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"OPEN LEYLAND'S BOOKS" DEMANDS ELECTED COMMITTEE

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SPECIAL REPORT

British Leyland management demonstrated last week the crucial importance the employers attach to the defence of business secrets from the working class. After first offering to open the books of the Cowley Assembly Plant in order to "prove" their case for speed-up and voluntary redundancy - they kept them firmly closed when confronted with a shop stewards demand that the books be inspected by a committee specifically elected from the shop stewards committee for that purpose.

Leyland's surprise offer to open the books in Cowley was coupled to their announcement of intended speed up and voluntary redundancy throughout the combine which carried the implied threat of compulsory redundancy to follow.

In an attempt to isolate each plant the capitalist press and television, which have given massive coverage to Leyland over the past months, are suddenly silent on the overall figures of cuts throughout the combine. But it is clear that every major plant in the Cars Division is affected. Over 1,000 jobs are to go at Longbridge and in Cowley Leyland intend to axe 466 manual workers and 108 staff in the Body Plant and 730 manual and 130 staff in the Assembly Plant.

SPEED-UP

In Cowley the attack is severe. Management expect the 18,000 workers in the complex to accept these cuts with a simultaneous increase in production, in the Assembly Plant, of 1 car per hour on each track. This is straight speed up and presented as such by management. In a letter to all workers the Plant Director asks them to co-operate and "to work a little harder. Do you think that is too much in view of the extreme gravity of the situation".

Under these conditions Leyland hope to achieve the cuts by direct attack. Their announcement last Thursday makes it clear that manning and relief agreements are to be broken and work study findings completed over the last 18 months are to be implemented in full.

5-HR DISCUSSION

The announcement of the cuts was followed by a full meeting on Friday morning, of all 250 Assembly Plant shop stewards. The meeting debated all the issues involved for almost 5 hours before taking decisions.

At the centre of the discussion was the management's offer to open the books. The offer was welcomed by many of the speakers but a number of crucial questions were posed: How much information would actually be revealed? Who would they be opened to? Would the information

had been sworn to secrecy over Ryder?

Stewards argued that a published balance sheet would be of little value. Information declared must include the stock positions including finished cars and their locations - such figures are not normally disclosed. They must show details of their cash flow position, again crucial information which is not normally available, and full details of all expenditure.

It was clear in the debate that the strength of the policies developed resulted from the decision six months earlier to elect from the shop stewards committee an open the books committee to start the campaign for the books to be opened and begin to study the workings of BL - a decision which was hard fought, with the motion to set up the committee only carried by 102 votes to 101.

By the end of last Friday's meeting the only voice raised against resistance to the cuts was Reg Parsons, the extreme right winger installed as convenor after the victimisation and witch hunt of Alan Thornett a year and a half ago.

REJECTION

Motions were moved rejecting speed up and voluntary redundancy; for the immediate convening of the open the books committee to

prepare and circulate a report to expose the company's case, and a further motion that when the books are opened the open the books committee will be in attendance. These resolutions were carried almost unanimously despite the pleas of Parsons.

The open the books committee met and prepared its report over the weekend, and produced 2,000 copies. On Monday morning the deputy convenors appointed to circulate the reports on behalf of the JSSC refused to do so and asked management to lock them up - which they enthusiastically did - pending a meeting of the JSSC sub-committee the next day.

Some of the reports however, which had been taken by the stewards before they were locked up, began to circulate in the plant and there was a considerable impact particularly around one paragraph of the 4 page

had been spent on redecorating the plant director's offices.

By Wednesday widespread pressure in the factory and demands for the circulation of the report resulted in an approach by the convenors to management asking for the reports in order that they could be distributed. Management refused, saying that the reports were now impounded as "subversive literature"

When the *Oxford Mail* appeared that evening it carried a lengthy 'refutation' of the report headed "£23,000 spent on office claim denied" and went on to say that they had only spent £300 on the office.

DERISION

A roar of derision went up from the plant at the £300 figure and the widespread demand was voiced - Why go to the press? Open the books and prove it!

Next day television and national press coverage, although completely biased and continuing to ignore the main body of the report (which took up the management's case for speed up, demolished their figures and demonstrated how they can manipulate their cash flow, placed demands on information required when the books were opened, and called for Leyland to be nationalised) stimulated expectancy for the opening of the books the next day.

On Friday morning a representative of the open the books committee waited with the convenors, who had informed management of the demand that the committee be in attendance, for confirmation of this and the place of the meeting. The reply eventually came that the elected committee would not under any circumstances be allowed into the meeting.

On this basis the convenors also refused to attend and no meeting took place.

The interest the fight had developed in the town was shown by the *Oxford Mail* stop press item: "Open the Books Committee, formed at Cowley Car Assembly Plant, refused admission to talks at which BL plan to reveal further details of factory finances."

SECRETS

Management was meanwhile pressing on with their fight and developing an argument to defend business secrets. The *Oxford Times* on the day the books should have been opened had this to say: "But if participation is to be effective, there will be many occasions when Leyland will have to give confidential information to workers' representatives. And they will be reluctant to do so if

TORIES BID FOR MIDDLE CLASS

The employers' offensive against jobs and wages found political expression last week in the Tory Party conference.

Strengthened by Wilson's reactionary policies, the Thatcher leadership was able to claim that mass unemployment and plummeting living standards were the outcome of "socialism".

Of course, the usual Conservative Party rabid right-wingers paraded on the platform in support of Franco's murders, capital punishment and "law and order". But behind this was a determined preparation of the leadership to bid for the mass support of the middle class in order to drive out the Labour government at the next election.

