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As Pound Collapses

LABOUR ATTACKS PAY AND JOBS

The massive drop in the value of the pound — to more than 25% below its October 1971 rate — against the ten major currencies, marks a turning point in the economic crisis. It shows a lack of confidence by world capitalism, including now predominantly the Arab oil sheikhs, as to the ability of the British capitalist class to deal with the forward movement of the working class.

The drop in value has been almost 2% in five working days, which, since the end of Sterling guarantees, now means that the huge fortunes held in pounds have just had 2% lopped off them. Speculators and bankers throughout the world must now be questioning the advisability of keeping holdings of such a rapidly declining currency. If they were to pull out now it would mean the bankruptcy of British capitalism.

PRICES UP

Alongside these implications of the slide of the pound goes the immediate impact on industry and the standard of living of the working class, by forcing up the price of imports and raw materials which further increases the cost of living.

This comes on top of the mounting problems flowing from the annual inflation rate of 25%, which is continuing to increase, while industrial production goes steadily downwards. The huge government spending posed by the establishment of the National Enterprise Board (some £2,000m) and the implementation of the Ryder Report, both of which are vital to Labour plans to re-equip and re-invest as a means of propping up antiquated sectors of British capitalism, means the raising of further huge loans by the government issuing still further paper currency holding no relation to the extraction of profit.

This plus the mounting bills involved in other forms of public spending, is worrying sectors of the capitalist class, who feel that particularly the investment programme in BLMC must be tied down much more to concrete results in the form of speed up and redundancies, together with plant closures, in order directly to increase exploitation and profitability.

Leading Tories are further stating that much of the capital should come not from increased borrowing by the State, but by cuts in public spending — which can only mean education, the National Health Service and the other social

Now the crisis intensifies the need for such treachery if capitalism is to be defended.

Indeed there are signs emerging that the capitalist class could pressure the government into introduction of some kind of

(having consumed a share of a £1,400 dinner paid for out of public funds) has stated that all council spending must be frozen — the boom is finished, or in his own words: "the party's over", and the working class must bear the brunt. Chancellor Healey, following his unemployment-boosting, wage-cutting budget with proposals for further cuts in government spending, for import controls and deflationary measures, said: "Our economic survival (ie. of British Capitalism) depends on wage settlements staying within the TUC guidelines. We are producing far too many things that other people do not want and at prices they cannot afford. And we are getting far less efficient use out of our new investment than are the Germans."

The carefully orchestrated press attacks on Benn and Ryder (after the Tories and the press had spent 2½ weeks making up their minds) are designed to ensure that the Labour government does not stray from this path of confrontation and attack on the working class.

NEB

Wilson lines up with this, explicitly defending Healy's speech: "He is absolutely right, and I agree something has to be done," making it clear also, as we showed in the first edition of *Socialist Press* (6.2.75), that he personally, controls the N.E.B. and not Benn. He exposed clearly the bogus nature of the attacks on Benn when he said: of Benn's 'left' policies: "But the policy is decided quite clearly by the Cabinet, and on all these questions about the National Enterprise Board, about public ownership and these other things, the Cabinet has decided and we should stick quite clearly to the Cabinet's decisions." Wilson went on to describe the NEB as the "biggest new instrument for modernisation, in which I profoundly believe," which is "providing the capital to make us [ie British capitalism] competitive in world markets."

The reality of the "modernisation" is revealed by Monty Finnieston, head of the nationalised British Steel Corporation, who says that 20,000 redundancies are required in the next few months, and more after that, and by Heseltine, Opposition spokesman on Industry, who

continued on back page col 4



Wilson

services will of course combine with the recession in industry in producing further large rises in unemployment.

The meeting of international bankers in Basle, on 12th May, is believed to have agreed to support sterling for a "limited period". The question is, under these conditions, what guarantees did the Labour leaders give them in return? What are the terms?

The Labour leaders are rapidly moving to show their determination to defend the fortunes of the speculators and the profits of the bankers. In response to the forward movement of the working class they move rapidly to the right, threatening Chrysler and Dunlop workers with the stick of unemployment if they press ahead with their legitimate wage demands. The Wilson cabinet have already given an idea of their determination to attack wages struggles by the recent use of troops to break the council workers' strike in Glasgow.

statutory incomes policy. A "leaked" story in the *Evening Standard* has stated that an International Monetary Fund team is in Britain discussing Special Drawing Rights of £500m without many conditions except a cut in public spending and "a policy for inflation in their wages and prices policy" as a condition of such finance. This links with the statement by Sir Fred Catherwood, Chairman of the British Institute of Management, who told a conference in London: "Overseas holders of sterling are now beginning to put on the pressure as the sliding rate of sterling shows — and that pressure is almost certain to result in a deal within the month. As part of that deal they will insist that wage negotiations will no longer be allowed to treat the pound as if it were so much waste paper."

These statements in any event harmonise with the efforts of the Labourites to defend capitalism. Environment Secretary Crosland

NE THUGS IN OXFORD

Bitter fighting took place last Monday in Oxford as National Front members attempted to attend a public meeting in the Town Hall — hired to them by the Labour controlled council.

1500 counter demonstrators confronted a large force of police as the fascists and their supporters attempted to enter the Hall to hear the racist and anti-working class diatribe of Webster and Tyndall.

Fighting started with the arrival of the fascist 'honour guard', a coach load of armed thugs trained in street violence and taken to National Front demonstrations in various parts of the country.

Faced with a wall of demonstrators across the approach road they formed up and rushed the cordon, putting the boot into the front line and beating demonstrators — caught with their arms still linked — with sticks.

The fascists were eventually driven off as the demonstration rearranged.

At the meeting later in St Giles the WSL speaker, Alan Thornett, was alone in stressing the link between the development of the economic crisis, the refusal of the trade union leaders to defend the living standards and jobs against the attacks of the Labour government and the emergence of the National Front on the streets.

He said that the type of action carried out was correct and important but not enough. The only force which could defeat fascism was the organised working class and the trade union leaders bore a heavy responsibility for refusing to call for mobilisation. He went on to say that, faced with this absence of leadership the frustration of the middle class becomes a point of development for the National Front. BLMC share holders, at their meeting last week, screaming for workers to be sacked and the middle class mounting the barriers at Newmarket to beat up stable lads are symptoms of this.

The IMG speaker not only ignored the role of the trade union leaders but blamed the working class for their "backwardness" and "chauvinism", and directed towards the Troops

continued on back page col 4

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

VIETNAM VICTORY

NOW FOR POLITICAL REVOLUTION!

After 30 years of war, during which the most barbaric and sustained bombardment by the world's most advanced weaponry had failed to extinguish the spirit of revolutionary struggle, the Vietnamese workers and peasants have defeated the puppet forces of South Vietnam and US imperialism.

The greatest blow has been struck against capitalism since the Chinese Revolution of 1949, and a lasting blow also at the treacherous Stalinist conception of "peaceful co-existence" and "detente" put forward by the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies. (see pp 4&5).

Taken with the revolutionary victory of the Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia and the rapidly approaching complete collapse of the government in Laos, the Vietnamese victory must be seen as part of the world movement of the working masses now taking place against the attacks and oppression of capitalism and linked completely with the overthrow of fascism in Portugal, the mass strikes in Europe and the huge demonstrations against unemployment in the USA itself.

INTERNATIONAL

Flowing from this must come an understanding of the continuing international obligations of the new united state of Vietnam. The dangers are that the Hanoi regime, which has held bureaucratic control of the economic and political life, will turn away from these responsibilities. The statement by Mme Minh at Heathrow Airport last week when, amidst general statements on supporting struggle in other countries, she said: "But having suffered so much from foreign intervention it is not our intention to interfere in the affairs of other countries", shows the dangerous tendencies towards nationalism gaining a hold

on the bureaucracy now that the immediate threats of imperialism have been dispelled.

The Workers Socialist League has been the only tendency which, while supporting wholeheartedly the revolutionary struggles of the Vietnamese masses, has stressed the vital need for organs of workers and peasants power to combat the danger of bureaucratic degeneration within the now united country.

This is in opposition to the astounding Pabloite line of the Workers Revolutionary Party, which now declares unconditional and uncritical support for the Hanoi regime. In *Workers Press* (12.5.75) Royston Bull wrote:

"This continues the consistent revolutionary line pursued by the NLF since they first took up arms in 1941 after the French abandonment to Japanese military invasion." Presumably the WRP consider the consistent revolutionary line includes the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, who led the struggles against the French and Japanese in the 1930's and the Second World



Ho Chi Minh - murdered Vietnamese Trotskyists.



US helicopter being dumped into the sea as rout of imperialist forces reaches its climax.

War and who led workers militia in South Vietnam in 1945. Such a statement is scandalous in a paper claiming to be Trotskyist. Even the Pabloite IMG have drawn attention to these killings in their press.

The problems now clearly require a Trotskyist leadership with the lessons of the historical fight against Stalinism. It is clearly impossible to construct socialism (under which the level of material wealth and of production must be raised above that possible under capitalism) within the narrow national confines of Vietnam itself. As Marx wrote two years before the *Communist Manifesto*:

"A development of the productive forces if the absolute necessary practical premise [of communism] because without it want is generalised, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive."

