a campaign to remove Wilson as Labour leader. Heffer's statement, inadequate and limited though it was, was a straightforward defence of Labour Party policy which Wilson has thrown contemptuously overboard in his rush to defend British capitalism through entering the EEC - the means by which the European employers are attempting to regroup their

the working class.

This is precisely why the Tory press is now attempting to whip up a witch-hunt against the anti-marketeteers, branding them all as "Marxists" and extremists. Tory foreign affairs spokesman Eldon Griffiths, for example, said on Saturday that "Behind the hubbub over the sacking of Eric Heffer, the stark choice now confronting

Wilson, who has always slavishly defended the 'rights' and interests of employing class should find himself united on the Common Market question with nearly the whole of the Tory Party. For Wilson however it is only a part of an overall plan to preserve British capitalism, which includes also the massive injections of state finance to underpin private industry incorporated in Benn's Industry Bill, together with attempts to use an alliance with the trade union bureaucracy in order to impose the wage-cutting proposals of the social contract.

Heffer correctly took a stand against Wilson, on an issue which is vital for the working class, and showed he was prepared to lose his job on the issue. Yet this correct position immediately raises important questions.

Where were the other 36 ministers who voted against Common Market entry, yet hung back in shameful silence in the debate cowed by Wilson's threat to sack any Minister who opposed his pro-Market line? Was it more important to them to keep their ministerial pay cheques and personal position than to defend the decisions of the Labour Party and of the majority of the trade union movement?

The opportunism of this group is characterised by Wedgewood Benn's statement after the event. "I greatly regret the dismissal of Eric Heffer," he said, knowing full well that he himself had no intention of fighting Wilson or risking his job.



Heffer

LIMP

Yet this kind of submission to Wilson's threats is also shown in Heffer's own position in refusing to fight his dismissal. Wilson, within one hour of the Commons vote, had published a blunt letter which did not even take the normal steps of inviting Heffer's resignation, but which merely told him that "I am therefore informing the Queen that you have ceased to be a Minister, and I shall recommend a new appointment in due course." Yet Heffer having made his stand, now tamely accepts Wilson's right to purge him from the government, stating that he feels "no bitterness" and concluding limply "I expected the Prime Minister to sack me." At the same time he urged some *Tribune* group MPs not to act in his defence.

This kind of capitulation sees the Common Market question simply as one of individuals, whereas what is involved is the defence of the working class. More and

more the class lines are drawn on the EEC. With the exception of the few ultra-nationalists the whole of the bourgeoisie has now swung in support of entry - as is shown by the tiny handful of Tory MPs who eventually voted against. Out of 170 votes against entry, 145 were Labour MPs, while Wilson is forced to depend on the willing support of the Tory Party in order to win a majority in Parliament.

For the British capitalist class Common Market entry is vital. As the world recession continues to gather momentum, with production and sales falling in the major capitalist countries, competition becomes more intense and the threat of protectionist barriers between the major trade blocs - Europe, the USA and Japan, grows stronger. British capitalism caught outside Europe under these conditions would be immediately racked by enormous economic and political crisis, opening the possibility of the successful struggle for power by

the Labour Party lies between the EEC and Communism." At the same time William Whitelaw, the Tory Party's deputy leader, was stating that the anti-marketeteers were people "who want to see a completely socialist Britain".

These statements, aimed at winning votes by inducing an anti-communist frenzy in the middle class, nevertheless show the decisive nature of the Common Market as a capitalist alliance against the working class. Within the economic and political structure of the EEC is the strategic line of defence of the British ruling class. It would open for them the possibility of international "rationalisation" of industry - closing down "uneconomic" plant with strong trade union organisation in order to move to impoverished areas in Europe, and attempting to combine forces with European capital through military alliances aimed at preserving the "stability" of capitalism against revolutionary upheavals by the working class. It is no accident therefore that

OPPOSITION

Yet at every point Wilson confronts the determination of the working class to resist attacks on its living standards and to fight his open alliance with the Tories and the employers. This class opposition to Wilson in the trade unions and in the ranks of the Labour Party poses the Tribuneite left and Heffer with the question of questions. Are they prepared to put down a motion of no confidence in Wilson in the Parliamentary Labour Party, as an opening shot in a struggle to remove his as Party leader? Or are they going once again to collapse in front of the right wing without a fight as has happened over the Shrewsbury Two, and Jenkins' so-called "Prevention of Terrorism" Act?

On the Market issue there is already a small PLP majority against Market entry. The Labour Party conference has voted solidly against entry, and has never changed that position. The majority of the trade union movement also is firmly opposed to the Common Market. Heffer himself said in the Parliamentary speech for which he was sacked. "There has in my opinion been no fundamental renegotiation. I do not accept that the terms of the (Labour Party) manifesto have been achieved. The treaties have not been amended. Then surely, if Labour Party conference decisions are not to be made a mockery by the Wilson-Jenkins clique, Heffer is obliged to campaign throughout the Party and the trade union movement for Wilson's removal.

The Workers Socialist League is clearly against Common Market entry on any terms, and therefore opposed to the fraudulent notion of "renegotiation" which was in-

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

Salute Khmer Victory

As we go to print, the armed workers and peasants have entered the outskirts of Phnom Penh and taken over the Pochentong airport and surrounding villages.

The US ambassadors and his stooges just pulled out in time [picture p2], but they have made sure they maintained a supply of food and ammunition parachuted in to the puppet army of the fugitive President, Lon Nol. This exposes nakedly the hypocrisy of the talk about "refugees". The whole effort of US imperialism is to keep up the fighting, spill the maximum amount of Cambodian blood, and attempt in this way to ensure that Phnom Penh is reduced to rubble by the time it is taken by the Khmer Rouge.

Exactly the same tactics apply to the suicidal "defence" of Saigon by Thieu's forces against the NLF. Imperialism is attempting to save face, and will continue with the slaughter in order to do so.

But nothing can obscure this victory by the liberation forces as a beacon to the impoverished and starving masses throughout Asia and the rest of the world. It is a major blow against world imperialism. Already the governments of Thailand and Malaysia, themselves confronted by the outbreak of guerilla warfare, say they will recognise whatever government is in power in Cambodia.

RECOGNITION

All the speculation about a "compromise" government in Phnom Penh has been shattered by Prince Sihanouk's declaration that the Khmer Rouge will be the government and that he was retiring from politics.

This great impetus to struggles in Asia shows that imperialism is not invincible, and that the CIA and other imperialist agencies can be swept aside by the strength of the armed workers and peasants revolution. The only barrier is the reformist and Stalinist leaderships which see only the "strength" of imperialism and seek simply "peaceful coexistence".

These victories are therefore a blow to the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies, since the political movement of the masses spells the end of their uneasy balance between imperialism and the nationalised property relations of these deformed workers states.

The WSL salutes the proud achievement of the Cambodian and Vietnamese liberation forces. We further demand that the Labour government, which owes its position to the organised workers movement, immediately withdraw recognition from the US puppet administrations in Phnom Penh and Saigon, and instead give recognition to the Khmer Rouge, and the NLF Provisional Revolutionary Government in Vietnam.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

INDOCHINA: US BALES OUT

For the workers and peasants of Indochina the end is now in sight to almost seventy years of struggle against imperialist occupation and war.

Since 1961 they have faced the high explosive and napalm voted by US congressmen and senators who - to a man - have been prepared to support any extreme of barbarism, provided it seemed to have a chance of success. Now, with the abandonment of Phnom Penh and the encirclement of Saigon, the spokesmen of capitalism from Los Angeles to Fleet Street grope around for 'angles' to disguise the fact that it is the defeat of imperialism - and only that - which can bring peace to Vietnam and Cambodia.

First it was the plight of the refugees - until it became clear that the refugees were simply fleeing from the battle zones, and that many of them, including a number of South Vietnamese officers, were choosing to head for the liberated areas.

Then came the harvest of 'war orphans', with the *Daily Mail* scouring the hospitals of Saigon to fly a planeload of sick and wounded children to Heathrow. But that campaign fell through when the Thieu regime - seriously concerned at the atmosphere of panic undermining their flimsy air of 'calm' in Saigon - put a stop to the export of orphans.

"ATROCITIES"

Then the journalists switched to worrying about the fate of the 16,000 illegitimate children of US servicemen in South Vietnam. Starved of even the semblance of genuine 'atrocities' the journalists are obliged to invent the prospect that the liberation forces will bayonet babies - because they happen to be the children of a demoralised imperialist army!

What all these half-baked horror stories are intended to disguise is

the fact that the revolutionary advance of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia and the NLF in South Vietnam is a massive blow against the whole of imperialism, not just the USA. So low is morale among Washington's parasites in Saigon that the government has put an official stop to all exit visas - for South Vietnamese citizens - though they are readily available on the black market for those with over a thousand dollars available.

The rout of the South Vietnamese army - despite massive supplies of the most modern US equipment and ammunition - is the result of demoralisation and indifference to the fate of Thieu.

Thieu himself is only the latest in a long line of agents for a series of imperialists, starting with the French occupation of Saigon in the 1850's.

STALINISM

Japanese imperialism occupied Indochina during the Second World War. The fact that French imperialism was allowed to return is the responsibility of Stalinism, which put down the Trotskyist-led workers' militias in South Vietnam after the Japanese surrender in 1945, and permitted the murder of Ta Thu Thao and other Trotskyist leaders. The last thirty years of war in Vietnam started when the French broke their 1946 agreement with the Vietminh and invaded North Vietnam.

Yet when the French were routed in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu, the Vietminh, under pressure from Moscow and Peking, agreed to the partition of Vietnam on condition elections were held. They never were, and from that time on South Vietnam has been a puppet state of US imperialism pure and simple.