Not that kind words were not said about the efforts of Wilson's cabinet on behalf of the employers. Sir Keith Joseph defended ex-left Michael Foot as "patriotic":

"To his credit he has learned lesson number one - that inflation destroys jobs," quoted Joseph, before proceeding to slam into the offensive against "socialism". William Whitelaw differentiated between good and bad points of Wilson's policy, stating confidently clearly that

"When they are pursuing socialist measures we shall do everything in our power to defeat them."

But conspicuous also was the call for "worker participation" schemes put forward by Tory Peter Walker, stressing the imp-

profits."

This reflected a new understanding of the value of the bureaucratic leaders of workers organisations to the speed-up proposals necessary for the employers in the coming period.

The bid for middle class support centred on whipping up nationalist sentiments, support for private health and education, attacks on taxation and stress on the importance of the "individual". This found most studied expression in Thatcher's set piece closing speech, where she spelled out the middle class "vision":

"A man's right to work as he will, to spend what he earns, to own property, to have the state as servant and not as master ..."

Under conditions where 1¼ million are denied the right to work by capitalism, and millions more are excluded from ever being able to "own property" by speculators and monopolists, Thatcher uses these illusions to deceive and rally the middle class - many of whom themselves are facing impoverishment as a result not of socialism, but of the capitalist policies of the Wilson government.

As we have consistently warned since *Socialist Press* No.2, the door to extreme reaction is being opened by the betrayals of this government.

The need to remove the right-wing Labour leadership in order to present a clear alternative to the Tories has never been great-

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

SPAIN US BACKS FASCISTS

With more liberation fighters about to face execution, the wave of demonstrations and protests now taking place in Spain show that the Spanish working class is strong and now prepared openly to fight the Franco regime.

In protests following the executions of the five Basque militants a fortnight ago, demonstrators shouting anti-Franco slogans were prepared to risk the gunfire of the police. Last Tuesday hundreds joined a demonstration in Barcelona, blocking traffic, shouting slogans and openly distributing leaflets before the police arrived.

PETTY BOURGEOIS

These demonstrations are far more significant than the rally held at the Plaza de Oriente in Madrid last week to commemorate the Fascist victory in the Civil War, at which 150,000 petty-bourgeois Franco supporters, together with functionaries of the Fascist regime, were brought from all over Spain to hear the aging dictator announce that Spain was under assault by an international 'leftist Masonic conspiracy'.

As the demonstrations mount, and the counter execution of police increases - 8 in the past week - the Franco regime consolidates itself behind its last defences of armed force, butchery and torture.

The bastion of Fascist police rule, the Guardia Civil, has been

given a new 'hard line' commander in preparation for the coming escalation of confrontations with Spanish workers. Franco now turns increasingly to Guardia Civil as the fractures appear within his own armed forces. The arrest last Wednesday of three more army officers in Barcelona adds to those arrested last summer on charges of sedition.

In this situation the US ruling class predictably emerges as Franco's much-needed ally. Anxious to keep his four military bases in Spain, Ford abstained from the chorus of hypocritical protest and withdrawal of ambassadors by West European governments following the executions.

The deal renewing the US military bases in Spain was signed last week in Washington. As Defence Secretary Schlesinger succinctly put it: "It is ill-advised to allow our security arrangements to be subject to the current volatility of international and domestic politics".

It is precisely the "volatility" of the working class internationally that drives the American ruling class to reveal its true attitudes to Franco.

The increase of a further 10% in the price of oil by OPEC underlines the need of American capital to show it is prepared for another Middle East war to bring down the oil price, should the precarious state of capitalism in the US necessitate this. At the same time the withdrawal of Greece from NATO, the refusal of US bases by Turkey, the Portuguese revolution and the increasing militancy of the Italian workers, all combine to

force the US ruling class, in its search for an area of 'stability' in Southern Europe as a base of operations to seek out and openly ally with the most oppressive dictatorship in Europe.

For similar reasons it is no surprise to find the ambassadors of the EEC countries now crawling back to Madrid - only hours after the terse statement from the EEC that "negotiations between the EEC and Spain [on the question of trade concessions] cannot be resumed at this time".

Meanwhile the French Foreign Minister, Sauvagnarnes, has let it be known that as far as he is concerned trade talks with Spain - vital to Franco, since the nine EEC countries take nearly half of Spanish exports - could recommence at any time.

Alongside this, the already massive and still growing European investment in Spain depends, in a situation of world economic crisis, for its profitability on the fascist destruction of the trade unions and workers organisations and the consequently low wages of Spanish workers.

For these reasons, the capitalist class, either in Western Europe or in Spain itself, is unable, even if some liberal elements would prefer, to replace Franco with a stable bourgeois democracy.

The extension of democratic rights to the Spanish working class will come immediately into conflict with the profitability of capitalist investment in Spain. That is why the only successor to Fascism can be a workers' republic.

The establishment of a united front of workers' parties to lead general strike action to bring down Franco must, therefore, be the first step towards the formation of a workers' government in Spain.



Franco and Juan Carlos greeting last week's staged demonstration

CARILLO BACKTRACKS

The execution of five anti-fascist militants on September 27th by Franco has forced Spanish Communist Party General Secretary Carillo to retreat on his pledge of support for a future government of 'national unity' under Bourbon heir apparent Prince Juan Carlos. (see article in Socialist Press of October 1st).

After Juan Carlos appeared at Franco's side on the balcony of the Royal Palace in Madrid at a fascist rally to celebrate the executions and bolster the shift to extreme repression by the regime, Carillo gave an interview to a 'liberal' Paris magazine.