For the overthrow of capitalism in Vietnam to go forward therefore to the establishment of a socialist workers state, there must be both the expansion of industry under the control of organs of workers man-

agement, directing towards an overall national plan together with the fullest active support for revolutionary struggle throughout Asia and the imperialist world. Just as the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies have restricted the supplies of arms to the struggles in Vietnam and Cambodia as apart of their separate pushing for deals and detente with the US imperialists - using the Vietnamese masses as a bargaining counter - so now the technological assistance forthcoming to Vietnam will be very much conditioned by the political manoeuvres of the Stalinist bureaucracies. The economy will thus remain inadequate to eliminate the inequalities on which bureaucracy festers and future social contradictions can store up.

The way forward is therefore through the establishment in the towns and villages of soviets through which the power of the liberated workers, peasants and soldiers of Vietnam can be consolidated in challenging the bureaucracy, and bringing about the political revolution.

ITALY
New
Police
Powers

The new law on "public order" adopted by the Italian Parliament last week, was voted in with the support of virtually all except the Communist Party.

Despite the fact that it has been widely described as aimed at dealing with the numerous episodes of violence and provocation by the extreme right wing the Bill got the support of the main fascist party, and the only one with seats in Parliament, the MSI. The new law gives the police much wider powers of arrest and investigation and in particular it "widens" the circumstances under which they are officially permitted to use their firearms. As well as greatly strengthening state powers of repression, the law also forms part of a strategy of anti-communist manoeuvre on the part of the right wing of the Christian Democratic Party (the main capitalist party) and, in particular, party Secretary Fanfani, a former apologist for Mussolini's corporate state.

Fanfani intends to strengthen the Christian Democrats' parliamentary position through a "law and order" campaign in the run up to the regional elections next month.

The futility of attempts to deal with the threat of fascism through the capitalist state and its bodies of armed men was underlined at the beginning of May by the release on bail of General Vito Miceli former chief of the military intelligence services (SID). Miceli was arrested in October 1974 on charges of conspiracy with an illegal right wing group. Later, he was also accused of complicity in the plans for a coup d'etat hatched by the fascist Prince Borghese. On the same day as Miceli was granted bail, police moved against the left wing organisation called Avanguardia Operaia (Workers' Vanguard) in Milan, accusing them of publishing subversive pamphlets on resisting police attacks on demonstrations. A spokesman for the organisation said that the leaflets in question were forgeries, planted by the police to justify a drive to ban them during the election campaign.

IRANIAN
STUDENTS

22 Iranian students, arrested for demonstrating at the Iranian embassy in London on April 29th, were kept in jail for over a week, and have been released only on condition they report daily to police.

The demonstration was against the death of a number of political prisoners held in Iran, one of the most reactionary states in the Middle East. According to Amnesty International, 9 political prisoners died under torture in Iranian jails during April alone, and the total over the last 4 years is believed to be over 300.

The British Labour Government preserves the most friendly relations with the butcher Shah of Iran, and clearly this is one of the reasons for the vicious treatment of these student demonstrators.

We repeat our call in *Socialist Press* No. 4 (20.3.75) for the Labour government to break off all relations with Iran, and call in addition for the dropping of all action against these victimised students.

USA
After The Defeat

The abandonment of Indo-China has only brought fresh problems for President Ford and US foreign policy.

Ford's decision to bring at least 135,000 South Vietnamese refugees into the US (a decision in part forced on him by the cold response of other governments - particularly in the Philippines, Thailand and Hong Kong - to the refugees), and his still unapproved request to Congress for financial support to the tune of \$5,000 per head, has met considerable hostility.

Opinion polls show that 54% of Americans would rather the refugees were kept out of the US (among the reasons given are the fear that the refugees will bring with them communism and disease!). In California and Florida, where refugee camps have been set up, the problem is seen differently. Florida's unemployment rate is now 14%, California's not much less, and social services in these and other states are already heavily over-taxed. Here there are fears - with or without justification - that further unemployment and economic strain will be caused by the introduction of thousands of refugees.

In addition, many Americans who have shared the widespread anti-war sentiment in the US during

the last 5-6 years are not pleased at the prospect of lavishing money and hospitality on a collection of government officials, army officers, informers and black market profiteers who have fled Vietnam with substantial quantities of gold and US dollars in their suitcases.

FOREIGN POLICY

While this controversy goes on, US politicians must turn to the tricky task of tailoring a new foreign policy which can be foisted on both the US "public" and US "allies" around the world. Following the defeat of US imperialism in Indo-China, Thailand and the Philippines have revised their relationships with the US. At Thailand's request US soldiers are already being withdrawn; and the entire US force of 23,000 troops and 200 combat aircraft will be out by March 1976. The Philippines government is hinting at a renegotiation of the US lease on air and naval bases there, and President Marcos - whose motive seems to be fear of the threat to his regime by communist and nationalist liberation forces - has declared that closer links with the Communist states are the only way to ensure his colony's security and survival.

With a considerably weakened position in the Pacific and the increased instability of the South Korean regime jeopardising the 40,000 US troops there, a hurried review and revision of American strategy is taking place. Secretary of Defence Schlesinger has come closest to defining what this will be: a) limiting of US security interest and commitments to guarding the peace in W. Europe, the Middle East, Japan and Korea; and b) backing US diplomatic pressure with military force.

Just exactly how this will be accomplished and what relationship it implies between Congress and the Presidential administration are not clear, and out of this uncertainty come statements like that of Dean Rusk (secretary of State under Kennedy and Johnson), who says "I think both the Republicans and the Democrats should suspend politics for the rest of this year. We've got to put our heads together and quietly debate the direction in which we wish to proceed, as we did immediately after World War II". The desire to "suspend politics" is a pipedream, like the wish to return to the boom period after the war. The US cannot opt out of the economic crisis. Nor can it rewrite history, as right winger Alabama governor and Presidential candidate George Wallace attempts to do

when he says "I wish we'd been on the same side as Japan in World War II instead of being on the same side as China and Russia... I wish the Soviet Union had been contained somewhat".

DIVERSION

These political fantasies reflect US capitalism's central place in the world economic crisis. US politicians are desperate to turn attention away from the significance of the gains of the proletariat in Vietnam, Cambodia and Portugal in recent months, in Wallace's case by whipping up fascist sentiments among the sections of US society already inclined towards racism.

All such moves must be fought by the US working class which is already energetically resisting policies of unemployment and inflation. Central to this fight will be the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party, working to break the stranglehold of the two main capitalist parties in US politics. 200 years after the American bourgeois revolution of 1776, only a party firmly based on the independent interests of the working class can offer a way forward for the labour movement.

FRANCE STRIKE WAVE CONTINUES

Steel workers of the USINOR complex at Dunkirk last week voted to continue their strike and occupation of sections of the plant. Their struggle — against management attempts to cut lay-off pay and make drastic reductions in the working week — was abruptly sharpened at the beginning of May when a large force of armed riot police invaded the steel works and took over key points.

The strikers are demanding just over £20 per month increase to cover cost of living rises, and 100% pay during time lost, including strikes. The main unions involved — the Communist Party-led CGT and the reformist CFDT — have appealed for support from the rest of the French steel industry, but only in the form of token stoppages.

CUT ORDERS

What lies behind the attack on the USINOR workers is the same world-wide fall in the demand for steel that threatens the jobs of 20,000 British Steel Corporation workers. Orders to the Dunkirk plant have fallen 30-40% in the last four months, more serious than any fall in European steel markets since the 1930s.

The USINOR struggle is only one of many in French industry and services during this month, which has brought many sections into battle against unemployment and to the erosion of wages by inflation. At Brest, in NW France workers at the "Transocean" clothing factory have demanded that union officials call an occupation against management plans

to sack more than half the labour force. In Paris, tobacco distribution workers continued their strike which started at the end of April in support of demands for cost of living increases. Their claim was supported by sympathy stoppages in several cigarette factories in the Paris area. Also in Paris, print workers and journalists of the daily paper *Le Parisien Libre* began an indefinite strike at the weekend, after two months of negotiations and partial actions against management efforts to sack almost 400 printworkers.

Electrical power workers of all the major unions in France struck for one day a week ago in support of pay claims. Power supplies were seriously hit with a number of major manufacturers including the car firm Peugeot being forced to shut down for the day. Only one of the power workers' unions however, the reformist CFDT, has announced plans for continued action in support of the claim.

PICKETS

In Besancon on May 6th two strikers at the Unimel bakery were injured on the picket line when management brought in blacklegs. And at Revin in Eastern France, workers at the Porscher Ceramics and Sanitary ware plant entered their fourth week of strike action against management cuts in working hours — the result of a sharp drop in house construction over the last few months. At the same time in Bordeaux, on the West coast, city buses have been stopped since April by a drivers' strike in

support of a wage claim.

France is only one of the Common Market countries where workers are facing sharper struggles now over jobs and wages. In Brussels a week ago about a dozen demonstrators were injured when riot police attacked a march of striking local government workers. About 5,000 employees of the city administration were on strike over a pay claim. 2,000 attempted to demonstrate and the police were called in. Legal and prison officials in Belgium also took action over pay.

OCCUPATION

In West Germany at the Seibel cement works near Dusseldorf workers ended almost two months of occupation of the plant last week. The occupation — the first in recent years in W. Germany — was a response to management threats of immediate sackings. The occupation was called off when the courts ruled that immediate sackings were illegal, but strike action and picketing continue while the unions negotiate with the owners on the future of the plant.