The bravery, tactical daring and determination of the liberation forces now therefore promise a victory which Stalinist diplomacy has served only to delay. Moscow's cynical refusal to give any effective support was underlined by the fact that they withdrew diplomatic



Mr John Gunther Dean, U.S. Ambassador in Cambodia, with stars and stripes stuffed hastily in a polythene bag, arrives in Thailand after a helicopter escape from Phnom Penh.

recognition from Lon Nol in Cambodia only days before he fled abroad, to be followed within ten days by helicopter-loads of US diplomats and their hangers-on.

And, even with victory within their grasp as they control almost three quarters of South Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government continues to negotiate for a compromise, making the removal of Thieu the only condition of a new coalition in Saigon.

But a force thrusting forward behind their attempts to limit the war of liberation to 'democratic' objectives is the fact that many of the towns that have fallen during the past month have succumbed to popular insurrections as much as the forces of the NLF. The tasks of the social revolution - in particular the guaranteeing of the land to the peasants and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie (almost to a man mortgaged to imperialism) - tread hard on the heels of the military advance.

It was Trotskyists who led the struggle against the French and Japanese in South Vietnam during the

1930's and the Second World War. Only the collaboration of Ho Chi Minh with French imperialism after the war allowed the decimation of the Trotskyist leadership. Decades of imperialist treachery and aggression have forced the Hanoi leadership to carry the military struggle near to a conclusion.

INSEPARABLE

Trotskyists today share the rejoicing of all class-conscious workers and socialists throughout the world at the blows struck at imperialism in Indochina in this Spring of 1975. We reject with contempt the slanders thrown by bourgeois journalists against the liberation forces. But at the same time we warn that Vietnam cannot escape the law of permanent revolution: the struggle for lasting national independence is inseparable both from the tasks of the social revolution and from the struggle for a democratic workers' state free of the political monopoly of Stalinism.

USA: ECHOES

The harsh words and re-primations which thickened the air of Washington last week were only the echo of the resounding defeats inflicted on imperialism by the liberation forces of Indochina.

As South Vietnamese President Thieu insured his 'last stand' by attempting to fly £40 million worth of gold out of Saigon, US capitalist politicians linked up to pass the buck of the Cambodia and Vietnam debacle.

Leading Democratic presidential Senator Henry Jackson led off. He revealed that the puppet regime in South Vietnam was persuaded to accept the 1973 Paris 'ceasefire' agreement only on the basis of secret promises by Nixon and Kissinger to guarantee the military position. Jackson made these revelations to further his own political career - attempting to both have his cake and eat it. On the one hand he tries to disassociate himself from the war policies of Nixon, Ford and Kissinger; while on the other he tries to blame them for letting Indonesia 'go Communist'.

DOUBLE TALK

Double-talk is universal on Capitol Hill. When Ford pleaded with Congress for an additional \$722 million dollars to ensure the evacuation of Saigon and the surrounding area, he spoke purely for the record. His officials claimed that 1½ million South Vietnamese fear punishment at the hands of the NLF, but even Ford's most ambitious plans to intervene and create a military corridor to the sea would only allow him to evacuate about 100,000.

Ford and his 'opponents' in Congress and Senate are united in one thing - their fear and hatred of the liberation forces. But, as they attempt to blame each other for the disaster, the very basis of US imperialism's foreign policy falls apart in their hands. How many puppet regimes around the world rest on 'private' promises of US military support? Every one of these will feel their position that much shakier as the NLF moves towards Saigon.

PORTUGAL: CP SIGNS 'PACT'

'Sentence first - verdict afterwards!' was the order of the day from Portugal's military regime as the run-up to the elections entered its final phase. The sentence was pronounced by Admiral Rosa Coutinho, leading member of the Armed Forces Movement's 'Supreme Revolutionary Council', on April 11th, as the main political parties signed a 'pact' giving the AFM overall political power for five years.

Coutinho - ludicrously nicknamed 'The Red Admiral', and until recently High Commissioner of Angola - has been since January one of the most open propagandists of a 'continuing political role' for the officers even after the elections, scheduled for April 25th, to the Constituent Assembly.

The 'pact' of April 11th - which the Portuguese Communist Party was the first to agree to - spelled out exactly where the 'parliamentary road to socialism' leads: to the rule of the bourgeoisie. The agreement gives the AFM power of veto over all important political decisions including the choice of presidential candidates.

The irony is that the 'pact' has been signed by the Stalinists and reformists as a condition of elections to a Constituent Assembly

the Assembly, therefore, whose theoretical task is to decide a constitution for a parliamentary system, was placed in a straightjacket while it was still in the womb. It can have no other purpose than to rubber stamp a constitution whose essential features are already laid down.

This constitution, moreover, not only reduces any eventual parliament to a naked talking shop, but makes it one in which the military junta - which has already banned two left-wing parties and arrested their leading members - will reserve the power to dictate what may and may not be said.

TEST

There can be no clearer testing ground for the policies of the European Communist Parties than Portugal. At each turn in the situation Stalinist leader Cunhal's policies declare themselves impotent to defend the working class, and reactionary.

Yet not even the most swift and cringing obedience to the military government will necessarily secure the place of the Stalinist chiefs in the regime. On the same day that Cunhal was busy signing away the sovereignty of any future parliament, Minister of Information Captain Jorge Jesuino declared that



Admiral Coutinho (left), embraces Brigadier Carvalhó.

the AFM thought 'in retrospect, maybe it was an error to allow the formation of political parties in Portugal'.

Though he had kinder words for the Communist Party, which was 'effective, and was devoting itself to the tasks falling to it', Jesuino went on to say that the 'partisan quarrels' of the political parties were 'shocking', and that 'We like to feel we are supported by the whole population, except by a few elements on the far left, which are especially aggressive towards the AFM. Sometimes we feel it would be very desirable to have a political party of the AFM.'

Behind the remnants of parliamentary 'democracy', therefore, stands the scarcely-veiled threat of a one-party state. There are not many steps between popular frontism and a 'radical' Portuguese version of Franco's Falange. And for such threats the policies of the Stalinists - who have unscrupulously backed the military in banning

Maoist organisations - bear the main responsibility.

There is, in effect, a division of labour in disarming the working class after the rout of Spínola's attempted coup of March 11th. While the Stalinists and reformists busily direct political energy and attention away from the workers' and soldiers' committees and the real power which they possess, and towards hope in the parliamentary elections, the officers simultaneously emasculate the parliament before it has even been planned, never mind elected.

The line of the Portuguese CP - who put socialists behind bars while leaving Portugal in NATO, and the standing army ready and reorganised to intervene against the workers' movement - fully accords with the counter-revolutionary international policies of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. These were spelled out in an 'off the record' interview by a high Soviet official with the Paris paper 'Le Monde' on April 5th: The Kremlin

is advising Cunhal not to form a Communist Party government unless he gets at least 75% of the votes.

What they see at stake in Lisbon 'is nothing less than the equilibrium of Europe established at the end of the Second World War'. If this were upset it would bring the bureaucracy 'serious complications'. Thus Cunhal is being asked to stay close to the army and build up his party machine.

There can be no doubt that for the Kremlin - and their apprentices in the leadership of the Portuguese CP - the fate of the Portuguese revolution is one diplomatic bargaining counter among several. The workers' and soldiers of Lisbon sense this, and are opposed to it. Nor are they willing to put all their trust in the elections and the AFM, and relinquish their own organisations.

But the gains they have made can only be protected, and the threat of fascist-military dictatorship ended for good, through a policy to unite the organs of workers' power nationally into a national soviet and make this - not parliament - the basis of a workers' government. The case for this becomes clearer every day, as the military regime demonstrates it cannot provide even the appearance of parliamentary democracy.

And a minimum condition of any struggle for socialism in Portugal is freedom for all working class political tendencies, including the two Maoist groups - the MRPP and the AOC - which have been banned. For this reason the WSL calls on all bodies for the British labour and trade union movement to protest to the Portuguese government against the political bans.

CHIANG DEAD TROOPS OUT

Workers throughout the world will rejoice at the unlamented death of Chiang Kai-shek, the dictator of Taiwan and ex-leader of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist Party. His 87 years were marked by murderous anti-communism, the slaughter of Chinese workers and peasants, arrogance and hypocrisy and complete subservience to capitalism.

He took over control of the Kuomintang (KMT) on the death of its founder Sun Yat Sen in 1925. His role in the Chinese history of the following years was possible only because he had Stalin's support, while United Front policies were being forced onto the infant Chinese Communist Party. The CCP was merged with the KMT to such an extent that there was no difference in programme or educational activities between them. When leading members of the CCP opposed this liquidationism they were attacked as being a 'leftist opposition to the Comintern line'.

When enormous strikes and peasant movements took place it was against the wishes of the CCP who did all they could to hold back such movements for danger of upsetting their KMT associates. The great Canton strike of June 1926 was ignored by the CCP and allowed to be choked by the KMT.

Moscow then also provided arms for Chiang's Expedition into North China. They also agreed to maintain the KMT as the Chinese section of the Comintern and Chiang as a member of honour of the Presidium (the only vote against his admission in January had been Trotsky's).

These opportunist manoeuvres not only politically disarmed the CCP but also encouraged Chiang in his resolve to wipe out the CCP and set up his own dictatorship in China. It put him in the position to be able to launch the bloody attack on the workers in Shanghai on 12th April 1927 after they had liberated it from the imperialists.

In 1945 most observers still thought that the KMT could re-establish their rule in China. The KMT still had over 2.5 million regular troops in 1945 whereas there were less than 1 million front-line Communist troops. Furthermore the KMT had a monopoly of air and naval forces. The victory of the Communists in China, against these overwhelming odds, has of course been of incalculable assistance to the peasants and workers in Vietnam and Cambodia today.