"It will not be sufficient", he said, "to replace Franco by Juan Carlos for the road to be open to democracy... Juan Carlos is only a puppet". Attempting to cover his own tracks, he criticised those who looked to a political solution for Spain under Franco's nominee:

"It is a political mistake, as I have already said; the process of democratising Spain will take place without Juan Carlos, if not against him".

Carillo's latest 'formulae' for democracy in Spain are an obscene hypocrisy. A month ago he was proposing collaboration with this reactionary Prince - only when Juan Carlos appears in public at Franco's elbow the day after the executions are the Stalinist leaders forced to take their distance from the murderer's apprentice. And Carillo confirmed that the CP fully intends to force a 'peaceful road' on Spanish workers, and that he fears above all the prospect of revolutionary struggle:

"I think, I still hope that despite the latest murders ordered by Franco one can avoid a civil war and bring in democracy without generalised violence breaking out. But if the regime applied new death sentences it risks unleashing a popular movement and condemning Spain to a bloodbath".

PORTUGAL

NORTH AND SOUTH UNITE



Soldiers march through Lisbon

The long-standing division between the north and south of Portugal has been broken down, at least inside the army. It is now in Oporto that the midnight Potemkin-like scenes involving soldiers, sailors and workers, once familiar only in Lisbon, take place.

And these meetings have involved delegates from 18 units in the North, including a delegation from the most northern town in Portugal - Chaves.

The sharpest developments have followed the closure on 3rd October of the CICAP (Centre for the Instruction of Vehicle Drivers) barracks in Oporto, by Veloso, commander of the Northern Region.

The soldiers voted unanimously against this and elected a 'CICAP re-opening committee'. On 6th October the 600 CICAP soldiers led an enormous demonstration of over 30,000 workers and soldiers through Oporto to their barracks to demand its re-opening.

They demonstrated outside the barracks, which are guarded by sections of a "crack" force of COPCON, until 3am on Tuesday when they voted to conduct their campaign from the artillery

voted 387 to 7 to support their action. As the CICAP soldiers marched in, 2 - 3,000 workers remained around the walls to support them in case of any moves against them.

In fact, though Veloso threatened to bombard them if they did not leave by Tuesday night, he has been unable to carry out this threat.

Tuesday night's meeting at the barracks was punctuated by the cheers that greeted the delegates from 18 northern regiments in the south. It was past midnight when the 24 delegates from Chaves arrived.

DEMANDS

The CICAP re-opening campaign committee issued its demands. They included calling for an end to militarist discipline which made them the "guard-dogs of the bourgeoisie"; the removal of Veloso, the immediate re-opening of CICAP and an alliance between workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors. The delegates from the other units decided to return to their own barracks and fight for "immediate socialism".

The PPD, extreme right-wing party in government, then mobilised a huge demonstration on Wednesday night and marched to Serra do Pilar, opposing the CICAP soldiers' occupation. They were met by only a few hundred workers who had quickly assembled to protect the barracks.

A cordon of unarmed soldiers was put between the two camps to avoid bloodshed, but it proved impossible to stop the advance of the reactionaries. Fighting ensued and shots rang out, in which 60 people were wounded.

The Northern Region Commander at this point wanted to send in motorised machine guns against the barracks, but had to abandon the plan because of the superior fire power of the regiment and its good strategic position.

Fighting continued until 6am. One side was singing the *Internationale* and the other the Portuguese anthem. The soldiers decided to organise another demonstration and elected delegates to go to the factories in the north to

Lisbon itself, of course, has not been quiet this week. On Monday workers demonstrated in support of the RACIS "red regiment" after its commander, Dinis de Almeida, said on Radio-Club that he feared an attack on the barracks. Three cannons now adorn the front of the barracks and 30 soldiers are permanently on guard.

At Beja airbase the order to transfer 40 pilots had to be rescinded after 1000 militants besieged the barracks.

The organised working class has also been flexing its muscles. Several thousand steel workers on strike answered the call of the CP and Trade Unions to march through Lisbon. However, the CP is desperate to hold back the independent developments of the working class. They dominated the demonstration with the slogan: "Vasco must return!"

The Stalinists, however, have made all sorts of statements about supporting the "counter-offensive of popular forces" and have correctly denounced Mario Soares call for an all-Europe conference of Socialist and Communist Parties to discuss Portugal.

These moves are a desperate manoeuvre to try to win back support in the forthcoming union elections.

DIVERSION

Central to the Stalinists' strategy is to divert away from their coalition with PPD reactionaries and the right wing of the AFM in the sixth provisional government. The workers and soldiers now forcing the pace in spontaneous struggle must demand now of the various workers' parties that they break all links with the AFM and bourgeois parties and form a workers' government to carry through the economic and political changes necessary to defend jobs and wages in the growing economic crisis.

Central to this demand is the consolidation and extension of committees of workers and peasants which must link with committees of rank and file soldiers and sailors on a local, regional and national basis, paving the way for the all-out struggle for the socialist revolution

ISRAEL ZIONISTS JAIL UNION LEADER

A wave of protest swept the Israeli ports of Haifa and Ashdod last week following the jail sentence inflicted on dockworkers' leader Yeochoua Peres.

He faced a two month jail term, plus a fine of over three hundred pounds, for the 'crime' of calling a strike in the ports

without giving the period of prior warning laid down by the Zionist state's anti-working class labour laws.

The sentence on Peres is the most serious ever brought against a member of the labour movement in Israel for purely trade union 'offences'.