The fight to defend jobs and wages thus emerges as an international question for the working class posing the questions of programme and leadership which can only be answered by the building of Trotskyist parties.

IRELAND CONVENTION NO ANSWER

The results of the election held on May Day for the Northern Ireland 'Convention' herald yet another set-back for the British ruling class in their increasingly desperate efforts to set up a stable method of rule in their six county statelet.

The purpose of the Convention was to provide the plan for 'power sharing' between the Protestant and Catholic communities of Northern Ireland. However, since the great majority of the seats have been won by the most bitter opponents of any such arrangement, the Convention will inevitably be stillborn.

In the long run, however, there is probably greater significance in the eclipse of the more moderate parties of the Protestant middle class. The Faulknerite Unionists, who were thoughtfully provided with a system of Proportional Representation which would reflect as much as possible of their diminishing strength, nevertheless could only muster five seats in the new assembly as against over 50 from the various factions of extreme right wing loyalists.

BREAKING UP

Behind the inability of the British ruling class to discover a political solution lies a rapid undermining of the economic position of their clients in the Northern Ireland bourgeoisie. They are no longer able to provide those crumbs of privilege to the Protestant working class that established the basis of their position in the past. The traditional populist alliance between the Protestant workers and their employers, held together by the cement of reactionary Orange

ideology, has begun to break up. The roots of these developments lie in the deepening crisis of a British capitalism facing problems of its own far too acute to allow it to continue to provide the protected markets and large subsidies which kept the old statelet in existence. This will inevitably reflect itself in an onslaught on the jobs and conditions of Irish workers both Protestant and Catholic.

NATIONALISATION

One example of this is provided in the recent proposals for the nationalisation of shipbuilding. This industry has been the largest employer of labour in the area, and offered some of the best pay and conditions for Protestant workers. However, the nationalisation of the industry under a reformist government will lead inevitably to the same cut-backs in jobs and conditions as are being threatened in the steel industry in Britain. What price then the special privileges of the Protestant workers?

In themselves, these problems will not cause the Protestant workers to turn away from their loyalist mis-leaders. They will have to see another road.

The Protestant workers can hardly be blamed for not wanting to have anything to do with the bourgeois 'Free State' of the South. The immediate problems facing workers there, with rocketing unemployment and restricted welfare benefits, are at least as great. Yet there can be no lasting solution to any of these problems without the re-unification of Ireland under the leadership of the working class and small farmers.

This situation has been allowed to develop by a republican movement which has only seen matters

in terms of the national question, and a working class movement that attempted to ignore the national question altogether. None of the different wings of the republican movement are capable of posing the class solutions to the national oppression of the Irish people. For the reformist leaders of the working class on both sides of the border, it has been simply a matter of finding new ways of entering into alliance with the employers and their 'sharing power' with the Protestant bourgeoisie. This kind of power sharing is already being carried out by the Irish Labour Party in the South in their coalition with the reactionary Fianna Gael ministers. Such class collaboration can offer no solution to workers.

WITHDRAW TROOPS

The only solution for all sections of workers and small farmers in Ireland must be sought through the building of a revolutionary leadership based on mobilisation on a class basis. The defeat of imperialism and of national capitalism cannot be separated especially in Ireland, where history has taught many bitter lessons to those who have attempted to do so.

Here in Britain the vital task remains a struggle against the murder squads of the British army. We must fight uncompromisingly in the working class movement for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British troops and the self-determination of the Irish people. This campaign must be linked with a struggle against the reformist leadership of the working class and for the building of revolutionary parties on the programme of the Fourth International.

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 isolated 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 Pabloite 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.

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ROOTS OF STALINISM

On May Day 1975, while millions of workers and peasants internationally celebrated the outstanding victory of the Vietnamese liberation forces who after more than 30 years have finally defeated imperialism and expelled the last remnants of US domination, the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin was subdued.

On the huge May Day procession through Moscow only four banners hailed this great blow at imperialism. This is an indication of the extent to which the Stalinists have abandoned even a formal pretence of working class internationalism.

It is not the first time this has happened. Both the Yugoslavian and the Chinese revolutions took place not just against the wishes of the Kremlin bureaucrats, but in spite of their every manoeuvre to prop up the crumbling bourgeois regimes and extend their recognition.

HOSTILITY

This hostility to international revolutionary developments is fundamental to the political orientation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin, and likewise to the Maoists in Peking, who glorify the name of Stalin and his hostility to Trotskyism. To understand it we have to look back to the years following the Russian Revolution of 1917.

That revolution was brought about under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin and Trotsky. The decisive point in the development of that Party had been Lenin's split at the beginning of the First World War with the social-democrats of the Second International, as a result of the support given by the partners of that International to their "own" ruling class in the war.

In other words Lenin finally split from social democracy on the question of *internationalism*, and it was only from this standpoint that the revolutionary slogans of the October Revolution - Bread, Peace, and Land - could be advanced against the capitalist Provisional Government to turn the imperialist war into a *civil* war and social revolution.

PRIORITY

Lenin's priority following the revolution was the establishment of a new international, a *Communist* international party of world revolution. This was constituted in 1919. In its call for the Third International was the following passage:

"The International, which *subordinates* so-called national interests to the interests of the international world revolution, will embody the mutual aid of the proletariat of different countries, for without economic and other mutual aid the proletariat will not be in a position to organise the new society." [emphasis added] [March 4th 1919 Platform of the Communist International]

This basic principle of internationalism was reinforced by Lenin in July 1920:

"Proletarian Internationalism... demands 1. *Subordination of the interests of the proletariat struggle in one country to the interests of the struggle on a world scale*; 2. That the nation which achieves victory over the bourgeoisie shall display the capacity and readiness to make the greatest national sacrifices in order to overthrow international capitalism".

[Theses on the National and Colonial Question: emphasis added]

Yet by 1924 singular material conditions and contradictions within the Soviet Union, combined with the blow suffered to the Communist Party's leadership following the severe illness and death of Lenin, and in conjunction with the death of many of the best cadres of Bolsheviks who died in the war defending the Revolution against capitalist intervention, had opened the door (despite the political struggle carried out by Trotsky and a group of supporters) to the establishment in leading political and administrative positions of a bureaucratic stratum *hostile* to the international revolution.

LEADER

Their political spokesman and leader was Stalin. Their base of support in Soviet society was the more theoretically backward layers of the old Bolsheviks, together (most decisively) with the new forces that had wormed their way into the Communist Party *since* the Revolution in search of 'safe' positions of power and prestige. Many of them, as Trotsky repeatedly shows in his writings, had *opposed* the Revolution itself - even fought against the Bolsheviks - but with the Party apparatus firmly under the direction of Stalin as General Secretary, ways were found of admitting them and places of influence secured for them. This escalated following the death of Lenin with the opening of the gates of the party to all comers, in order to isolate and swamp the experienced cadres:

"Workers, clerks, petty officials, flocked through in crowds. The political aim of this manoeuvre was to dissolve the revolutionary vanguard in raw human material, without experience, without independence, and yet with the old habit of submitting to the authorities. The scheme was successful. By freeing the bureaucracy from the control of the proletarian vanguard the "Leninist levy" dealt a death blow to the party of Lenin".

[*Revolution Betrayed* pp 97-98]

Alongside this influx of careerists was an increasing tendency of the bureaucracy to pander to the mass ranks of the peasantry in Russia, at the expense of the necessary planned expansion of the underdeveloped industry in the towns. Thrust forward as the political expression within the workers movement of all these reactionary forces the bureaucracy began to voice their prejudices - fear of large enterprises and planning, chauvinism and national prejudice, underestimation of the strength of the working class, and a corresponding drive to seek arrangements and accommodation with the capitalist class internationally.

SETBACKS

They used their positions within the party increasingly to stifle all political opposition. Defeats and setbacks to the working class internationally served only to strengthen the hold of the bureaucracy:

"The international situation was pushing with mighty forces in the same direction. The Soviet bureaucracy became more self-confident, the heavier the blows dealt to the world working class. Between these two facts there was not only a chronological but a causal connection, and one which worked in two directions: The leaders of the bureaucracy promoted the proletariat's defeats; the defeats promoted the rise of the bureaucracy."

[*Revolution Betrayed* p90]

Thus it was that in 1924 (only two years before the British General Strike and the great struggles in China of 1926-7) that Stalin, beginning to assess that capitalism had "stabilised", started to speak openly not of internationalism: but the

national construction of "socialism in one country":

"But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not mean that the complete victory of socialism has been

stratum "mediating" between the nationalised property relations of the Soviet Union and the international forces of imperialism. They used the apparatus of Lenin's Communist International to assist them in their bargaining and to transmit their own counter-revolutionary

with that of Spain in 1931-1938; with the signing in 1939 of the Stalin-Hitler ('peaceful coexistence') Pact; with the full-scale support given to the so-called "anti-fascist" bourgeois governments in the war against Germany (following Hitler's attempted invasion of Russia in



Peaceful Co-existence in practice: Stalin and Churchill meet in 1945

assured. After consolidating its power and leading the peasantry in its wake the proletariat of the victorious country must build a socialist society."