This bears out Trotsky's understanding that with regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation. [*The Permanent Revolution*]

By the middle of 1949 Chiang began to make his plans to prepare against being unceremoniously boot-ed out of China.

He moved £120 million in gold to Taiwan. He imposed his dictatorship on the Taiwanese, where there are no Trade Unions, and no real opposition parties. There are about 2 million KMT supporters as against 13 million native Taiwanese. He also proved he has not changed by mowing down students, professors and workers who protested in Taipei.

Chiang was only able to maintain his separate kingdom with American aid. Since 1950 the US has provided £1,167 million in military aid. President Ford said on hearing of Chiang's death: "President Chiang was a man of firm integrity, high courage and deep political conviction." Need we say more?

Socialist Press has received the following letter from the Troops Out Movement which we print below in full.

Dear comrade,
The Troops Out Movement has noted the article in "*Socialist Press*" of February 6th 1975, entitled "A New Phase in the Irish Struggle" in which you state, in relation to the Troops Out Movement:

"We do not necessarily reject work in mass protest movements but we would do such work only under conditions where we could freely criticise the other tendencies involved."

We would like to assure you that participation in the TOM or in specific activities initiated by TOM such as Ad Hoc Committees, demonstrations etc. binds organisations involved only to support for the actions and slogans which have been mutually agreed. (The two demands of the Troops Out Movement are: Self-determination for the Irish people as a whole and Immediate withdrawal of all British military forces from Ireland.) Participation would not restrict the right of your organisation to:

- Publicly criticise TOM, or any organisation involved in TOM, in your own press and your own activities.
- Put forward your own analysis and interpretation of the Irish situation and the tasks of the British workers' movement from TOM platforms, provided that this was not intended to harm unit in action within TOM or in specific activities.
- Carry your own banners and slogans on TOM or Ad Hoc committee demonstrations provided that these do not contradict the two demands of TOM, or provide an excuse for Police repression. (On this basis your slogan of disbandment of the standing Army would be totally acceptable, although this is not put forward by TOM - or, at present, by any group/organisation affiliated to it).
- Seek to persuade other organisations and individuals in TOM or Ad Hoc Committees to support your particular slogans and/or analyses.

We hope that this clears up any misunderstandings about the democratic rights of organisations which support TOM. We hope your organisation will be able to play a full and important part in the building of TOM in the Labour Movement. In particular we would like to draw your attention to the coming National Labour Movement Delegate Conference on Ireland, in London on Saturday May 24th, organised by the Troops Out Movement. The Conference will be open only to delegates from Trades Councils, Trade Union branches and branches of the Labour Party and LPYS. Already, only a couple of weeks after the announcement of the conference, we have applications from 35 delegates from Trades Councils and many more from Trades Union branches.

We urge your organisation to press for delegations to the conference, wherever you have influence in the Labour movement.

Fraternally,
Alan Hayling, Press Officer.

WE REPLY :

The WSL considers that to struggle for the defeat of British Imperialism in Ireland is an obligation on all those fighting for socialism.

An essential part of this is to campaign in the British working class for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops. The letter from the TOM

totally begs the question of how this is to be achieved.

GUARANTEES

The four 'guarantees' offered to us virtually define the TOM out of existence. If we can publically criticise the groups that constitute TOM, put forward our own analysis of the Irish liberation struggle in opposition to other members of TOM, campaign openly for our own positions and carry our own banners, where, then, is the function of TOM? It is significant that the letter advances not solitary reason why the WSL should merge its efforts aimed at the withdrawal of the troops with an umbrella organisation which is virtually without a political line of its own.

The vital question for the WSL is what is the most effective method of fighting for the withdrawal of the troops and for the victory of the Irish national struggle? In our article of 6th February, in the paragraph immediately above the one quoted by the TOM letter we say quite explicitly that the reason for the failure of previous attempts at solidarity movements on the Irish question lay in the fact that:

"they were constituted on the most limited and opportunist basis, and as soon as simple protest proved ineffective to force change, the question of political policy and perspectives arose and split the bogus 'unity' down the middle."

We see no evidence why TOM should not develop in exactly the same way.

SUPPORT

We should make it clear that we will support all serious actions initiated by tendencies in the working class movement on the demands to withdraw the troops and for self-determination for the Irish people. Our members in trade union branches, Trades Councils and elsewhere have consistently followed this policy. We also sent a group to the last demonstration (called by TOM) on these demands.

We consider, however, that all this leaves unanswered the most important question. The struggle for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland has to be carried into the working class in Britain. This can only be done by a principled struggle for a revolutionary party on the basis of the programme and policies of the Fourth International. This will involve a struggle against the opportunism of the groups constituting the TOM, not the launching of a single issue campaign designed to paper over all principled differences in the name of 'solidarity'.

PROTEST

We are very concerned that the movement against British imperialism should not be taken down the blind alley of impotent protest, or the dangerous self deception of unclarified political difference. A successful struggle against British imperialism and its agencies will not be undertaken by any "Society for the Containment and Eventual Destruction of British Imperialism", however benevolent its intentions.

Our starting point is the need for an independent mobilisation of the working class against the bureaucracy, aiming at the resolution of the crisis of leadership. A successful struggle for the policies of TOM can only be undertaken by those who take up the fight for leadership in the working class against all who have conspired to fasten on the British and Irish workers the chains of slavery.

WHAT IS THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE?

The Workers Socialist League was formed on December 22nd, 1974 after over 200 members were expelled from the Workers Revolutionary Party.

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

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

This split was a product of particular political conditions. The rapid development of the economic crisis and the forward movement of the working class all over the world, which has since escalated to an even more rapid development, began to produce the conditions to build revolutionary parties.

Yet it was precisely in this period that the WRP began to decline in all its areas of work. It was this decline more than any other factor which raised questions which led to an examination of the political positions of the WRP leadership and to Alan Thornett's documents. As the split emerged, the sectarianism of the WRP, its departure from the Transitional Programme, and the way its maximum programme isolates the WRP from the working class became clear.

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

The impossibility of any kind of opposition within the WRP forced us to found the Workers Socialist League as an independent organisation which will maintain and fight to develop the traditions and principles of Trotskyism. We are continuing to maintain a critique of the WRP leadership, but most important to us now are the new developments in trade union work and new areas opened up by our break from WRP methods. We are now turning to recruit and train the new forces thrown forward into struggle in this period - not only trade unionists, but also professional workers, housewives, students and youth - in the fight to construct the new party.

We have shown already that we continue to fight against all forms of revisionism - whether the state capitalist theories of IS or the Pabliste revisions of the IMG, and against Stalinism and reformism. Already it is clear that our struggles for Trotskyism in Britain take place under conditions which must create similar splits and discussions throughout the world. For this reason the WSL is now engaging in a process of internal discussion prior to a full founding conference, a vital part of which is to hammer out and adopt perspectives for the building of the Trotskyist Fourth International, and the development of revolutionary parties based on the Trotskyist Programme in every country in the struggle to end capitalism.

We were able to assemble the necessary political, editorial and material resources to begin regular publication of *Socialist Press* just five weeks after provisionally constituting the Workers Socialist League. Already the paper is winning important new contacts and establishing a firm base in the workers movement as the organiser of a Trotskyist party of considerable political strength.

I would like more information about the WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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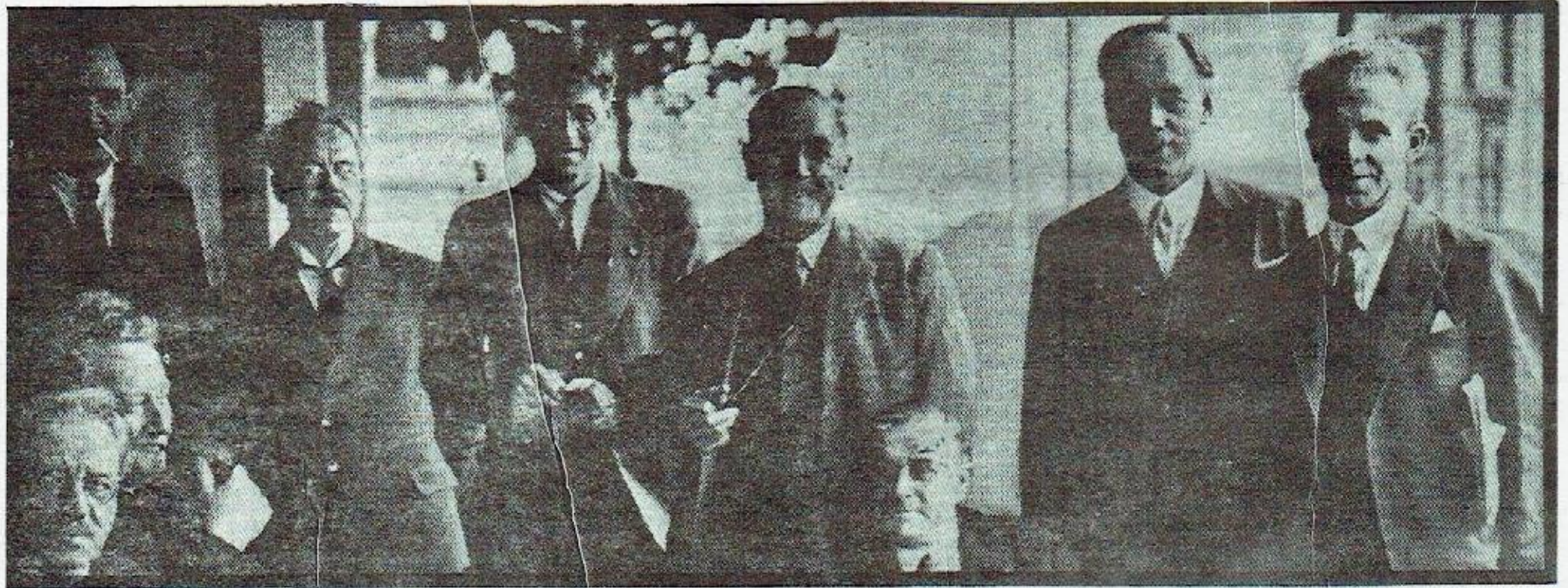
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TROTSKY ON BRITAIN

Concluding article in our series reviewing: Leon Trotsky *Collected Writings and Speeches on Britain* in three volumes.

edited by R. Chappell and A. Clinton New Park Publications, 1974, £1.65 per volume



Members of the 1929 Labour Government left to right: Jowett, Campbell-Stephen, Percy Williams, Francis Johnson, Fenner Brockway, Elijah Sandham, David Kirkwood, Frank Wise, and P. J. Dollan.