MALAYSIA POLICE STATE LAWS IMPOSED

The Malaysian cabinet last week finalised measures that amount to the imposition of a police state - in an attempt to contain the rising struggle of liberation forces. Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak decreed emergency legislation giving police and 'security' forces the right to round up suspects and hold them with

The new repression follows actions within the last month by the military wing of the illegal Malaysian Communist Party, including the blowing up of the 'National Monument' in Kuala Lumpur (the capital) - a 250 ton bronze statue celebrating the government's 'victory' (with the help of the most savage repression by British troops) during the 'Malaysian emergency' in the 1950s and an attack on the headquarters of the notorious paramilitary 'Police Field Force'. This followed a series of other clashes in the countryside between liberation fighters and government troops and police, and the discovery of caches of rice and equipment hidden by guerrilla forces for use in future campaigns.

Abdul Razak's dictatorship is centring its drive on the villages in the state of Pahang, the poor, heavily forested region in central Malaysia east of the capital. Based particularly on the Chinese population - an increasingly oppressed national group under the government's policy of 'bumiputras': preference towards Malay-speakers - the Communist Party is now thought by government sources to

in almost every village in the area. To deal with this situation, government officials are already debating the reintroduction of some of the most brutal measures of the 'emergency' years.

One of these is so-called 'food denial' - severs penalties for carrying quantities of food around in the countryside - an open admission by the government that it is dealing not with a minority but with a movement that has mass support in the rural areas.

The new legislation has even provoked protest from almost the entire Malaysian legal profession. As well as powers of prolonged detention, the authorities will also now make it compulsory for judges to give maximum sentences, do away with juries, allow denunciations from children and anonymous witnesses, abolish appeals to the Privy Council in London, and above all place the burden of proof on the accused person.

It is clear that the drive to the right by the Malaysian regime is an attempt to crush a liberation movement that has gained strength and encouragement from the victories in Indochina and the advance of liberation movements in neighbouring southern Thailand. Abdul Razak's government now returns - with the tacit support of the British government - to the same methods of police terror that were used in that 'emergency' by British officers. The British labour and trade union movement must take up the defence of the Malaysian workers, peasants and students, whose basic rights are again being trampled underfoot by a client regime of British

PROBLEMS OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

Part Two

By John Docherty

Each day now there are fresh reports of the further intensification of the revolutionary crisis in Portugal. Constantly there are new manifestations of the audacity and confidence of militant workers, revolutionary rank and file soldiers, and well-organised sections of farm labourers, as each in turn come into conflict with the capitalist state and with all those who continue to maintain and support it. The compelling dynamic of the revolutionary process tests at each new turn all those who claim to speak for the interests of the masses.

It is hardly surprising that the issues raised by the great events in Portugal have provoked the most furious debates and splits within workers organisations in every part of the world. There have even been some pale reflections of this within the higher reaches of the international Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies.

This is because the social convulsion now sweeping Portugal open the possibility for the first time for decades in Europe of the masses taking things into their own hands. This has a resounding effect on the balance of political calculations and class forces in every part of the world. Developments on the streets of Lisbon and Oporto, in the shipyards of Lisnave, the barracks of Coimbra or the fields of Alentejo are of no mere passing interest. They will soon be spilling out into all of Europe. The victories and defeats of the Portuguese masses are our victories and defeats also, and the issues they raise are of immediate and pressing importance to the workers in every part of the world.

SOARES

In a previous article we dealt with the lying hypocrisy of the leaders of the Portuguese Socialist Party. The warm reception accorded to the counter-revolutionary Soares by the Labour leaders fresh from their efforts to reduce the living standards of the British working class at Blackpool the other week is a clear confirmation of the real direction of the meaning of the 'Marxist' phrases that continue to come from the SP leaders. Recent reports indicate that there are fewer workers to be found on their demonstrations, but there can be no doubt that they continue to exercise a hold over important sections of the Portuguese working class.

One major explanation for this situation is the role of the Portuguese Communist Party. This organisation emerged from the fascist period with a record of



Soldiers, sailors and workers demonstrate in Lisbon on August 25th.

struggle against the dictatorship, and with the active support of major sections of workers, notably from among the heavy industries around Lisbon and the agricultural areas of the South.

In the early period after the coup the Communist Party had two main policies: to win as many positions as possible within the bourgeois state apparatus, the army, the press etc., and to hold back any challenge to capitalism arising from the militancy of the working class. As they took over the machinery of local government in the North, and stood foursquare with every twist and turn in the policies of the Armed Forces Movement and its successive governments, they became identified by the peasants of the North with the inability of the new regime to develop policies to serve their interests.

As the CP denounced one strike movement after another, they began to lose their control over sections of militant workers who have looked increasingly towards the various organisations to the left of them.

All of this brought about the increasing isolation of the CP during August, culminating in the overthrow of their champion Vasco Gonçalves and his fifth provisional government.

ELECTIONS

CP General Secretary, Cunhal, a most consistent supporter of every form of Stalinist class collaboration in the past has been forced to make statements about the unimportance of electoral arithmetic and the need for 'revolutionary vigilance' by the working class. This has inevitably produced a great flurrying in the Stalinist doves of France and Italy, where electoral arithmetic is the only form of politics ever con-

sidered, and in Spain where alliance with neo-fascists appears to be quite acceptable.

For the Stalinists also it was thus a significant step to sign a document on 25th August together with various 'left' organisations including even the 'Trotskyists' of the LCI. This 'unity' was in support of the 'COPCON' document largely drafted by the centrists of the PRP (the group linked to the British IS) and included even some criticisms of the CP itself.

We heard that at the meeting where the agreement was discussed, the CP representatives said nothing about what policies should be put into the document. They just signed it. Their purposes was to try to break out of their isolation.