[*Stalin Works*, Volume 6, p 110]

Then the internationalist priorities of Lenin's conception were thrown aside. Alongside this revisionism, the Stalinists began to develop the linked theory of "peaceful co-existence" between socialism and imperialism on a world scale - which then opened the way to diplomatic deals and co-operation with imperialist governments as the bureaucratic method of supposedly "defend-

theories into the world workers' movement. Their preoccupation turned from Lenin's willingness to sacrifice national interests for the international revolution towards first abandoning, and then in Germany in 1933 through criminal ultra-left sectarian policies *betraying* the international revolution in the interests of their own national bureaucratic caste.

NEW PARTY

It was from this betrayal in 1933 that Trotsky took the decision that no longer could he just continue as he had done to attack and expose Stalinism from the standpoint of a faction of the Third International, but that the International was dead for the purposes of revolution, and that it was necessary to prepare for a new, Fourth, International to continue the fight for Marxist internationalism.

Since 1933 however Stalinism has maintained its reactionary nationalist positions, using the influence and prestige it has usurped from the successful Revolution of 1917 in order to mislead and betray some of the most militant and determined struggles of workers, in the interests of "peaceful coexistence". This statement from the *Programme of the CPSU*, (1961) is typical:

"Soviet experience has shown that socialism and peace are inseparable [emphasis in original] . . . The Soviet state, which champions peace and implements the Leninist principle [!] of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, is a mighty barrier to imperialism."

This is comparatively recent and shows that the fundamental nature of Stalinism has remained unchanged, regardless of the death of Stalin as an individual. Stalinism is the political outlook of a particular social grouping - the degenerated, bureaucratic leadership of a workers' state - and not at all the whim or peculiarity of any one man.

A common thread thus links the betrayals of Germany 1933

1941); with the cynical division of the world into "spheres of influence" in the Teheran Yalta and Potsdam Three Power conferences between Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill; with the collaboration of Communist Parties in bourgeois coalitions in post-war Europe preserving capitalism from revolutionary working class struggles; with the ruthless crushing of the Greek revolution by imperialist troops while Russia stood back silently; with the hostility of the Kremlin to Yugoslav and Chinese revolutions; and, to bring us up to date, with the counter revolutionary policies of the French Communist Party which preserved de Gaulle and French capitalism in May-June 1968, and the reactionary "parliamentary road" pursued by the Chilean Stalinists which gave all the necessary cover to Allende and assisted in physically disarming the working class, while the fascists and the generals prepared to impose crushing dictatorship. That common thread is the out and out counter-revolutionary policies of Stalinism internationally, which stands in dread of revolution, and every one of these betrayals has been opposed by the Trotskyist movement, and alternative revolutionary policies fought for.

HOLDS BACK

The Stalinists fear revolution because they know that the working class, if it moves into action, can defeat imperialism, the main enemy. But then the nature of the bureaucracy would be exposed. That bureaucracy therefore still holds back the struggle of workers internationally in order to preserve its own base of privilege within the distorted workers' state of the USSR.

Bureaucracy thrives on passivity, backwardness, class collaboration and nationalism. Every one of these is attacked by the mass revolutionary movement of the working class. It is no accident that 1968 brought simultaneously revolutionary struggles in France and the mass movement of the



Lenin - Internationalism a priority

ing" the gains of the revolution.

These deals, and with them links and unprincipled blocs with counter-revolutionary working class tendencies came more and more to predominate in the minds of the bureaucrats over the international requirements of the working class. They started instead from the requirements of their own, privileged

ISM

workers demanding democratic rights in Czechoslovakia. There is no doubt that the example of the Vietnamese revolution, while it strengthens every worker and peasant under imperialist rule, will strengthen opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy also, in the degenerate workers' states.

OVERTHROW

Trotskyists therefore start out not simply from the need to expose and fight the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinists of the Communist Parties internationally, but also from the need to advance the *political revolution* of workers in these degenerated workers' states in the overthrow of their bureaucratic leadership.

As Trotsky's Transitional Programme shows this must begin (as shown in *Socialist Press* on the question of Vietnam after the revolution) with the re-establishment of the organs of workers' power and of workers' parties:

"The bureaucracy replaced the Soviets as class organs with the fiction of universal electoral rights — in the style of Hitler-Goebbels. It is necessary to return to the Soviets not only their free democratic form but also their class content. As once the bourgeois and kulaks [prosperous peasants] were not permitted to enter the Soviets, so now it is necessary to drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the Soviets. In the Soviets there is room only for representatives of the workers, rank and file collective farmers, peasants and Red Army men.

Democratisation of the Soviets is impossible without the *legalisation of Soviet parties.*"

(p. 51, emphasis added)

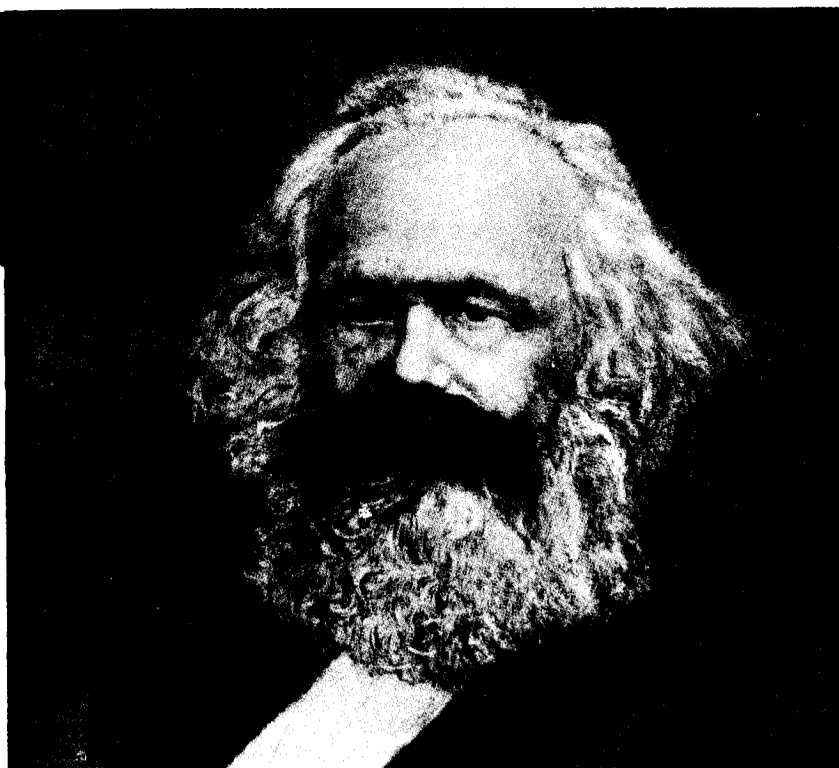
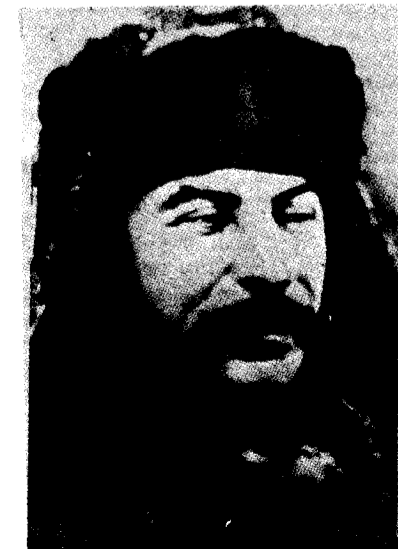
DEFENCE

This programme for the political revolution in no way means any attack on the nationalised property relations which remain the great gain of the Russian Revolution. On the contrary, the removal of the parasitic and reactionary bureaucracy is the only way firmly to safeguard these gains from the dangers of imperialist attack.

The Third International was wound up by Stalin in 1943, (though the reactionary policies of the Kremlin are still followed by most Communist Parties).

Only the Fourth International (despite the capitulation of the Pabloite faction in 1953 to the illusion that the Stalinist bureaucracy could become a revolutionary force) carries forward today the fight for internationalism and against bureaucracy. The WSL is at the forefront of that fight.

Stalin



"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

(Marx, *Capital* Vol 1 p 715)

WAGES AND INFLATION

by JOHN LEA

As the rate of increase in the retail price index soars upwards from 9% in 1973, through 16% last year to 21% over the last twelve months, the campaign is stepped up to lay the blame for inflation squarely on the shoulders of the working class.

The report of the government's Price Commission at the end of April stated bluntly: "The primary factor causing prices to rise is - and can only be - rising labour costs". Such arguments, accepted by the ruling class and labour leadership alike leave workers defenceless in the face of the worsening economic depression. It is vital to understand that inflation is an expression of the developing capitalist crisis and not simply the result of wage increases.

The working class, being the only class in capitalist society that carries out the process of *labour*, is the source of all value. No commodity contains value that does not also contain necessary hours of labour in its production. This is why internationally in the present inflationary crisis paper currency (which is churned out in split-seconds on printing presses, containing no value) but which, until 1971, was tied directly to a relationship with gold (which is the *only* form of money under capitalism which actually embodies real value) is declining rapidly in purchasing power against manufactured commodities which do contain labour. Currencies now "float" chaotically up and down against each other, massively worsening the crisis.