The third volume of Trotsky's works on Britain covers the period when Trotskyism developed as a distinct tendency in the working class, and thus deals with the basic principles of policy and orientation of the founders of our movement in this country. Its careful study is an essential task for those who seek to carry forward the struggle for these principles today.

In the years between 1929 and 1940, to which most of the extracts in this volume relate, the shadow of world economic slump loomed large over the working class movement. The defeat of the 1926 General Strike pushed back the working class for a generation. The smallest effort in defence of jobs and conditions had to be undertaken against tremendous odds.

This was a situation of extreme difficulty for those who fought for the continuity of revolutionary Marxism against the betrayals of the social democrats and Stalinists. Trotsky himself, who led this struggle, was subject to harassment by the police forces of the entire capitalist world, as well as to pursuit and eventual murder at the hands of Stalinist agents. Yet the continuity was maintained and the battles of that period remain an essential part of our experience today.

There are many topics covered in the third volume which can only briefly be referred to in this review. In particular, there are extracts which deal with Trotsky's personal fate, notably the refusal to grant him asylum by the liars and hypocrites of the 1929 Labour Government. The volume contains an entire section about the struggle against British imperialism in the colonial world which cannot be covered here. This is not to say of course that many matters of importance are not taken up. Particularly recommended are the pieces on India, which develop the theory of permanent revolution in relation to the particular stage the national liberation struggle had reached at that time.

Naturally, Trotsky refers to the main political and economic developments of the period. He refers in particular to the policies of the Labour and ex-Labour ministers who officiated over the capitalist slump. They played a special role in preparing the only solution to econom-

ic crisis available within the system - another world war. In later years Trotsky grew much concerned with the drive of capitalism to war, and many of the particular political strategies he put forward must be seen in this light.

In a period where all around could be seen 'the bankruptcy of the methods and illusions of parliamentarianism amidst the crumbling ruins of the capitalist system', Trotsky insisted on 'the absolute need for a new, truly revolutionary party.' The struggle of the first British Trotskyists to carry through this perspective in the face of the most appalling odds is at the centre of the main section of articles and extracts contained in this volume.

This is a story which is virtually unknown to the present generation in the Marxist movement. We have already taken up, in our issue of 20th February, the willful misuse of the history of our movement by the leaders of the WRP in their efforts at retrospective self-justification. It is only they who for many years have had the resources to produce a history which would make it possible to describe the origins of our movement in the struggle against ultra-left sectarianism, and to assess the many years spent inside the Labour party.

UNKNOWN

Few if any of the younger generation of the members of the WRP know why it is that the first published studies of the early history of our movement has been left to the revisionists of the IS and the IMG. It is because the leaders of the WRP, for all their achievements, (and these cannot be gainsayed) have become incapable of any objective assessment of their own development. Their intolerance of criticism, even of the distant past, reflects a political method which makes them incapable of building the kind of leadership which they once so correctly defended.

There is an immediacy in much of the material about the origins of Trotskyism in this volume for those of us who founded the WSL in the course of a struggle against bureaucratic methods and sectarian politics. We can understand very well Trotsky's words to the first British Left Oppositionists in 1931:

'The bureaucratic bankrupts believe that one can mechanically fasten our leadership on to

the working class: on the one side with the aid of cash and repression, on the other side with the help of abrupt leaps, the blotting out of traces, with lies and calumnies. But this is totally untrue.'

Quite so, comrade Trotsky! We can also well understand the force of the assertion that:

'A party which dissolves the oppositional groups but lets the ruling clique do as it jolly well pleases, is no revolutionary party. It will not be able to lead the proletariat to victory.'

Nor could we improve on Trotsky's advice to those who in 1931 took up these issues for the first time in Britain:

'The British Left Opposition must begin systematic work. You must establish our staff-centre through a small one. You must build your own publication, even on a modest scale....It is necessary to have a steady, uninterrupted activity, to educate our cadres, although in the first stages few. The fundamental power of history is in our favour.'

It was on the basis of these principles that the Trotskyist movement began its work in Britain. When looking at how Trotsky develops these points, much of what he says almost leaps from the printed page by its apparent immediacy to problems that confront us today. However, in studying these works it is of considerable importance to assess the statements made in their proper context at a particular stage in the development of the working class movement and its revolutionary vanguard.

INTERNATIONAL

In 1933, with the coming to power of Hitler in Germany and the paralysis of the Communist International in the face of this disaster, Trotsky came to the conclusion that the Stalinists had now definitely gone over to the side of the counter-revolution. He called for the establishment of a new, Fourth, International and for independent work by those who agreed with this perspective.

It was in this situation that Trotsky advised the British Bolshevik-Leninists to enter the Independent Labour Party. This was at a time when the criminal ultra-leftism of the Stalinists resulted in 'the inability of the Comintern to group

itself around revolutionary currents within the proletariat'. This had a major effect on the ILP, the historic political organisation of the Labour Party, which after its disaffiliation in 1932 began to group around it sections of workers who wanted to fight their bureaucratic leaders but did not agree that they were 'social fascists'.

The growth of such centrist formations as this was an important international phenomenon in a period when the Stalinists abandoned confrontation with a reformist bureaucracy whose treacherous role was intensified by the hammer blows of world economic crisis. Such groups oscillated wildly between revolutionary perspectives on the one hand, and Stalinism or reformism on the other. However, in the specific circumstances of the time it was possible to begin with the struggle to develop the forces who could fight on a consistent revolutionary basis. Thus Trotsky wrote in 1933 that 'the fate of our British section for the next couple of years depends on a correct attitude towards the ILP.'

PRINCIPLES

In putting forward his perspectives for the ILP, Trotsky set out his views on many matters regarding the principles on which revolutionaries should operate in the working class movement. Thus there are important statements about the theory of the general strike and the practice of the united front. He also took up the nature of work within the trade unions and the central importance of the International.

In the period of imperialism, says Trotsky, 'the most important task of the revolutionary party became the liberation of the workers from the reactionary influence of the trade union bureaucracy.' In order to do this, 'It is not enough to offer the masses a new address. It is necessary to seek out the masses where they are and lead them.'

It was in the application of this fundamental principle that Trotsky in 1933 set out the basis for Bolshevik-Leninist work within the ILP:

'A Marxist party should, of course, strive to full independence and to the highest homogeneity. But in the process of its formation, a Marxist party often has to act as a faction of a centrist and even a reformist party.'

Such work, however, had to be undertaken in a particular way. Thus Trotsky was bitterly critical of those who 'resolved to enter a left-centrist party', but did so 'without a complete programme and without an organ of their own.'

VACILLATION

In his attacks on the indecision and ultimate class treachery of the leaders of the ILP, Trotsky emphasised their inability to take up a principled internationalist orientation. He was adamant that 'Without a Marxist International, national organisations, even the most advanced, are doomed to narrowness, vacillation and helplessness'. This was not a matter of abstract principle but derived directly from the real material problems posed in this period of history.

'...today, under the conditions of the imperialist epoch, after the proletarian vanguard of all countries in the world has passed through many decades of colossal and common experience, including the experience of the collapse of the two Internationals, it is absolutely unthinkable to build new Marxist parties, without direct contact with the self-same work in other countries. And this means building the Fourth International.'

The centrist leaders of the ILP tried to take account of such problems by setting up in 1932 an organisation under the title of the International Labour Community, later known as the 'International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity' or the 'Seven Left Parties'. This body was made up of those elements of the European socialist movement who, while opposed to Stalinism at least nominally, were unprepared to take up the struggle for a new international. Trotsky fought with some success to win some of the best elements to the banner of the Fourth International, though the main sections went back to the Stalinists or social democrats or simply disappeared into the political wilderness.

Trotsky continually warned that the centrists of the ILP would ultimately fail in their efforts to act as honest brokers between Stalinism and social democracy. Similar policies by their associates in Spain, the POUM, had tragic results when they proved unable to

make the break from the trap of the popular front. Such a break would have been an essential step in the defence of the Spanish Revolution.

In their support for such policies, the Maxton-Brockway leadership of the ILP bear a heavy responsibility, in granting them a certain credibility. Some illustration of how they eventually succumbed to Stalinist influence is provided by their ambiguous attitude to the Moscow frame-up trials. It was not long before these people found their true home again in the arms of Stalinism or social democracy. (Incidentally, it seems somewhat odd that the publishers have chosen to picture one of the main anti-heroes of the volume, James Maxton, on the cover, when he is castigated throughout, most notably for 'his public solidarity with the slaveholder Chamberlain by speaking in support of the 1938 Munich capitulation to the German fascists.)

BREAK

Despite his complete break with the centrists after 1935, Trotsky did not underestimate the importance of the experience of having worked in their organisation. In 1934, he compared favourably the successes inside the ILP of the 'minority' of the movement who had decided to enter it, with the barren 'organisational autonomy' of the majority who had stayed outside. Nevertheless by the summer of 1936, Trotsky had become a strong advocate of a rapid break with the ILP and immediate entry into the Labour party. He makes it clear the basis of his attitude in the important interview with Collins published in this volume, taking into account the specific international situation and the stage of development of the movement in Britain.