From the point of view of the CP, however, this tactic suffered an important set-back when the fifth provisional government was overthrown. In the weeks that followed the rank and file members of the CP were clearly looking for a determined policy.

Thus at the meeting held at the Campo Pacuquo in Lisbon on 16th September and the big demonstration two days later, despite valiant efforts by the marshalls, it was impossible to get the ordinary members and supporters to shout slogans with any enthusiasm in support of the bourgeois politicians.

The CP policy of opposing all strikes has also clearly had to be changed, as can be seen for their organisation of the one-day walk-out in Alentejo on 17th September, and their support for the steel workers earlier this month.

These actions have been designed to reconcile the ordinary followers of the CP with the continued association of their party with the new sixth provisional government, which is clearly universally unpopular among militant workers, and likely to become more so as it

moves in against any of the initiatives of rank and file soldiers with the kind of talk of the need to restore 'law and order' that is familiar throughout the world.

ATTACKS

The CP leaders even while members of the government are forced politically to attack it. But however different they appear, however much they adapt to the aspirations of the masses who still follow them, the CP will certainly continue to go to any possible length to deliver the working class hand and foot to the capitalist class and its state.

In the complex and fast changing political situation, it is inevitable that groups to the left of the CP will grow. At this stage, there can be seen the development of a whole series of centrist organisations, in some cases commanding fairly large followings in the working class. The main political essence of these groups is their inability to distinguish between the role of the various social classes in the revolutionary process, resulting in their subordination of the political independence of the working class, and their incapability of mobilising the class on a revolutionary programme. But now many of their policies are being tried and tested we can assess how this is working out.

MAOISTS

The results of the reactionary 'social fascist' policies of the Maoists can be seen daily. The view of the tiny 'official' pro-Chinese CPC-ML (who are also known as the AOC) is that the CP of Cunhal is a greater threat to the Portuguese working class than American imperialism. Such a conception leads them to direct virtually all their propaganda against the CP, and to

even join the reactionary anti-communist demonstrations in the North.

The MRPP (Revolutionary Movement for a Proletarian Party) group seems to have a similar view of the world, but they have played some part in the organising of soldiers, especially against going off to the colonial wars, and have won a few positions in the unions from the CP. They create an illusion of strength by the number of enormous red and yellow paintings they have managed to get up in Lisbon and elsewhere, mostly dating from their campaign to release their leader Arnaldo Matos from prison earlier this year.

PICTURES

Something of their style can be gathered from the pictures they put up showing Matos, with what can only be described as a beatific look on his face, leading an anonymous looking section of the masses into a garish Hollywood sunrise. These hardworking sectarians continue to build up their membership, and they managed to mount a rally of 5,000 on the same night as the CP in Central Lisbon on 16th September. It is unlikely, however, that they will have much further influence on events, and they are being outpaced by a number of other Maoist groups.

The most important of the other self-appointed 'Marxist-Leninists' are the UDP (Popular Democratic Union), who are said by the others to be 'lackies of Cunhal' because they refuse to place the struggle against alleged 'social fascism' at the top of their agenda. With some of the prestige of the Chinese revolution behind them, they have managed to gain some support among committees of soldiers.

Their organisation, however, shows all the classic tendencies of a petty bourgeois centrist formation, moving in to support the famous COPCON document, and then pulling out just as suddenly when the implications of alliance with the CP became obvious.

A number of other centrist groupings were among the other signatories of the 25th August accord. The MES (Left Socialist Movement) is the most right wing of these. It unites left-wing Catholics, sections of the legal opposition from the old regime and disaffected members of the mass organisations into as well-intentioned a group of semi-liberals as you could hope to meet, and is likely to become increasingly ineffectual as time goes on.

"DIRECT ACTION"

The LUAR also consists of well-intentioned people who specialise in various forms of 'direct action'. Under fascism, this used to include plane hijacking, but recently there have been such activities as opening shoe shops abandoned by their owners and taking part in land occupations. Any directly political role for this organisation is only a remote possibility.

The best-known of the centrist groupings is the PRP-BR (Proletarian Revolutionary Party (Red Brigades) which works closely with the British International Socialists. This is a particularly important and dangerous body because it has some support in the army and elsewhere and combines an apparently incurable romanticism

Continued on Page 7 (bottom)

WHAT IS THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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VIETNAM: WRP ON THE ROAD BACK TO PABLOISM



Liberation of Da Nang, March 1975.

The liberation of Vietnam and the other nations of Indochina is the greatest blow struck at imperialism since the Chinese revolution. Like the liberation of China from the Kuomintang, the rout of Thieu in South Vietnam was led and organised by Stalinists. But Stalinism in Vietnam, which finally carried to a successful conclusion the military struggle against imperialism, was at the same time responsible for some of the worst defeats and betrayals of the Vietnamese revolution.

This political contradiction reflects the fundamental threat which imperialism levels at the gains and rights of working people of the entire world, no matter what attempts the Stalinist, reformist and centrist parties may make to find a basis for equilibrium.

But because we indicated the Stalinist political character of Ho Chi Minh and of the Vietnamese leadership - and drew out the political implications of their policies in the 1945 revolution, when they murdered the Vietnamese Trotskyists and allowed French troops to return to Vietnam - the Workers Socialist League has been stridently vilified in the pages of *Workers Press*, paper of the revisionist Workers Revolutionary Party.

This takes the form of a series of four long articles by Stephen Johns: 'Stalinism and the Liberation of Vietnam', in *Workers Press* (August 5th-8th.) of which the last instalment is an attack on our article 'Vietnamese Trotskyists', in *Socialist Press* of June 12th.