The argument that wage increases are the main cause of inflation totally ignores the question of productivity (output

per man). For example over the period 1962-72 the average annual growth in productivity was 3.8 per cent and that of real incomes after tax only 2 per cent. The working class therefore over that period contributed more to capitalist profits in the form of productivity increases than it took in the form of wage increases. It *cannot* be argued therefore that that the cause of the increasing rate of inflation during this period from 3.5 per cent a year over 1962-9 to 8 per cent a year over 1969-71 was wages eating into profits.

Productivity increases are the main method available to capitalism to offset the inevitable tendency, discovered by Marx, for the rate of profit to fall. They increase profits by reducing the portion of the working day which the working class spends producing the commodities it will purchase with its wages and increasing the portion spent producing profit for the capitalist.

However productivity increases are less and less effective in achieving this since they involve further automation, mechanisation or the introduction of new techniques, which are all expensive, and an increase in the ratio of fixed capital (machinery) to labour power. The problem for the capitalist is that he cannot derive *profit* from machinery, but *only* from the exploitation of the working class. As a machine runs it produces commodities, but wears out. Each finished commodity therefore includes in its price a proportionate part of the cost of the machine. (Under inflation of 21% annually of course this in itself causes a dilemma for the capitalist, who must continuously find *extra* capital to simply maintain the *same* machinery.) Mean-

time his workforce is paid a wage which is only a *part* of the value created during their 40 hours of labour in his factory — sufficient only to ensure that the capitalist maintains a labour force. The remainder of the value created (or 'surplus' value) forms the basis of the employer's profit. Thus machinery does *not* make profit for the employer — only workers do.

SPEED-UP

Therefore as labour diminishes as a portion of total capital, increases in its productivity have proportionally less effect in counteracting the falling tendency of the rate of profit. *Greater* speed up is needed to make any real difference.

In the face of a strong and well organised working class, the capitalist class has, since the end of the last war, been forced to commit itself to a policy of full employment. As rises in productivity have increasingly less effect in maintaining profits a continuous expansion of government spending in the form of loans and subsidies to companies on the verge of bankruptcy has become necessary to prevent slump. Government spending is now 60% of the gross national product, an increasing portion of which comes not from taxes but from credit created out of thin air on the printing presses in the form of paper currency by the state representing no value in terms of real commodities containing labour. This is used to finance production which from a capitalist point of view is unprofitable.

PRICES

In a desperate attempt to restore profits in an economy distorted by this kind of inflationary government finance, firms raise prices. Price rises in one sector are cost increases in another, thus provoking further price rises throughout the economy. This is the root of inflation. It is a phenomenon of the unplanned nature of the capitalist system and its world-wide crisis of value. Wage rises are largely a response to this, an attempt by the working class to preserve its living standards.

As the crisis of profitability deepens, so inflation mounts higher, and at an annual rate of 25 per cent threatens to disrupt world trade and destroy the value of the pound. At such a rate of inflation further inflationary spending to maintain full employment is out of the question, and the slump, capitalism's own method of restoring the rate of profit, cannot be postponed any longer. Thus unemployment now climbs towards a million alongside a high rate of inflation.

The restoration of profitability to capitalist production demands the elimination of unprofitable firms, and lines of production, leading to massive increases in unemployment, further increases in the productivity of labour through speed up for those still in work, and, at the same time, wage cuts. Yet in the antiquated areas of British industry a massive *re-equipment* is needed to compete internationally in the growing slump. This requires investment which cannot be easily obtained on the money markets. The obliging Labour leaders however have set up the National Enterprise Board to provide a pool of government finance to back up capitalism.

Before the objective requirements of the operation of the law of value the reformist Labour leadership prostrates itself completely. When Healey demands that unions return in wage bargaining to the limits of the TUC guidelines, he means a wage cut. No trade unionist should be taken in by Len Murray's assertion that wage increases should equal price increases, *defend* workers living standards. Murray is talking about *money* wages. Because of direct and indirect taxation, a money wage increase considerably in excess of price rises is necessary to defend living standards.

However even massive wage increases by themselves are inadequate to defend workers living standards. Healey has announced that if inflation doesn't come down by the autumn — and as we have said, that means through a *cut* in living standards — then he will intensify his strategy, begun in the last budget, of "clawing back" wage rises through increases in income tax and VAT. Against these manoeuvres workers must seek to protect their wage increases through taking up the struggle for a *sliding scale of wages*.

The sliding scale involves an automatic compensation for all increases in the cost of living. What is vital is that it be recognised by workers that *only they* and *not* the state can determine the cost of living index for the working class. This necessitates local cost of living committees based on the trade unions and trades councils. Besides monitoring the cost of living such committees would form a basis for beginning a direct struggle against price increases. They would also be a basis for drawing into the fight against inflation whole new layers of the working class. Housewives for example would play a vital part in any such committees.

MIDDLE CLASS

Finally, participation in such committees by small shopkeepers would end the sense of powerlessness that this stratum feels against the big monopolies. It would show them that they have everything to gain by following the leadership of the working class, it would destroy the antagonism which often follows when the lower middle class compare their own weakness in the face of inflation with the strength of the working class, and which Thatcher, Joseph, the right wing of the Tory party, and now the fascist National Front, now seek to exploit to the full to drive the lower middle class politically to the right.

That sections of the working class are already realising the need for such a strategy can be seen from the recent motion calling for the conversion of threshold agreements into sliding scale agreements passed by the Scottish TUC conference last month. Threshold agreements are a tactic by the employers to defuse the class struggle by giving compensation for *some* inflation. The sliding scale demands compensation for *all* increases in the cost of living as determined by the working class itself.

POWER

Such a strategy comes into direct collision with the need of capitalism to restore profitability on the backs of the working class, through wage cuts achieved by forcing real wages to lag behind price increases. Because of this the STUC motion is just the beginning. The *fight* for the sliding scale poses the question of power: how is the economy to be run? The struggle to defend living standards put this question of the agenda *now*. There must be no mistake: the productive forces *exist* for a defence and an improvement of living standards. The only barrier is the capitalist system of production which will not develop these productive forces because it cannot do so profitably. This is why a decisive element in the struggle to defend jobs and wages is for factory committees to be established to exercise control over the employer on behalf of the workers in each plant. These factory committees have the task not only of struggling against all forms of speed up, but also of forcing the employer to reveal the account ledgers and the actual workings of the industry, thus beginning to accumulate the basic knowledge needed to run a socialist economy, once industry has been nationalised under workers management.

The struggle for the sliding scale and factory committees therefore poses the question of breaking with the Murrys and Healeys who are agents of capital in the ranks of the working class and building a new leadership under the banner of the Fourth International to fight for power.

Workers Diary

Hog-Tied

A short break at the beginning of May for the Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher MP from addressing the permed savages of suburban Conservative ladies' associations on the virtues of British democracy and the benefits of the Common Market.

The leader of Her Majesty's loyal opposition was on a flying visit to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, home not only of Emperor Roscoe but also of the European 'Parliament'. For the benefit of the assembled 'democrats' she repeated her opinion of the Common Market referendum — that its result could not be considered binding on MPs at Westminster.

Or to put it more plainly — if the result of the referendum is 'No', the Tories reserve their right to line up with the right wing in the Cabinet and the Parliamentary Labour Party to keep Britain in the EEC. So *that's* how a referendum works: on a 'vital matter' you invite 'the people' to speak directly (with the guidance, naturally, of the capitalist media and the Tory press). If the people say 'Yes' — three cheers for democracy! If, however, they should be so misguided as to say 'No' — that's altogether another question. Parliamentary 'sovereignty' and the tender consciences of MP's are then at risk. 'The people' can therefore ruddy well shut up, and leave the citizenry of Westminster to get on with business as usual.

Harold Wilson has so far noticeably failed to declare that he will have nothing to do with the Tories' plans to hog-tie the referendum.

2,000..... and one?

Found in a local Skelmersdale paper, the following anti-EEC letter:

"In reply to N. A. Clayton's letter over the EEC issue: He could not have put the case for getting out more clearly in stating that we will have not power over the European Commission.

"Decisions affecting out nation will be outside our control. The European Court can overrule our judges and our courts. For 2000 years we have been independent. What could not be done by arms has been done by the treacherous politicians.

To quote Shakespeare: 'This England that never has or never shall lie at the proud foot of a conqueror with inky blots and dusty parchment bound'

"We have joined a motley army whose main aim is to maintain the multi-national profits.

"The 'Cold War' is to be given a new lease of life and the detente with the USSR held at bay with the consequent loss of trade and work for our people."

Up to the last paragraph it could have been written by any extreme right winger. The author? Roy Deegan, Branch Secretary, Skelmersdale Communist Party!

OUR FIGHT FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

Written as the founding document of the Fourth International, after it had become clear that a split from the counter-revolutionary politics of the Stalinist Third International must be carried through, Trotsky's Transitional Programme embodies the basic method necessary for the construction of revolutionary leadership and the mobilisation of the working class to revolutionary struggles.