As a result of experience in France and Belgium, Trotsky had grown convinced of 'the tremendous possibilities that unfold themselves inside the mass reformist organisations. Unless we accept that perspective, we can play no significant revolutionary role in the history of Great Britain.' It is clear that he saw this development in the light of the 'increasing acuteness of the international situation', and that he did not hesitate to advise that 'Our first attacks must be directed against the inconsistency of the centrists'. He also discussed the possibility of making use of the already established independent paper *Red Flag* and of negotiating with those groups who considered themselves to be his followers but were not prepared to follow his advice.

ASSESSMENT

It can only be a matter of regret that this proved to be the last significant statement that Trotsky was able to make about the development of the Fourth International in Britain. In particular, what we lack is any assessment of the experience of entry work in the Labour party in that period, when, as the notes indicate, some people disappeared altogether into the coils of the Labour Party bureaucracy, and others stuck by a sectarian refusal to make the necessary turn.

Obviously, it is necessary now to make this assessment ourselves as part of an ongoing struggle for the development of the Trotskyist movement in Britain. In recommending these volumes once again to all comrades as a necessary part of taking up these questions, it is necessary to repeat that we cannot hope to understand them simply by making a mechanical transference of the events and problems they cover to those that confront us today, selecting quotations to justify whatever course of action seems most appropriate. What we must try to grasp is the essential method behind the theoretical and political struggles they reveal, and bring the heritage they contain into the struggle that lies before us for the building of revolutionary leadership in the working class and the establishment of socialism.

BY JOHN DOCHERTY

IMG - MANDEL ABSTAINS

The conference of the revisionist International Marxist Group, held just over a fortnight ago, could do nothing to resolve the political crisis and paralysis of the IMG or of the Pabloite 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International' of which it is the British section.

The fundamental reason for this lies not in this or that political position or difference within the IMG or the USFI, but in the fact that Pabloism has abandoned the struggle for the political independence, the historical necessity of the struggle for Trotskyist parties. Underlying all the differences between tendencies — and causing them to proliferate — is one common element: the revolutionary party, its programme, tactics and organisation, are put forward just as one factor among many, an element helping the situation along, but not as the indispensable means for the working class to make the socialist revolution.

It is this, the political liquidation of Trotskyism, which has been the essential characteristic of Pabloism since it crystallised as a political tendency within the Fourth International before the split of 1952-3.

Pabloism

The position of Pablo's supporters is crystallised in this passage by Harry Frankel, a member of the Minority of the American Socialist Party that was sponsored by Pablo in order to attempt to defeat opposition to his political line from the majority of that party's leadership. Writing in 1953, Frankel brings out clearly the Pabloite submergence of the fight for leadership and principle into the abstract scheme of an "objective process" which will supposedly set all things to rights:

"Difficulties will not crush us. We have confidence in our analysis of our epoch. That analysis and the confidence which flows from it are two fold: *The revolution will conquer, and the revolution will right itself!* (emphasis added) We cannot know what the precise forms and tempo of this process will be, and how its two facets will work out in relation to one another. We do know the moving forces of this twofold process. Knowing this enables Marxists to live without illusions, without whining, without disparate hopes for "quick changes". Ill founded hopes and last-ditch perspectives only sow the seeds of disillusionment, despair and desertion.

"We base ourselves upon the objective forces in the world, (emph. added) and we feel sure that these objective forces will in the long run remedy subjective defects." ["The New World Reality and the New Confusion" by Harry Frankel April 1953. *International Secretariat Document 1951-1954* (SWP) Vol. 2, p. 81]

Opposed

The difference was clearly expressed by Morris Stein, writing for the majority within the Socialist Workers' Party on the eve of the SWP's split with the Pablo leadership in the International Secretariat, in November 1953. (The SWP is prevented by reactionary US legislation from being affiliated to any international organisation, but it was in 1953 in political sympathy with the Fourth International, and is now a sympathising organisation of the USFI.) Stein attacked the Pabloite resolution on 'The Rise and Decline of Stalinism' because it:

"... stands on its head the Trotskyist concept that the key to the extension of the world revolution is in the hands of the subjective factor, i.e. the revolutionary party. Instead of the revolutionary party being the necessary element in the revolution, the 'engulfing' revolution by its own inherent power resolves the subjective factor. This formula transforms the traditional workers' parties, the agencies of defeat in the past period, into agencies of revolution in this so-called new epoch." (*International Committee documents 1951-1954*, SWP, 1974; p. 78).

The wheel has now turned full circle, and the SWP leadership, one of the prime movers in the split with Pablo in 1953, have returned to an unprincipled (and uneasy) bloc with Mandel's Pabloite 'International' since 1963.

Not only that, but the pro-SWP faction within the IMG (Tendency C) now takes the lead in subordinating the political independence of Trotskyism to 'single-issue' campaigns — abortion, women's liberation and the Troops Out Movement at the present time. Yet the situation in 1975 is in many respects the opposite of that in the early 1950's, when the retreats enforced on the working class in the US and Europe made the isolation of the Trotskyist organisations largely unavoidable, and facilitated the growth of Pabloism. But Stein's words remain essentially true. And his standpoint — irrespective of this or that manoeuvre or theory produced by the Pabloites from month to month — remains the essential basis for understanding the development of the IMG and the USFI.



Ernest Mandel

The conduct and outcome of the IMG conference discussion demonstrates this clearly. The organisation consists of a 'bloc of tendencies', held together by political ambiguity. Three of the four tendencies had their positions published in *Red Weekly* before the conference; delegates were flooded with a total of 37 pre-conference discussion bulletins (the volume of paper, though large, was not a record in the recent history of the IMG!).

Since three tendencies (A, B' and D) in one form or another supported the Mandel majority within the USFI against the SWP faction some delegates were elected on the basis of votes for two tendencies.

Moreover, while the two largest tendencies (Tendency B, led by John Ross and Robert Pennington, which gained an overall majority of votes, and Tendency A, led by Pat Jordan and Robin Blackburn) both claimed to be the true interpreters of Mandel's perspectives for Europe and Britain, Mandel himself

abdicated every responsibility of international leadership by refusing to intervene or take sides in the political struggle between them.

He was unable to intervene because to have done so could well have produced a split in the IMG and would certainly have eroded the combination which supports him against the SWP. Mandel has, in fact, stood aside from the political disputes in the IMG ever since Ross's tendency took over the leadership in the Spring of 1972.

At the recent conference, therefore, the IMG and the USFI leadership declared more clearly than ever before — both publicly and to their own members — their inability to fight through political differences and then act unitedly on the basis of policies understood and accepted by all the cadre.

The publication of faction positions in the IMG's paper is the public expression of the fact that IMG members feel themselves to be first and foremost supporters of this or that opinion or tendency, and only secondarily members of a single organisation. This is underlined by the fact that delegates' support for tendency positions shifted scarcely at all in the course of the conference discussion. Thus, while some of the forms of democratic centralism were preserved, its living content, the active struggle for conscious leadership within the revolutionary organisation and the class, was completely lacking. Democratic centralism does not mean "peaceful coexistence" of diverse elements, but rather provides the framework for the struggle of opposed tenden-

attempt to create, and with whom.' The 'decisive field of battle' turns out to be 'the defence of living standards, organisations and social conquests of the working class.'

Well! We did not think that these are a 'few' issues. Certainly such a statement is of no help in concentrating one's political forces. But it turns out there is another criterion. The IMG must make a 'systematic attempt to gain united action with left social democracy', and given 'the weakness of revolutionary Marxists in relation to the present leaderships' it follows that 'only united action around specific questions on a partial and short-term basis will be possible'. But, 'specifically', the statement mentions only the 'Troops Out Movement', the Working Women's Charter, and the anti-abortion campaign.

Limits

This is the key to why the IMG dissolves the fight for programme into 'activity' on a string of 'issues'. Behind the grandiose generalisations on the need for unity, the working class is made to accept, in practice the limits set by the 'left' bureaucrats. This is the opposite of what the Workers' Socialist League fights for: unity on policies which both answer the immediate problems of large sections of the working class and in so doing pose as sharply as possible the need for an alternative leadership to the reformists — whether 'left' or right.

This is why — precisely because the forces of Trotskyism are small in relation to the hold still exercised by the bureaucracy — the WSL takes as its main duty to pose clearly to the advanced workers the need for revolutionary leadership, not subordinating this to campaigns which are hedged round by reformism from the word 'go'.

In this difference — how the method and specific demands of the Transitional Programme can be made a living force within the mass movement — is contained the whole history of the struggle against Pabloism.

The present policies of the IMG leadership are only their particular 'interpretation' of Mandel's line that there is in Europe a 'mass vanguard' spontaneously breaking with the politics of the Stalinists and reformists. In England the IMG majority points out that this vanguard remains 'left social democratic'. But the recipe is the same: on the one hand reliance on the 'objective process' to break the hold of the bureaucrats on the labour movement; on the other the party's activity hemmed round on every side by the fact that the hold is not yet fully broken.

Political paralysis feeds internal confusion. The two largest tendencies in the IMG both claim to base themselves on Mandel's positions. If this is so there is no basis for two tendencies — they exist only because Mandel dare not commit himself, and the tendency leaders are too 'diplomatic' to demand openly that he take a position. Under such conditions it is impossible for IMG members to develop and fight politically, and consequently the mood is one of cynicism and impotence.

One story circulating at the IMG conference told how an IMG member asked Mandel what he would do if John Ross (the majority tendency's main 'theoretician') were to declare that black was white. And the international 'leader' replied 'Well, in England, perhaps...'

cies to be carried through within the Party and thus strengthen it theoretically and in its united practice.