PURPOSE

The central purpose of Johns' fraudulent excursion into history is to deny that the Vietnamese leadership is Stalinist. His formal logic (backed by the marching orders of the WRP leadership) forbids him to recognise either this fact or the contradiction it crystallises.

As he puts it (several times)

a revolutionary leadership?" This 'logic' leads Johns not only to distort the history of the Stalinist leadership in Vietnam, but to falsify wholesale the struggle of the Vietnamese Trotskyists.

Apparently without being aware of it (though other leaders of the WRP, such as National Secretary Gerry Healy, certainly are) Johns also raises one of the most fundamental political and theoretical questions in the post-war history of the international Trotskyist movement: what is the significance of the fact that Stalinism has overthrown capitalist property relations and established deformed workers states in many countries, including China and eastern Europe?

1953 SPLIT

The basic split in the Fourth International, in 1951-3, took place when a faction led by Michel Pablo capitulated politically to Stalin, 'logically' and empirically concluding from these events that Stalinism was capable of an overall revolutionary role. In the 1953 split some of the present leaders of the WRP fought organisationally against Pablo's liquidation of the Trotskyist cadres into Stalinism, but never took up the struggle to found a political reply to it.

In the recent degeneration of the WRP leadership the wheel begins to come full circle, and they set their journalists to apologetics for Stalinist politics, dragging the record of the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement in the mud. For similar reasons they falsify their own role in the 1953 split.

First we take up some of the main falsifications in Johns' articles. On his own admission he knows next to nothing of the real record of Vietnamese Trotskyism, in 1945 or before. How come? Because, as he disarmingly explains, the 'internationalism' of the WRP stops north of Dover:

"There is no thorough investigation in English into the role of the Trotskyist movement in Vietnam, still less a Marxist analysis. It appears that no Vietnamese Trotskyist has ever written an account

ary power in Saigon in August-September 1945, the struggle of the Trotskyists to prevent the Stalinists allowing French troops to reoccupy, and their murder at the hands of the Vietminh]. Most of the available material is in French, and an investigation of this would be required before any definitive view could be reached".

There could be no clearer statement of the cynicism and national arrogance with which Johns wields his pen. If only these foreigners would learn to speak English! Then perhaps the WRP would condescend to read about the policies they fought for - and he has the impudence to accuse us of being petit-bourgeois English patriots!

In any case, Johns is wholly wrong. There is a full account of 'the Saigon events' in the official journal of the Fourth International, by a surviving comrade of the International Communist League who played a leading part in them. (See *Some stages in the revolution in the South of Vietnam in Quatrieme Internationale* 1947).

There is also a book published by the International in 1948 - jointly written by a Vietnamese and a French comrade - describing more widely the problems of the Vietnamese revolution: *National movements and class struggle in Vietnam* by Anh Van and Jacqueline Roussel. (Both of them are - regretably for Mr Johns - in French).

SCANDAL

It is a scandal that the WRP - largest section of the so-called 'International Committee' - writes about a struggle which they say is the most important since the October revolution, and in which the Trotskyist cadres played a central part, without bothering to read these accounts. Ignorance, of course, does not inhibit Johns from condemning the Vietnamese Trotskyists for taking "far too superficial a view" of the peasants and for "an abstract and sectarian approach" to the national question.

The 'Saigon events' of August-September 1945 were revolutionary developments, and they moved rapidly. The critical time for the south of Vietnam (Cochinchina) was the entry of British, then French, troops in the first half of September to gain a hold in and around Saigon. These troops were welcomed by Tran Van Giau, the Stalinist head of the 'Committee of the South' which claimed government power in the vacuum after the Japanese surrender in August.

ARRESTED

The cadres of the International Communist League were arrested by Giau on or just after September 12th precisely for issuing an appeal which denounced "the treasonable policy of the Stalinist government, and its capitulation before the threat of the general staff of the English troops".

The ICL's words were only too true. By September 23rd enough French and British forces were concentrated in Saigon to launch a coup against the Vietminh, and drive them out of the city. From then on there was war throughout the south Vietnamese countryside but the imperialists held Saigon, and French troops began to retake the Mekong delta area and drive northwards. Within a fortnight the

of their own policy.

Johns' articles, however, slide over these critical days giving virtually no dates (the purpose of the chronology in *Socialist Press* of June 12th was to make them clear). His aim is to confuse the situation in September 1945 with that in March 1946, when Ho Chi Minh was forced by massive French forces in the south and the north to sign an 'independence' agreement.

Johns then justifies this retreat on grounds of the "objective circumstances the Vietminh and the ICP (Indochina Communist Party) found themselves in in 1945-6". In effect, Johns chooses to recognise the revolution by its backside, and then employs this as 'explanation' for the defeat.

Exactly the same opportunism is at work in Johns' slanders on the Vietnamese Trotskyists in 1945. He attacks them on the basis of extracts from Trotsky's short comments on their policies - in 1930! Using these, Johns charges them with:

"a failure to grasp the peasant question, an underestimation of the progressive role of nationalism, and the dangers of sectarianism towards both the working class and the peasantry".

He says - falsely - that they were opposed to "peasant soviets - which were in fact embryo liberated areas" and that their policies ("completely idealist" according to Johns) "accounted in part for their inability to withstand the liquidation of their movement".

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Trotskyists crystallised the tasks of the hour and the temper of masses of Vietnamese in the August revolution. They put right to the fore demands both for the redistribution of the land, and for the arming of workers and peasants to defend national independence. In the huge Saigon demonstration of August 21st thousands took up their slogans. They still got mass support in the demonstrations of August 25th and September 2nd, when the Stalinists had tightened their grip on the governmental apparatus.