When it became clear that the sectarian position of the Workers Revolutionary Party, then the British section of the Trotskyist movement, was isolating it from the struggles of the working class and abandoning that programme, it led those sections of the Party which have since formed the Workers Socialist League to question the WRP leadership. In particular the maximum programme put forward by the WRP (ie "nationalise all basic industries, banks and land without compensation and under workers' control"), which is the programme of the socialist revolution, was seen to be inadequate to today's conditions since it in no way prepared the working class to undertake the necessary struggle. As the *Transitional Programme* states: "Only a general revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat can place the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie on the order of the day". [p 24]

METHOD

In turning to examine the *Programme* it is clear that its method is different. It draws a distinction between the methods of revolutionaries and the maximum programme of Social Democracy "which promised substitution of socialism for capitalism in the indefinite future". and states:

"It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist programme of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of

transitional demands stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat." [pp 14-15]

For Trotsky therefore the task was in struggle within the workers movement to raise the level of political consciousness from a trade union level to that of the socialist programme. The *bridge* between these levels is the fight for transitional demands.

SECTARIAN

In the course of the fight inside the WRP it became clear that a whole number of their wrong positions were derived from a sectarian standpoint. Central to this was ending the maximum demand of nationalisation with the call for "workers' control". In a socialist society of course workers would exercise not "control" over any other form of management, but directly manage the industries themselves through factory and industry committees. Lenin in the struggle to prepare the Russian Revolution continuously fought for workers' control even though this was under capitalism. This is the tradition of Bolshevism. In answer to the bourgeois preparations for the military control of the working class, the Bolshevik declaration read out at a session of the Conference on Defence reads thus:

"The inevitable result of this situation is the complete absence of the rights for the working class; its deprivation of the right to strike, etc. The working class must counter this plan with workers' control over production, regulating it not in the interests of finance capital but in the interests of the working masses and the rural poor, not in the interests of an imperialist war but in the interests of peace..." [August 8th 1917: weeks before the revolution]

The Bolsheviks were only able to put forward this perspective because they had prepared the groundwork with demands for opening the books of the employers to

the organised workers movement and workers' control in other forms.

It is essential in preparing a demand for a factory meeting or trade union branch that it is not seen just as a resolution but part of this preparation, a part of *mobilising* the masses. The demand of "open the books" must therefore include an elected committee of trade unionists: the sliding scale of wages must be determined by trade union based prices committees, and work sharing on full pay must likewise be under trade union control. These necessary struggles show precisely how simply tacking "workers' control" as a formula on the end of nationalisation emerges as the social democratic position of socialism in the distant future.

The leadership of the WRP has, since the split, adapted to some of these positions and includes transitional demands now regularly in their daily *Workers Press*. Yet this adaptation leaves out the *content* of the *Transitional Programme* which is that the demands are a part of the bridge over which the working class can develop to acceptance of the revolutionary programme. The WRP leadership's inability to break from their sectarian position was proved by their expulsion of our comrades merely for fighting for this turn and for asking for an accounting of how the WRP had reached its wrong positions.

INTERNATIONAL

The *Transitional Programme* is essentially an international document. The event which decided Trotsky on the need for the Fourth International was the defeat and crushing of the German workers movement by Hitler as a result of the ultra-left sectarian position of the Communist Party (who called social-democrats worse than fascists) which split the German working class at the point of greatest danger. There was no reaction to this other than that of Trotsky and the Left Opposition who had fought continuously against Stalin's bureaucratic policies, who immediately began preparations for a new International. The *Programme* begins:

"The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterised by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat".

It goes on to show the degeneration of the Second (social-democratic) International and of the Third International perverted by Stalinism. In putting forward a fight to win the masses in opposition to these movements, the *Programme* establishes the continuity of the fight for a Marxist revolutionary leadership for the working class.

This is essential to the programme. It is in no way a recipe book of good demands merely to be handed out passively to the working class. It is a *guide to action* for the building of *parties* of the Trotskyist Fourth International. If it is separated in any way from the fight for principled leadership in the workers movement, the *Programme* loses all meaning.

That is why although sections of the Pabloite IMG sometimes put forward some of these demands, their position is determined not by the phrases they mouth now but by the political position which they act.

REVISIONS

Their movement broke from Trotskyism in 1953 when forces arose in the Fourth International saying that Stalinism could be pushed to the left, and revising the basic Trotskyist position on the need for political revolution in Eastern Europe and in Russia. Thus while verbally adhering to the "popular" section of the *Transitional Programme* the IMG's position abandons the basic principles the *Programme* carries forward.

Despite the attacks of all kinds of tendencies who attempt to revise Marxism, there is a continuity of the struggle for the *Transitional Programme* since Trotsky's assassination by a Stalinist agent in 1940. This continuity now flows through the Workers Socialist League and its struggle to mobilise workers around the demands and the principles of the Fourth International's founding document.

Print Jobs Under Attack

The acute problems facing workers in printing, publishing and broadcasting will be highlighted at a conference called for 17th May at the London College of Printing.

The conference is sponsored by the London Suburban Area Council of the NUJ, together with the *Stratford Express* Chapel and the Penguin Books London Joint Chapels, and it is supported by various other bodies of the NUJ and ASTMS in the industry.

Its theme is announced as 'the fight against redundancies'. The difficulties these workers face are set out in the advance publicity to the conference. The capitalist crisis is forcing particularly sharp attacks on wages and jobs in an industry where employers rely on heavy borrowing at inflated rates of interest. The strong feeling among workers about the need to fight for every single job is shown by the recent strike at the *Time Out* magazine which centred around the granting of just one position to somebody who already held another job.

The policies which are being discussed by the conference organising committee already contain many proposals which should be supported. It has been suggested for instance, that all changes in manning arrangements should be subject to veto by the workforce. Furthermore, it has been put forward that all enterprises faced with closure should be compelled to grant work-sharing without loss of pay, while the books of all such firms should be opened to inspection by committees of trade unionists.

These policies must all be supported and fought for amongst the workers in the industry. The struggle to carry them out must not be left until the employers are able to split and weaken the workforce through partial redundancies. It must be taken up and linked to the demand for the full nationalisation of the communications industry, without compensation to the former owners.

CONFERENCE DEFENDS NHS

A conference of about 50 shop stewards and trade unionists from NALGO, NUPE, NUT, T&GWU and ASTMS, as well as tenants associations was called in E London by NUPE last Saturday to discuss cuts in local health services.

Approximately 10 hospitals in the area have been closed or are threatened with closure. Meanwhile not one single hospital has even been started. The one immediately under the axe at present is Poplar Hospital where there has been a campaign to save it for about 4 years. The campaign has included threatened strike action by dockers worried about loss of nearby accident service facilities.

Speakers referred to the failure of many forms of protest to halt the rundown of Poplar which now has only 20 beds in use.

WSL members at the meeting put forward a policy for defence of the NHS, which drew enthusiastic support. Several NHS shop stewards spoke in favour. A committee of delegated shop stewards from all the unions (including a Ford Dagenham steward) plus tenants representatives, was set up and the following resolution passed

with only 2 against.

"Local trade union branches, stewards committees and trades councils should send delegates to this committee if not already represented. The committee must make the following demands:

1. Access to hospitals' accounts and plans from the Area Health Authority relating also to drug costs, waiting lists and social need.
2. Completion of enough new hospitals in areas convenient for local people, before any old ones closed.
3. Automatic increases in government spending to match rising cost of running the NHS.

This must be seen as the beginning of trade union control of the NHS. Investigation of hospital accounts must show the need for nationalisation of drug and medical supply industries, and for the Labour government to start a crash hospital building programme."

To go forward from this conference, these demands must be acted upon, and the whole labour movement mobilised in defence of the right to free health care. This important fight must be carried through by the E London committee, and similar committees established in every area.

SPARKS SOLD OUT

After twelve weeks in dispute, the parity claim by EPTU local authority workers has been sold out by the union leadership. Amidst accusations from delegates of manoeuvring by union officials, a meeting of shop stewards and delegates in London on 2nd May voted by 104 to 40 for a return to work, acceptance of the local authorities offer and the setting up of an arbitration tribunal to consider the remainder of the electricians claim. A work to rule will continue while the tribunal is sitting.

The claim is for parity of earnings with outside contractors who at present earn up to £20 a week more than local authority workers doing the same work. The local authorities offered an £8 increase but part of this is already being paid in threshold agreements and London weighting. London workers under such a settlement would only get an increase of £3.60.

NOT SERIOUS

The record of the union leadership in this dispute shows that they never intended to seriously fight for the parity claim. Whilst their members were on strike in various parts of the country, union officials

argued against all out strike action on the grounds that they did not have enough money to provide strike pay. This weakened the position of those workers already out on strike. It was clear to them and to the rest of the membership that a half hearted fight could not be successful. Nevertheless, the union leadership limited support for the strikers to overtime bans and a work to rule. As a result the £1 a week levy of the membership became more and more difficult to collect, financial support from the strikers diminished and demoralisation set in.

HARDENED

At the same time the attitude of the local authorities negotiators hardened when it was realised that the struggle was being undermined by the union officials. This emerged at the national meeting when a letter from the local authorities was read out. It was claimed by the employers that parity could not be granted owing to the acute financial crisis facing local authorities and the pressure being exerted on them by the government and rate-payers to cut down public spending. It is rumoured that the local authorities may even withdraw their original offer.

This, then was the background to a meeting where it is alleged the delegates were divided up before the meeting in to those supporting

a return to work and those proposing a further escalation. Those supporting a stepping up of strike action were then seated at the back of the hall, presumably in an attempt to isolate them. The meeting resulted in a vote for a return to work, amidst vocal protests from a number of delegates.