An example illustrates how the IMG's politics — though painted in broad strokes — are essentially dependent on those of the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracy. The majority tendency (B) position ('The Strategic Line of the IMG', *Red Weekly*, February 27th quotes Trotsky's essential statement on the united front of the working class organisations: "The problem of the united front . . . grows out of the urgent need to secure for the working class the possibility of a united front in the struggle against capitalism."

But there must be, says the IMG leadership, a concentration around a few demands of the Transitional Programme (rather than the Programme as a whole). So how are the 'few demands' to be identified? No problem for the IMG leadership — 'it is clear what type of united front action the IMG must

THEORISTS OF FAMINE

All over the world, both the tremendous fighting strength of the working class and peasantry against imperialism, and the possibility of defeating capitalism in revolutionary struggle, have never been clearer.

The tremendous gains of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, promising to end imperialist rule of a massive part of South East Asia, are striking mortal blows at the world domination of international capital.

Yet they are only a part of the struggle which continues for national liberation and against capitalism on a front from Mozambique with the victory for FRELIMO and the guerilla liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) to Portugal.

The working class in the metropolitan countries of the west is immediately strengthened by these movements on the road to revolution in the 'under-developed' countries.

But if there is one great school of pessimists and reactionaries who ignore, write off, or oppose these developments it is in the 'population and resources' lobby.

WARNINGS

Their warnings of world-wide starvation, poverty and unemployment blame "overpopulation" and western workers' living standards instead of capitalism's greed and its harsh contradictions as it undergoes its greatest ever economic crisis.

A good example was the BBC documentary 'The Face of Famine' shown on 18th March. It started by saying of the 'under-developed' countries: "There is a connection between the fact that we eat more and they eat less. This programme is to demonstrate that connection". It ended with "Northern affluence caused this famine. It has to be said now: we caused it and we condone it, it is our fault".

EAT LESS

A report in this month's 'Ecologist' magazine headed 'Can Britain Survive?' dedicates itself to giving advice to the Government on how to reduce the balance of payments deficit of British capitalism, by telling workers to eat less meat (as if we could afford much anyway) and have fewer children.

The same magazine issued in 1972 a document now well-known among environmentalists titled 'Blueprint for Survival' which concluded that crop yields were unlikely to increase, and that Britain's population should therefore be stabilised at "30 million, probably less".

These people just take impressions of world food production, the difference between 'advanced' and 'underdeveloped' countries, etc. without seeing behind these the workings of imperialism and its world market.

In fact the possibilities of world food production have never been greater. Until the late sixties at least agricultural production was increasing much faster than population, with the exception of a few countries which limited production to avoid huge surpluses, as in the USA, Sweden and Norway.

In most advanced countries production per man in agriculture was increasing up to the sixties by around 5% per year, far in excess of increases in population or demand. In Britain total output was increasing at 2.7% per year and

demand at only 1.2% (0.8% per year increase in population and 0.4% in consumption). In New Zealand, one of the most productive one man in agriculture could support 30 families at average American living standards.

ADVANCES

The revolution in agriculture is continuous and brings enormous advances, from techniques of raising animals to the technological innovations like new fertilisers, modern water sprinklers to cover 25 acres with one revolution of a 1,200 ft. span, harvesters to lift 12 acres of sugar beet in one day, and so on.

But it is at this point of 'surplus' that production comes up against capitalist market relations. Overproduction means production of a surplus to the market, to available sales and outlets, not surplus to human needs over the planet.



Indian poor

Capitalism is only interested in demand backed by the ability to pay and by the ability of the capitalist to maintain a rate of profit on investment when he sells his commodities on the market. The onset of a surplus to demand on the "free" market immediately threatens the capitalist with loss of his profit margins as prices fall. Thus extra food - which is of benefit to all - is seen as a major threat by the capitalist producer who sets out to destroy it in order to preserve his own position. As a result, surplus is declared long before enough is produced to adequately feed the world's population.

As already mentioned, certain efficient agricultural producers like America were holding back production early on, but in the early seventies every food industry employer in the world was realising that a surplus would cut prices and that to save profits, production would have to be cut.

CUT

In this country potato acreage was cut from 590,000 in 1970 to 525,000 in 1972. The Potato Marketing Board spent £18m buying up surpluses in 1971, most of which just rotted. The Chairman of the British Egg Authority claimed in 1971 "there are 1 million too many layers in the country". The *Financial Times* quoted a leading bacon curer in January 1972: "There is too much bacon about; we have to rectify it by somehow making less bacon. That is what we are setting about doing now".

In 1971 all previous world rice production records were broken for the fourth successive year, the price fell and producers and growers outdid each other in accusations of 'dumping' i.e. flooding each other's markets. In June 1971 the United Nations Rice Study Group urged rice exporters, especially Japan and Italy, to cut rice production 'or at least avoid measures which encourage it'.

In October 1971 American farmers, with a wheat crop up 18% on 1970, were threatening to burn their stocks to prevent a price collapse. The US Department of Agriculture planned to reduce feed grain acreage by 25% in 1972 and to take 38 million acres (bigger than the area of the British Isles) out of production of maize and barley.

SURPLUS

The Common Market harvested 75 million tons of cereals in 1971, 12% up on 1970. Grain merchants bought up all the storage space in

Europe, reputedly even crossing to Czechoslovakia to use disused churches as warehouses. France cut acreage under barley by 600,000 acres.

Surplus was also used as 'aid' to 'underdeveloped countries' - conveniently removing unsaleable overproduction and getting in exchange cheap raw materials for industry, a payment in local currency to build up profitable foreign capital holdings, a question of systematic imperialist impoverishment of the Third World to which we will return later.

DEBT

A surplus does not solve the contradictions of capitalism, but on the contrary increases them. Increased plenty stands mockingly by the side of pauperisation and want. Advancing technique and productivity increases agricultural unemployment. The 'Green Revolution' wheat strains are barred to the small farmer in underdeveloped countries because bound down with debt and vicious landlordism, he cannot afford special machinery, tools, irrigation and fertilisers for them on his small-holding. The bigger farmers can profit, increase mechanisation and require fewer workers. Unemployment increases and few can afford what is abundantly available.

Thus an EEC report for 1971 stated "There are an estimated 1½ million families in French agriculture living in poverty out of a total population of 4 million families". 300,000 farmers and farmworkers left the land in the EEC in 1971.

Marx examined the forced emigration from Ireland, Scotland and England during the 1840's "brought about by landlordism, concentration of farms, application of machinery to the soil and introduction of agriculture on a great scale". He commented, "Here it is not the want of productive power which creates a surplus population; it is the increase of productive power which demands a diminution of population and drives away the surplus by famine or emigration."

Obviously the globe cannot accommodate an infinite number of human beings. But a high birth rate is absolutely vital in areas of underdeveloped agriculture.

FAMILY

In the conditions of monsoonal countries for instance, which include nearly half the world's population, a peasant farmer needs a large labour force to get preparation and planting done in time in the short rainy season. Since the basic organisation of such farming is the family unit, a large family is essential if such work as land clearance for more intensive agriculture to be carried out. Obviously the raising of the level of technology in these areas could now assist in the overcoming of these problems, but until this takes place the peasant farmer has need of a large family.

Or again, the Indian peasant, for example, knows that with the abysmal medical facilities available to his family, that if he has ten children maybe four will survive to keep him when he is too old to work. There is of course no other means of support available to him. This is why attempts to introduce from outside a purely arbitrary "birth-control" through capitalist-sponsored contraceptive programmes must fail until the advance of living standards and social benefits like improved medical care and pensions convince people that large families are not necessary for them to survive.

But this brings the question: how can the benefits of production reach the people themselves, the workers and poor peasants in underdeveloped countries, and how can the technical level be raised in the face of exploitation every day on the world market by the western capitalist states, and the crippling interest rates charged on loans from banks and finance houses.

STRUGGLE

This necessary development of agricultural technique and productivity, and the defence of the majority of the world's population in the 'underdeveloped' countries from the famines caused by the rapacious exploitation of imperialism, depends precisely on the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. The population and environmental theorists, by ignoring the wanton destruction of so-called 'surplus' goods and means of production to safeguard profit and by attacking the working class, stand as defenders of the most vicious excesses of capitalism.

It is capitalist relations of production that destroy 'surplus' food and bring rocketing prices at a time of possible plenty. As stated to begin with, the revolutionary movement of the working class is the only force capable of taking control of the forces of production to satisfy want and carry out a planned food policy. The next article will examine these issues in more detail.

By R. Roberts

LETTER... CP HINDERS FIGHT

Two delegates from Islington Trades Council have written to us about two articles about Islington in our last issue, the first concerning the occupation of Crosfield Electronics and the second the anti-fascist demonstration in Islington. Their letter points out that the Islington Trades Council has not played such a full part as may be desirable in these two issues.

"In the Trades Council meeting of 22nd March, the Trades Council chairman, a Communist Party member, refused to allow any discussion of the Crosfields occupation, or allow any motion of support to be put forward. As the Crosfields shop stewards have pointed out, London is becoming an industrial wasteland. By refusing to mobilise the working class to defend the jobs at Crosfields, the Communist Party is opening up the real possibility of mass redundancies in the Islington area.

"At the same Trades Council meeting the acting secretary explained the considerable amount of work he had done towards organising the anti-fascist demonstration. Unfortunately, most of this had been directed towards winning the support of local councillors, MPs and even police chiefs for the demonstration against the National Front and it was left to one of the Trades Council delegates (a WSL member) to point out that the organised working class was the only force which could defeat fascism, but in spite of this, not even the affiliated Trade Union branches had been notified. Consequently the demonstration was smaller than need have been and the fascists were able to hold their march as planned.