COMMITTEES

In the countryside peasant committees were dealing with the parasites of French rule wholesale: in Saigon-Cholon the Trotskyists led numerous local 'Peoples Committees'. A 'Provisional Central Committee', uniting about a hundred such committees, was set up after the August 21st demonstration and, on August 26th, issued a programme for the revolutionary defence of national independence, for uniting peasants and workers via the Peoples Committees in towns and countryside, and for the struggle for a national assembly of Peoples Committees.

The Provisional Central Committee held delegate meetings daily, centring on the fight for armed defence of independence. On September 4th delegates from the workers' districts of Banco and Phu-Nhuan brought forward proposals to take over French-owned factories and produce war materials. It was also demanded that the Bank of Indochina be taken over and fortified as a centre of defence.

On September 6th the Stalinist press and radio launched a concerted and vitriolic witchhunt against the Trotskyists - on the same day that the British mission demanded the disarming of Vietnamese. On the

of the South" ordered the disarming of all other organisations. The decree declared:

"all those who call the people to arms and above all to struggle against the Allies will be considered as provocateurs and saboteurs".

By (or just before) September 12th the Stalinists welcomed General Gracey and the first detachments of British and Indian troops. On the same day (or the 14th, according to some sources) the Stalinists carried out the main police raids and arrests of Trotskyist cadres.

STALINIST FEARS

The Stalinists were equally fearful of the Trotskyists' agitation on the land question. On August 27th Stalinist 'Interior Commissar' Nguyen-Van-Tuo declared:

"All those who have instigated the peasants to seize landowners' property will be severely and pitilessly punished".

He added:

"We have not yet made the Communist revolution which will solve the agrarian problem. This government is only a democratic government. That is why such a task does not devolve on it. Our government, I repeat, is a bourgeois democratic government, even though the Communists are now in power".

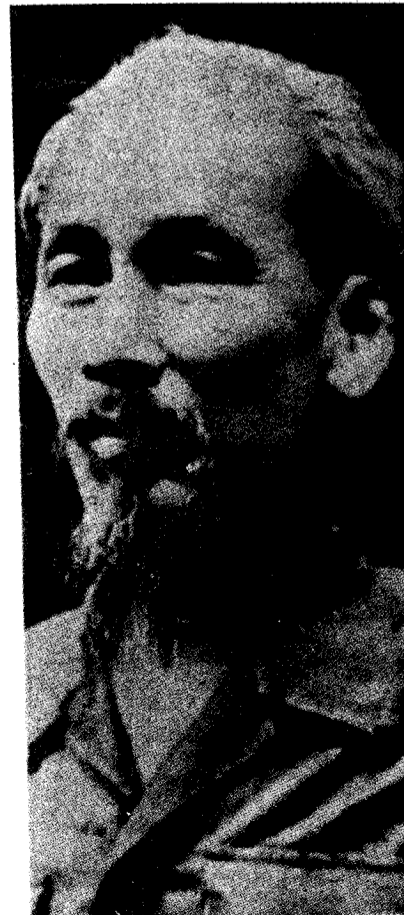
So Stephen Johns' accusations of 'neglecting' national independence and the peasants should therefore be wholly directed at the Stalinists, not the Trotskyists. So powerful was the (largely spontaneous) peasant movement in the countryside - to which the Trotskyists' policies gave political voice - that it took months of bloody warfare and torture by French troops after September to put it down.

Thus did imperialism (allowed in the door by Stalinism) 'attend' to the solution of "the agrarian problem", and simultaneously replace "bourgeois democracy" by imperialist rape. As the Trotskyists well understood, the laws of the permanent revolution apply as strongly in defeat as in victory.

DISHONEST

But Johns' dishonesty on the Vietnamese Trotskyists goes much deeper. The sole basis for his criticism of their policies in 1945 is a letter written by Trotsky in September 1930 (Johns quotes some passages from it, but conveniently 'omits' its date). The letter was addressed to a group of young Vietnamese communists in France, supporters of the International Left Opposition.

They included Ta Thu Thau, one of those killed in 1945. They



Ho Chi Minh - WRP conceals his murder of Trotskyists.

were shortly to leave France (expelled by the government for agitation in support of Vietnamese independence!) for Vietnam, where they helped found the Trotskyist movement and fought for the positions of the Left Opposition against the Stalinist leadership



Revolutionary militants freed from Poulo Condor prison island.

the Communist Party there (founded in February 1930). In 1931-2 they adopted revised positions which accepted many of Trotsky's criticisms, and they built a considerable movement during the 1930's.

The character of Trotsky's letter is clearly shown in the source from which Johns quotes it (*International Socialist Review*, September 1973).

That Johns, who has never led anything but a mendacious pen across a piece of paper, should read the Vietnamese Trotskyists a lecture on the problems of revolutionary leadership in Vietnam in 1945, going by weaknesses of some parts of their positions as new recruits in Paris in 1930, is grotesque. He simply writes off a decade and a half of revolutionary struggle.

"PARTY"

Johns also uses Vietnam as the platform for some fraudulent bragadaccio on the WRP and the role of "the Party" - by associating the WRP with the Vietnamese Stalinist leadership! According to him the WSL's criticism of the role of the Stalinist leadership flow from a wish to "attack the whole conception of revolutionary leadership"; specifically, our "method is hatred of the British revolutionary leadership - the WRP".