It is clear that arbitration will not give the electrical workers the parity they are demanding and the end of industrial action on the claim can only be temporary as inflation eats more deeply in to the wages of these workers. The Workers Socialist League supports the parity claim of local authority workers and their struggle to defend their standard of living against inflation. We demand that the union leadership fight for the parity claim in full. We further propose that when the next annual pay claim is submitted for November next EPTU members should demand that their leadership fights for a sliding scale of wages, linked to the cost of living as determined by committees of trade unionists. We say that the social contract must be rejected by all trade unionists as an attempt by the Labour government to make the working class pay for the crisis. The leaders of the EPTU are determined to avoid any fight on these issues, as shown by the decision they got at the Douglas conference on 8th May. EPTU members must organise with other unions representing local authority workers on a full programme for the defence of jobs and wages.

SWINDON UNIONS MUST DEFEND JOBS

Swindon is fast becoming an unemployment blackspot. Redundancies at a number of factories in the Swindon area in recent weeks have sharply increased the already large number of workers unemployed.

In the period since the war full employment has been maintained by a steady influx of medium sized light engineering companies into the town. Except for a brief period in 1971-2, the number of workers on the dole has remained below the national average. But the latest figures from the Department of Employment show that 4.1% of the working population are unemployed and a further 1.4% are on short time.

SACKINGS

Three small companies have sacked 250 workers in the last two weeks, and they have been joined on the dole by at least 200 men from British Leyland's Pressed Steel factory who have accepted voluntary redundancy. At Square D, an electrical components manufacturer, employing 1,100 workers, 40 are to be made redundant in the near future.

The prospects of finding jobs when there is such a rapidly increasing pool of permanent unemployed are very slim. No sizeable employer is recruiting labour in a situation where each in turn is

forced into short time working or sackings.

PROGRAMME

At present, both the AUEW District Committee and the local CSEU committee have adopted a programme of transitional demands in order to fight for the defence of jobs. The programme which includes the demands for a sliding scale of hours, opening of the books and an end to business secrets, was drawn up after the defeat of an occupation struggle at Plessey Inter-connect. The same bodies have also agreed to hold a meeting of all the town's working class bodies to discuss the unemployment situation. As yet, the meeting has been put off apparently because the speakers invited, from the Labour government and the AUEW have declined to attend.

At its May meeting the Swindon Trades Council set up a sub-committee to "tackle the unemployment problem". Its only terms of reference are ludicrously to "work closely with the local council" in "attracting alternative employment" to the town, but do not put forward a single point of programme for those workers whose jobs come under the axe.

The AUEW District Committee has such a programme to defend jobs - and this should be acted on. The right wing dominated Trades Council only uses the new sub-committee to avoid mobilising the working class in defence of jobs.

DONS' 'DAY OF ACTION'

The economic crisis has even provoked a response from university teachers. Refusal by the government to submit to arbitration the paltry increase of 18 per cent which the Association of University Teachers has claimed for its members brought many teachers out on strike in support of the 'National Day of Action' on 6th May.

About 1000 marched in Manchester, and in cities such as London and Leeds calls for meetings drew a tremendous response.

Those who hoped that the meetings would put forward a programme of action were disappointed. AUT general secretary Laurie Sapper entertained a packed auditorium of 1700 London teachers by poking harmless fun at government 'stupidity' and dwelling on the AUT negotiating team's persistent moderation.

PRENTICE

The next day Reg Prentice, right-wing Secretary of State for Education, condemned direct action by university teachers as 'irrelevant and unhelpful'. The next step is not clear; most likely Prentice and Sapper will reach a compromise of no rise now and a bigger increase next year (which will in the meanwhile have been eaten up by inflation).

The Workers Socialist League, in leafleting the London meeting, was the only group to make a political intervention. We criticised the inadequacy of the AUT salary claim and the lack of a programme to achieve it and fought the notion of teachers as "gentlemen scholars" cut off from the labour movement. Many teachers have begun to see the need for trade-unionism and for cohesive, united and militant action.

'The crisis of capitalism threatens every aspect of the education system, not just teachers' salaries. The running down of universities by inadequate finance poses a serious threat to job security and working conditions. Every vacancy not filled means a decline in the quality of education, or a 'speed-up' for the remaining staff, or both. Teachers must fight every step of the way not just to maintain and improve their standard of living but also to ensure that university funds keep pace with inflation.

'This battle must be waged hand-in-hand with other members of the universities. Teachers must seek the support of students for their claims, and be prepared in turn to help them defend their own standard of living and education. They must likewise campaign for complete solidarity with non-academic staff, a key step in which is the establishment of the AUT as a fully functioning trade union, affiliated to the TUC.

'The Workers Socialist League calls upon university teachers to:

- demand a sliding scale of salaries to meet increases in the cost of living, as determined by committees elected from teachers' trade unions.
- campaign for full information on government plans for education finance, and for a sliding scale of expenditure to meet the effects of inflation in full.
- give complete support to NUS grant claims and to the demands for salaries and conditions made by non-academic staff.
- demand immediate affiliation of the AUT to the TUC.
- demand that the AUT leadership support claims with properly prepared strike action.'

astms



Jenkins - appears on anti-market platforms with known racists.

ANNUAL DELEGATES CONFERENCE

no real proposals or policies for concrete action in the struggle for womens' rights.

The emergency motion opposing the Abortion (amendment) Bill put by the NEC was passed with opposition from the right wing and WRP delegates. The WRP argument was that the motion "did not go far enough" and solve the crisis of capitalism by "calling for the nationalisation of the banks and major industries without compensation, under workers' control". In fact all the WRP motions were lost or referred to the NEC, not presenting any concrete answers to the problems being discussed. Their motion on the government's Education cuts was largely correct but ended with the usual WRP programmatic calls of: 1. Occupation of all work places threatened with closure, 2. The demand that the Labour government revoke all spending cuts in education and nationalises the banks and basic industries without compensation and under workers' control.

NO COMMITMENTS

As a result the NEC was able to get it referred to them, committing them to nothing. The motion of course gave no concrete proposals or aims to workers in education which can be fought for in their place of work.

The NEC also manoeuvred to avoid discussion on the EEC so the amendment calling on Clive Jenkins to stop campaigning with "reactionary elements and known racists" was not put. Peter Shore MP was a guest speaker and spoke against the EEC but by cutting out the motions on the agenda and the discussion, the platform prevented delegates from asking him why the "left" MPs would not fight Wilson or call for any action by the Labour Party NEC to campaign against the Market.

The discussion on the Shrews-

bury Two was taken after much delay. A motion was put calling for action to be taken to, amongst other things, secure the immediate release of Tomlinson and Warren. This was re-emphasised to the NEC when the mover of the motion summed up before the vote. He didn't mean 'vague discussions with MPs' or ASTMS legal advisors drawing up new proposals for the conspiracy laws, he meant action to secure the immediate release of the Shrewsbury Two - including strike action. This motion was passed.

Due to the usual "pressure of business" most of the motions on the Health Service were removed from the agenda, but the two main composites were put. They both contained transitional demands for the defence of the NHS. The first called for a black on private patients the abolition of private practice inside and outside of the NHS, the injection of more finance into the NHS and the setting up of committees of trade unionists of health service workers and consumers to examine the books and the running of the Health Authorities. The NEC opposed the motion and called for its rejection but it was carried overwhelmingly. (This was the only vote that went against the NEC recommendation). This was clearly due to it putting a concrete programme for the defence of the NHS. The second NHS motion, carried unanimously, called for a sliding scale of expenditure to maintain the NHS and defend it against inflation.

The Conference showed the clear role of the trade union bureaucracy in defending the Labour government in spite of calls for Healey's resignation because of the Budget. It did not attack Wilson, defend Heffer against his sacking or call for the ASTMS Parliamentary Committee to fight for the removal of the Labour right wing.

Nevertheless the Conference did adopt a programme for the defence of the NHS, a call for immediate action to release the Shrewsbury Two, opposition to the Abortions (amendment) Bill and support for the workers sit-in at Imperial Type-writers. The test now is how these policies are acted upon by the ASTMS leadership.

The Conference was opened by Len Wells whose address was much more left wing than the actions of the NEC during the Conference.

All the motions against the social contract were referred to the NEC who verbally oppose it but were not willing to be bound by a conference decision.

The motions on womens' rights were also referred to the NEC, which means ASTMS still has no policy for women but boasts a larger membership among female workers than most unions.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The discussion on womens' rights was preceeded by guest speaker Marie Patterson - chairman of the TUC. She made very correct statements on womens' rights with

RAIL MEN HINDER WHEIGHELL'S DEALING

Members of the three main rail unions are still being held at bay by their leaders following the rejection of the British Rail Board's pay offer on May 5th. Sidney Weighell, general secretary of the NUR stated 'unequivocally' that "the union does not accept that the Board's 'ability to pay' is a valid reason for denying railwaymen adequate basic rates of pay."

RESISTANCE

Trapped by the resistance of his membership to cuts in their living standards, Weighell makes his reluctance to fight very obvious in every statement. He pointed out sadly that: "The messages coming to NUR headquarters from all over the country make it abundantly clear that even if the union leaders had been prepared to accept an offer anywhere near the 21.2% suggested the union's grass roots member-

ship would have rejected the deal".