"Thus the partial success of the demonstration, reported in Socialist Press, was in spite of the Trades Council executive, beyond the calling of the demonstration. It is worth noting that whilst the full Trades Council also called for support for a second anti-NE demonstration, this call was opposed by Communist Party members.

"By peddling the idea of a unity with the police and liberals and refusing to mobilise the full strength of the Islington working class on either of these issues, the Communist Party has once again demonstrated how they capitulate to the needs of the ruling class."

Workers Diary

Glum times for the religious continue (reports our ecclesiastical correspondent).

A federal appeals court in Cincinnati, Ohio, has ruled against a 1974 Tennessee State law which prohibited the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution as scientific fact, and which ordered school science text-books to include the biblical account of the Creation! This set-back to the bible-bashers was followed by the ruling that to forbid "the teaching of satanical belief" violated constitutional guarantees of free speech. US satanists are believed to be overjoyed.

As if this were not enough, religious confidence has reached a new low after the death of Mr Denys Christian (sic!) who jumped from a 13th floor balcony, believing God would save him - only to be harshly disillusioned.

If Christians continue to test their belief in this way, we can confidently predict that the material laws of natural selection will further diminish the size of Sunday congregations.



Students demonstrate for increased grants.

'cockups' in Surrey! This was his only reply to the delegate's legitimate complaint that the Executive had given no support except legal aid to the 280 rent strikers - who as a result now face summonses from their Vice-Chancellor.

COURTS

The Executive's idea of "support" therefore is to hand over students to the bourgeois courts of law to administer justice. An overwhelming vote of censure was passed against Stewart for this position, and he was forced to retract his statement - but he remains on the Executive, and every Executive member is equally unequipped to defend or lead students in struggle. Students are abandoned to face demoralisation isolation or even victimisation for carrying out NUS policy, and the Executive appears at each conference with a string of excuses.

Similarly the Birmingham occupation was left to collapse, and on the demoralisation that followed the right wing moved in to take the president's position.

BETRAYALS

Charles Clarke showed the level of understanding which opens the door to such setbacks and betrayals, when he suggested that the problem of the Kent rent-strikers was that they were confronting the "particularly reactionary nature of its Vice-Chancellor", who was determined to smash the NUS. Yet no way forward was offered, which must greatly encourage all reactionary Vice-Chancellors.

In Lancaster too the same sordid story of bankrupt leadership emerged. 33 Lancaster students have been victimised, whereas over 1,000 were originally involved in action. Yet the 33 are left to face possible suspension or expulsion for carrying out NUS policy. Yet all the Executive will do is offer apologies and attempt to show these are all "isolated cases".

This is clearly not true. Colleges and Universities everywhere, with a policy begun under the Tories but enthusiastically backed by Prentice and the

SUPPORT MERSEY STRIKE CALL

The Merseyside Joint Construction Committee has called for strike action throughout the Liverpool area on May Day. The stoppage, which is expected to be 100% solid, is in protest against unemployment in the building industry - now a burning issue in the area.

This strike, together with the march which starts at 11.00 from Islington Square to the Pier Head, gives an important lead in the struggle against unemployment.

The crucial question is the policy on which the action is fought. It is not enough simply to protest against unemployment. A programme must be advanced on which workers can fight. This must be based on the demand for a sliding scale of hours - work sharing on full pay. To achieve this the books of the building employers must be opened and work sharing administered by committees of building workers.

In this way the struggle for the nationalisation of the building industry under the management of elected committees of workers can be developed. From such a nationalised industry workers could then advance the demand for public works to ensure stability to the industry and full employment for building workers.

We urge building workers in the Merseyside area to fight for UCATT and T&GWU branches to advance this programme on May Day and to demand that the trade union leaders extend this fight against unemployment throughout the industry.

NUS: 'BROAD LEFT' EXCUSES

Charles Clarke, Stalinist-backed 'Broad Left' candidate, was elected the new President of the National Union of Students at Llandudno last week, ousting right-winger John Randall.

The International Socialists candidate, Terry Povey, moved into second place with an increased vote over last year, while the Workers Revolutionary Party continue to move from weakness to weakness, picking up only 5 votes in all reflecting that party's complete failure to challenge the opportunist, reformist leadership of the NUS.

The growing vote for IS and the removal of Randall indicate some of the pressures within even the heavily bureaucratized layers who frequent NUS conferences. The blatant inability of the previous leadership to lead successful struggles in students' defence became an embarrassment even to the Stalinists who had maintained an alliance with Randall against the revisionists during most of this term of office.

Yet while reflecting some of the hostility of the membership to continued sell-outs and excuses, the vote for IS also shows that such frustration amongst students can easily be siphoned off into "rank and file" student protest divorced of any political understanding, a line in which IS specialise. The need is clearly for a principled leadership in the NUS.

RENT STRIKES

Some of the bankruptcy of the current tendencies leading the NUS was shown in the discussion on Rent Strikes. This is NUS official policy as a tactic in the struggle for increased grants, adopted at Margate last year. Yet to hear many of the Executive one would doubt they know of the policy. The re-elected deputy president Alastair Stewart (Broad Left) had the nerve to accuse a Surrey University delegate (representing students carrying out official rent strike policy) of 'making a scapegoat' of the Executive for his own tactical

COWLEY CUTBACK

The latest cutbacks in production in the motor industry came at Cowley where further reductions in the formerly best-selling Marina have been announced.

One of the two Marina production circuits is to come off night-shift, and the other circuit and remaining shift are to reduce track speed from 26 per hour to 24.

This means that since the introduction of four-day/three night working after Easter, planned production will have dropped from 4,160 to 2,150.

Management have also announced that short-time working will continue at least until the end of August. They claim that they now have 37,000 Marinas in stock.

These new cutbacks re-emphasise the importance of the decision of the shop stewards at the plant to fight for the opening of the books of the company.

The fight must be stepped up for work-sharing on full pay and the nationalisation of British Leyland with no compensation to the major share-holders.

BLMG STEWARDS TO MEET

The British Leyland Joint Shop Stewards Committee has called a conference of shop stewards from the motor industry and supplier firms for Wednesday 23rd April in the Digbeth Institute in Birmingham.

This is an important initiative and must not be limited to speeches by bureaucrats and fake lefts - Jones, Scanlon and Benn have been invited - but must be a forum for the widest discussion on a programme for the defence of jobs in the motor industry.

The WSL will campaign for this conference, putting forward a policy for the industry, and urges shop stewards from all car and component factories to attend.

BLOCKADES NO ANSWER

The recent blockade by small fishermen of large numbers of ports in Scotland and the North East is the latest in a succession of protests by small producers against worsening economic conditions. Last year, Welsh farmers picketed the Bristol docks against the imports of cheap cattle, and more recently angry egg producers picketed the Plymouth docks, turning back a consignment of French eggs.

The fishermen's blockade was called off after government promises to review EEC fisheries policy in general, and to consider the possibility of a price floor for fish imports, together with an agreement by Norwegian fishing companies to raise the price of frozen fish exports to Britain.

No 'solution' which results in a raising of food prices can be supported by the working class.

Nevertheless, the problems of the small fishing fleets are real. Over the last twelve months costs, including fuel, insurance, and wire cables have risen in the region of 20%. However over the same period landing prices for fish have fallen, in some cases as much as 50%. The most important factor in this price

fall has been the increased exports of cheap frozen fish to Britain by the big Icelandic and Norwegian fishing companies.

This fall in price has been of no comfort to the housewife, however, since the retailers and distributors have maintained and even raised shop prices, lining their pockets at the expense of the small fishermen.

DEMANDS

The actual demands of the small fishing boat 'skippers' varied from area to area, but generally included the demand for a curb on all fish imports from outside the EEC; a fifty mile fishing limit around the coast, and, significantly, no extension of the National Dock Labour Scheme to the fishing ports. This latter demand highlights a clash of interests between small producers and the organised working class.

As the recession gathers pace, small producers find themselves trapped in a vice. On the one hand the rising prices of suppliers, and the increased reluctance of the banks to extend credit to 'shaky' small businesses place the latter continually on the verge of bankruptcy. On the other hand, to the extent that they employ wage lab-

our, small producers come into collision with the organised workers seeking to protect themselves against inflation and redundancies.

Extension of the Dock Labour Scheme to all ports is essential to defend dockers' jobs and working conditions. At the same time it would of course increase the costs for the small fishermen of landing their catch. Here can be seen the basis of all sorts of rightward political movements of small producers, and at the same time the ludicrous nature of nay simplistic 'progressive anti-monopoly alliance' between workers and small producers and traders which is the favourite tactic of the Communist Party on this question.

It is nevertheless true that the way forward for fishermen and all other small producers lies with the working class and not in seeking the 'goodwill' of monopolies like the frozen fish companies asking them to agree to moderate their price competition a little.

OPEN BOOKS

The interests of the working class and the small producers come together under a programme to open the books of the industries that supply components and materials and feedstuff to small producers at inflated prices, falsely citing what

they claim to be "excessive" demands by the workers. To the suppliers' complaints about the cost of production, of transport and trade, the only answer must be "Show us your books, we demand control over fixing of prices". In this struggle small producers must seek links with the trade unions and housewives. Monopolies which are thus exposed as obstructing the defence of the living standards of workers and small producers must be nationalised without compensation.

The nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies and their merging into a unified state bank is the only way to guarantee sufficient credit facilities. The expropriation of the banks in no way means nationalising deposits - the state bank will create much more favourable conditions for small depositors than can private banks.

Such a programme can of course only be carried forward by the strength of the working class. It is in the absence of such leadership that the small producers will turn to the sorts of protectionist measures that were attractive to the fishermen and which will not only be strongly resisted by the working class (especially where the price of food is concerned) but which will be no real protection at all for fishermen in the face of a world economic recession.

BUDGET AXES JOBS THORN

The budget presented by Denis Healey on Tuesday is heavily deflationary and represents a direct attack by the Labour government on the living standards of the working class and poses massive increase in unemployment.

The VAT increase alone is estimated to reduce the Labour force in the already hard-hit electrical goods industry by 40%. It is a budget designed by Wilson to shore up crisis-ridden capitalism and to please the international bankers.

An increase in road fund licence from £25 to £40 will be another blow at a car industry in which short time and voluntary redundancies are already widespread, and which will anyway suffer



Healey

from the overall drop in workers living standards brought about by Healey's package. Cigarettes are up 10p, beer up 2p a pint,

whisky 64p a bottle and wine 24p a bottle, alongside a 2p in the £ increase in income tax. The overall impact on the retail prices index is estimated at 2%. Even Hugh Scanlon was forced to admit that this "quite deliberately put the whole burden onto ordinary people, cutting their purchasing power", and was "diametrically opposed" to the course proposed by the TUC.

In addition, a £1,000m cut in public spending will produce further cutbacks in the building industry and in the civil service. Out of that figure £150m will be cut from food subsidies, alongside the ending of price controls, thus giving the manufacturers free reign to raise prices as they choose. The fraud of food subsidies is exposed for what it was - a smokescreen to

avoid the vital question of the nationalisation of the food industry, while propping up the monopolies with state finance.

This is the outcome of the 'social contract', in which the TUC leaders pledged Wilson they would hold back and sabotage wages struggles in exchange for price controls and a curb on unemployment. Now workers are confronted with the reality - soaring prices, growing unemployment, and the continuous attempts of the trade union leaders to hold down wage settlements.

This budget shows the urgency of developing the campaign to defend jobs based on the demand for a sliding scale of wages - work sharing on full pay and the occupation of plants in the event of redundancy or plant closures.

About 250 G&MWU members have been in dispute since 2nd April at the Thorn Colour Tube plant at Skelmersdale, over the defence of an agreement.

A mass meeting on 5th April unanimously voted for strike action and a 24-hour picket was mounted on the gate. At 3 a.m. on Monday 8th April however the management's security guards (ASTMS members) attacked the four pickets on duty, only to be driven off when more pickets arrived.

The management's actions follow the settlement of the annual wage review in which they succeeded in getting speed-up and de-manning in exchange for a backdated increase. This was followed by a programme of voluntary redundancies, but when the employers stated insufficient workers had volunteered, the dispute began.

As one former steward told *Socialist Press* "In my opinion the dispute was created by management in the hope of more workers leaving the factory at no cost to them. The union must make it quite clear that anyone leaving must be replaced, carrying out their mandate, which is to resist redundancies". The demand for work sharing on full pay is clearly the only way Thorn workers will be able to combat this offensive by the employers.

MAY DAY STRIKE

The Workers Socialist League declares its critical support for the one-day strike on May Day called for by the Liaison Committee of the Defence of Trade Unions, to free the Shrewsbury 2. This must prepare the start of general strike action to force their release.

ASTMS Motion

This motion was passed by the Charing Cross branch of ASTMS on Wednesday 9th April:

"This branch unconditionally supports the struggle of the workers, soldiers and farmers of Portugal for socialism and against the restoration of fascist reaction. The struggle for socialism can only be carried forward on the basis of full freedom for all working class tendencies, and the strengthening of the organs of dual power which already exist, uniting them as the basis for a workers government. For this reason branch condemns the action of the Portuguese military government (supported by the Portuguese Communist Party) in banning the two Maoist parties the MRPP and the AOC and in jailing dozens of their members. Branch requests the secretary to write to the Portuguese embassy protesting against the ban, and calls on other bodies of the British trade union movement to similarly oppose the ban."

This was passed nem. con., with WRP members in the branch abstaining.

£500 monthly development fund

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

Our paper is already winning a very favourable response from a large number of new readers. But such success only underlines the need to develop our paper into a weekly, and expand its coverage. For this reason we are fighting for a £500 per month development fund.

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

SPARKS DEMAND ACTION

The struggle of local authority electricians for parity with subcontractors entered a new phase last week. A national meeting of shop stewards and area officials of the Electrical Electronic Telecommunication and Plumbing Union took place on 12th April, at the Kenilworth Hotel in London. It showed the strong feeling of electricians from every part of the country for the expansion and intensification of their industrial action, together with the determination of the EETPU leadership to head off an all-out struggle.

Since the break-down of talks with the employers in the previous week, rank and file action in support of the claim has been stepped up. London electricians, for example, have begun a work to rule which obliges them to use public transport in order to get to their jobs. Elsewhere, such as Leeds, Sheffield and Birmingham, there have been complete stoppages, though the union leaders ordered the electricians at the Woolwich ferry back to work after they had been out for two weeks.

The clear purpose of the London meeting was to hold back demands from the membership for an all-out national stoppage. Peter Adams,

EEPTU national officer, told the meeting that action should be increased only 'where possible'. He said that the support of other unions, such as NALGO, had been obtained, but he failed to clarify what form such support would take. Union General Secretary Frank Chapple turned up to attempt to explain that it was impossible to organise any national action since some local authorities were paying more than the contractors rate, and in any case, the Union "did not have the money" to pay strikers for more than about six weeks.

These statements showed that the leaders of the EETPU are embarking on the same road of betrayal as leaders of other local authority workers. The T&GWU officials refused to mobilise the entire union against the breaking of the Glasgow dustcart strike by troops. At Ringway Airport in Manchester, there was also a refusal to extend the action when the conditions of all local authority workers were threatened.

Militant statements at the London meeting reflected a very different feeling in the rank and file. However, the extended action that was agreed at the meeting will only be dissipated and the union leadership allowed to sell out if the action is not linked to a programme to strengthen the demands and develop the fight for workers control. As shop stewards from the Workers Socialist League pointed out to the meeting, only

a policy which includes work sharing without loss of wages, and a sliding scale tied to the cost of living as determined by trade unionists, will ensure that the living standards of the men in dispute are safeguarded and improved. Furthermore, the expansion of public works linked to abolition altogether of private contracting for local authority work is an essential step in the defence of jobs and conditions.

The workers at Leeds and Glasgow who have been out for well over ten weeks in this and a related dispute know that, however important their isolated action, it will not in itself be enough to win their aims, unless it is immediately expanded into a nation-wide stoppage, with the full support of other local authority unions, including NUPE and staff associations.

CONT'D FROM PAGE 1

serted as a red herring by the Wilson leadership to pave the way for remaining in the capitalist EEC. We are also opposed to all nationalist opposition to the Market, such as the 'Get Britain Out Campaign', whose meetings are uncritically reported in the Communist Party's paper *Morning Star*. But we will give critical support to Heffer and to any left MPs who take up the struggle to bring the PLP under the control of Labour Party Conferences, and to replace Wilson as Party leader. At the same time we give our support to all independent campaigns organised Labour movement against the Common Market.

Such struggles can only politically strengthen the working class by exposing both the class collaboration of the right wing leadership and the theoretical confusion and spinelessness of many of those MPs who like to parade themselves as 'lefts'. Heffer's reluctance to fight his dismissal reflects the formlessness and lack of political perspective of these lefts which renders them impotent in the face of the right wing. As Trotsky wrote in 1926:

"This can be explained by the fact that a party cannot confine itself to isolated left campaigns but is compelled to have an overall system of policy. The lefts have no such system nor by their very essence can they. But the rights do: with

them stands tradition, experience and routine, and most important, with them stands bourgeois society as a whole which slips them ready-made solutions."

It is therefore vital that the struggle against Wilson is carried out not simply on the Common Market issue, but broadened to include fighting the social contract and the use of the law and of troops against the trade unions, posing instead socialist proposals to defend the working class. This means a fight to release the Shrewsbury Two and support for all sections of workers fighting to defend living standards. The way forward for every Labour Party member must be to fight the betrayals of the Wilson leadership and expose the fake lefts in the Labour Party's ranks. In each trade union branch and Labour Party GMC resolutions must be fought for declaring no confidence in Wilson and calling for his resignation.

At the same time they must call on Heffer to lead this fight, and for left MP Sidney Bidwell to make good his statement that Wilson himself might "face the prospect of the sack" and become a "candidate for the boot" if defeated at the Labour Party's special conference on April 26th. Only in this way can Heffer's stand be transformed from an individual gesture into a serious stand for principle in the Labour Party. Anything short of this will be a betrayal.

'Starved Back'

According to Archie Hood, strike leader, the Glasgow dust-cart drivers were 'starved back' to work.

It is certain they were not defeated by the troops, but by Hood's fellow CP members on Glasgow Trades Council, who refused to organise any supporting action except one demonstration on a day when workers would have to sacrifice their Easter Holiday pay to attend.

They were defeated also by the T&GWU leadership who, in the name of the Social Contract refused to declare the strike official, and by the treacherous reformists on the city's Labour Council and in the Labour government who brought the troops in to break the strike. We call on trade unionists still to move resolutions condemning the use of troops by Wilson.

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BIRCH SELL-OUT

Suspensions are rising in Cowley that Reg Birch, the Maoist joint general secretary of the AUEW, has agreed to accept the latest British Leyland pay offer on behalf of members in the BLMC Body and Assembly Plants.

This same offer has already been rejected by AUEW members in both plants, and includes a clause which says that the deal "settles all outstanding claims" on behalf of the union, thus abandoning the claims of mechanical maintenance men in the Assembly Plant and several sectional claims in the Body Plant. In exchange the company offers a settlement which is in effect a wage cut, with no clause to relate it to the rising cost of living.

To accept such a deal would mean Birch openly acting in defence of British Leyland against the struggle of his members for wages and in defence of agreements.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

MAY DAY MEETING

NORFOLK ROOM
CAXTON HALL

Thursday May 1st 7.30 pm Admission 10p