The contrast between the pull back of the leaders and the movement of the membership is not often so openly admitted. Weighell went on: "There is no way in which the union could sell a 21.2% settlement, or any other settlement in that area to railwaymen at the present time".

OFFER

The Board's offer, which includes consolidation of existing threshold payments, would only bring the basic rate for railwaymen to £31.10 - far short of the basic rates in other nationalised industries. The Board's justification centres on the claim that its financial state is "disastrous". Their intention is to recoup as much as possible out of their deficit by further exploitation of railwaymen.

H. Farrimond, head of BR industrial relations stated this openly saying that "with such a labour intensive industry, manpower costs must be the prime area for

economies."

Pressure must be intensified therefore on Weighell, who in this inflationary period must lead a fight not just for the full claim, but also for a sliding scale of wages clause to defend that settlement against inflation, compensating for the rising cost of living as assessed by railway trade union committees.

MANAGEMENT

The drive to attack railway jobs must also raise the demand for the abolition of the Rail Board. As part of the fight for this, local regional and national committees of railway trade unionists must demand access to all accounts and information available to BR management, and the right to supervise its actions. This is the necessary beginning to full workers' management of the railways as part of an integrated planned transport system nationalised under workers' management. This is the only way to defend rail jobs.

CHRYSLER

Chrysler management at the Stoke plant in Coventry attempted unsuccessfully to split the wage strike now in progress by an offer of bogus workers' participation in the style of Wedgwood Benn. This manoeuvre was rejected by a mass meeting and the strike continues.

The Chrysler proposals however had another side to them - they were an overture to Benn preparatory to appealing to the Labour government for a similar scheme to Ryder for Chrysler.

This, along with Stokes' defence of the Ryder Report at the BLMC shareholders meeting and Heselstine's calculation that its implementation would mean 33,000 redundancies, should end all speculation that the Ryder Report is anything other than a direct attack on the working class.

It is to the credit of Chrysler workers that the left diversion of Benn "workers participation" fraud was rejected. This same strength is reflected in the strike of office workers in Dunlop which has shut down almost the whole of BLMC.

These struggles show that given leadership and programme the working class will resist the attacks being launched upon them and are not easily misled by left talk.

£500 monthly development fund

From the first edition of *Socialist Press*, where we analysed Benn's Industry Bill, under the headline 'Jail For Opening the Books?', our paper has exposed the betrayals of the reformists, while fighting in practice in the workers' movement for the demands and principles of the *Transitional Programme*.

Our paper is already winning a very favourable response from many new readers. To improve it and move towards weekly publication we need your support.

Send donations to our £500 per month development fund to:

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Letter: WRP Meeting

May 6th.

Dear Comrade,

The local branch of the WRP held what they called an ATUA meeting on Sunday May 4th in Winsford Civic Hall. In the leaflet, widely distributed advertising it, it was described as a "public meeting".

We attended this meeting and had no sooner occupied a seat when the local WRP secretary ordered us out, accusing us of being WSL members (which we are not) and emphasising that it was an ATUA meeting. We were told - NO WSL at WRP meetings.

We then posed the following questions: Would they turn out of their 'public' meetings trade unionists who belong to IS - IMG - CP or the Labour Party? If the answer is yes then at least their sectarianism is constant, if it is no then why the discrimination against those they allege to be members of the WSL. What is it the leaders of the WRP fear?

That the WSL should be treated in this fashion is unprecedented in this town and for us is an indication of the further degeneration of the WRP.

Let it be recorded that we are opposed to such discrimination.

Yours fraternally,
L. Dudley,
A. Dudley.

Winsford,

'TWO': No Parole

The continued refusal of the TUC leaders of fight for the release of the Shrewsbury Two has paved the way for yet another kick in the teeth for the unions from the rightward-moving Labour government. The TUC had pinned its hopes on an early parole for the pickets who would then have completely carried the can for the refusal of the reformist leaders to challenge Tory courts and capitalist laws.

But last week in Parliament, Roy Jenkins, the Labour Party's Tory Home Secretary, told delighted and cheering Conservative benches that parole would not be granted to the pickets and that he had 'no power' to influence or direct the parole board. The enthusiasm from the extreme right wing for Jenkins statement appears to have been unmatched by any class hostility from the Labour ranks to the blatant attack

on trade unionism carried out by a Labour minister. The 'left', who have sat silently through the continued imprisonment of the Two - and failed even to mobilise the forces of the Tribune group to campaign for their release, and who passively allowed the use of troops in Glasgow to break a wages strike - appeared too cowed by their past retreats to launch any attacks.

The whole trade union movement must now begin to use its weight to remove the right wing treacherous leadership of the Labour Party, which has nothing in common with the working class.

But the central question is still to force the release of the pickets. The issue must be fought for at every trade union branch meeting and the resolutions demanding national action must be rushed to the TUC and the national leadership of all unions. Only general strike action will prevent the imprisonment of the Two remaining a precedent on the statute books for the British bourgeoisie now preparing new attacks on the working class.

WSL..PUBLIC MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM
Digbeth Civic Hall,
Committee Rm 4
WEDNESDAY 28th MAY 7.30

Speaker: A.Thornett

HULL
Hull Central Library
WEDNESDAY 28th MAY 7.30

Speaker: John Nolan

NF Thugs....cont from page 1

Out Movement as a way forward from the demonstration.

The IS mentioned not a word of politics, their speaker simply saying that the National Front must be smashed.

From the demonstration itself one very clear lesson must be drawn. The Front are prepared to mount brutal unprovoked attacks by trained groups. One hour after the demonstration had dispersed a group of students who had been on the demonstration were caught in an isolated position by this gang and beaten up.

When action is mobilised against the National Front this must include organised workers defence squads ready at any moment to defend against this type of attack.

The Oxford demonstration was a protest with a defensive posture and was caught by surprise by the fascist attack. As Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Programme*:

"It is necessary to give organised expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a workers' militia as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organisations, meetings and press."



Part of the Anti-fascist demonstration in Oxford, May 12th.

Labour attacks....continued from page 1

speaks of the necessity from Ryder of creating 33,000 redundancies in BLMC. Benn's much-publicised attack on Finniston is blown up by the press, but is only a cover for the fact that Finniston is carrying out policies dictated by the Labour budget which Benn voted for, which ended subsidies to nationalised industries, and accelerated the recession and unemployment in the British economy. Finniston is thus portrayed as the one leading the attack, when in reality it is the entire Labour leadership carrying out a common policy of defending capitalism. Benn himself then goes on to state that there is in fact no division within the Cabinet on the Industry Bill.

Nor is the collaborative attempt to maintain capitalism confined to the Labour leadership. The TUC economic committee is discussing "tightening up" the social contract, blaming wages for inflation, and thus coming to the aid of Wilson, who is forced to unleash the whole result of the crisis onto the working class.

In this situation the 'left' MPs begin to cry out and make blustering speeches. Their main anger should be first directed at themselves. The Tribune Group of MPs took a decision not to oppose Healey's budget. Not a single leading 'left' defended Eric Heffer, sacked by Wilson for opposing Common Market entry. The 'left' are refusing to use the machinery of the Labour Party NEC (on which they have a complete majority) to fight Wilson's flagrant violation of Party policy on the EEC question, while allowing him to use the authority of government office to put the pro-Market case. Still more openly refusing to challenge Wilson, the two Tribuneites who had attacked Wilson at the weekend, Sidney Bidwell and Norman Atkinson were reprimanded by a Tribune Group meeting on Monday night.

Bidwell correctly called for a complete clear out of the Labour Party leadership, but was immediately attacked by fellow-Tribuneites Benn, who says Wilson is of all things, "a good democrat" (having just flouted the LP special conference vote on the EEC), and Leslie Huckfield who said anyone attacking the leadership is "helping the right wing". The reality of it is that while

the Labour leaders are forced to the right in defence of capitalism, there is not yet one 'left' voice in the Parliamentary LP challenging the right wing from the class interests of the working class, rather than simply saving face through left talk. The start of such a fight must be the struggle against the Budget, of which Ian Mikardo has correctly said: "When (men) are put out of work as a conscious act of policy it is an obscenity." The need to defend jobs and the value of wages against capitalism's offensive is pressing.

The first requirement in this is the defence of living standards against inflation through the fight for agreements to include a sliding scale of wages compensating in full for the increase in the cost of living as assessed by elected trade union committees. This is the only way the value of even large percentage increases can be maintained.

As closures are threatened or redundancies announced by management, the plants concerned must be occupied on the demand for work-sharing on full pay. Every job lost today adds to the 1 million unemployed as the recession grows. The firmest fight is necessary on this question. At the same time trade unions must actively begin to organise the unemployed in fighting for these demands.

In every case of jobs and wages under attack the books of the employer must be opened to elected committees of trade unionists. This will establish clearly the basis for nationalisation of firms without compensation, establishing workers' management in opposition to the direct state management as seen in British Steel and British Rail.

The campaign to reject the capitalist EEC must be linked with the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, and all nationalist conceptions of "sovereignty" and of import controls administered by the capitalist state must be opposed.

This programme requires a revolutionary leadership to be carried into practice. It is the only programme which can answer the escalating economic crisis. We call on those lefts who now talk against Wilson to carry through a fight to remove him and the right wing from office, and carry these policies into the ranks of the Labour and trade union movement.