Attacking us for separating the peasant resistance movement and the military struggle from the political leadership provided by "the Party", Johns delivers a sermon on the need to have a party above all - the Stalinist Party in Vietnam, and the WRP in Britain. Of the struggle in Vietnam he writes that the party has provided "always the leaders, organisers and tacticians of the struggle to liberate the south. The leadership did not reside in any one town or city, but in the Party - without the Party the victory in Vietnam could not have occurred".

DISSOLVED

How, then does Johns explain this - that on November 11th, 1945, as French troops drove deeper and deeper into Cochinchina, Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi dissolved the Indochina Communist Party! (In 1943 Stalin had dissolved the Comintern as a peace-offering to US imperialism). The communique stated:

"In order to destroy all misunderstandings, domestic and foreign, which can hinder the liberation of our country, the Central Executive Committee of the ICP in meeting assembled on November 11th 1945, has decided to formally dissolve the ICP.

Those followers of Communism desirous of continuing their theoretical studies will affiliate with the Indochina Association for Marxist Studies".

From then until the party was reestablished in 1951 the Stalinists organised through the Vietminh. In July 1946 they sponsored the formation of a social democratic party in the north. Part of its programme stressed "Reliance on parliamentary means, peaceful organisational methods, and propaganda". These events are clearly indicated in one of Johns' sources. Needless to say respect for "the Party" prevents him from being so

indelicate as to mention them.

Lastly - how does Johns assess politically the results of the Stalinists murdering the Trotskyist leadership in Saigon? He calls it a "dastardly" act and "an outright counter-revolutionary blow". But why was it counter-revolutionary? Because "it deprived the masses of the possibility of an understanding of international Stalinism and therefore disarmed them in the face of the parasitic and counter-revolutionary Moscow bureaucracy".

This is the quintessence of the WRP's abandonment of Trotskyism. Revolution and counter-revolution themselves are contemplated in wholly idealistic terms. Johns - eager at every point to exonerate Vietnamese Stalinism from material responsibility for the defeat of the revolution - just

the role of 'theory' in the gospel of the WRP. If only counter-revolutionary retreats could be carried out with a proper 'understanding' of the role of Stalinism - elsewhere! - Mr Johns and the 'theoreticians' of the WRP would withdraw their lingering objections. It is not difficult to imagine what Ta Thu Thau and his comrades would have said of Johns' offer to correct their 'grave weaknesses'.

STALINISM

As we have shown in the specific case of the 1945 revolution in Vietnam, Johns' articles are written in a spirit of dishonest factionalism. But, underlying this, what is clear is his total inability to see the post-war development of Stalinism in an all-sided and dialectical way.

With straitjacketed formal logic, Johns reasons that since the Vietnamese leadership finally succeeded in defeating imperialism and taking power . . . therefore they cannot be Stalinist. (On the contrary, Johns credits them with "a consistent revolutionary line" since 1941: within this, every compromise and defeat is evasively put down to 'Stalinist training' or the external pressure of Moscow.

Yet the Chinese Communist Party, too, led a revolutionary struggle to victory - but *Workers Press* (with occasional vacillations) quite clearly characterises them as Stalinist and has, for example, commented on their thoroughly reactionary foreign policy.

IMPRESSIONISM

Johns' approach is a classic case of the impressionism, the 'worship of the accomplished fact', which Trotsky so often had occasion to denounce in certain 'theoreticians' around the Fourth International. Unable to maintain and develop a consistent world-view, Johns hops from one inconsistent assertion to

on the other on the national limitation and division of those gains, and their subordination to the interests of narrow bureaucratic castes. It attempts to regulate its relations with imperialism on a world scale within this it is no more impossible that Stalinist leaderships should be driven to fight and win struggles for state power than it is that social democratic leaders should - even in conditions of the sharpest crisis - lead real struggles in defence of the working class.

But what Johns does is to divide up world Stalinism, looking for segments within that have 'empirically' broken with 'real' Stalinism, so that he can confer revolutionary credentials on them and even use them as a model for the WRP's conception of a revolutionary party.

PABLO

This is precisely the way in which Michel Pablo justified his capitulation to Stalinism in the period before the 1952-3 split in the Fourth International - at that time the liquidationist tendency concentrated on the 'revolutionary' role of the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership after Tito's break with Stalin in 1953. In two quite definite respects Johns returns to tread in Pablo's steps.

In the first place he defends the retreats of the Vietnamese Stalinists from armed conflict with French imperialism in 1945-46, on the grounds that the military relationship of forces within the country was "unfavourable" to them and that the city populations in Saigon and Hue were not controlled by CP (in fact, their mass demonstrations were in many respects to the left of the CP). Thus, whatever he may protest, Johns places himself and the WRP leadership politically with the Stalinists and against the Trotskyists.

And he judges the 'balance of forces' on the situation within Vietnam alone - the only international factors he places in the

"The Vietnamese revolutionary war is however a living example of the correctness of Marxism as developed by Lenin and Trotsky. In particular it represents a vivid illustration of the permanent revolution. . ."

Johns grants that the 'links' of the Vietnamese leaders with Stalinism "led to many grave weaknesses at crucial junctures", but:

"in breaking empirically from the dictates of Stalinist peaceful coexistence the Vietnamese leadership were able to carry through the revolution. . ."

Johns then looks forward to the day when the Vietnamese leaders will gain a more thorough 'assimilation of the permanent revolution and the theoretical gains of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism and the building of the Fourth International.'

Thus speak Johns and the WRP. And here is Pablo, writing on the Chinese revolution in 1953 (in the document where he lays out his plans for liquidation into the Stalinist organisations):

"Despite empirical waverings and errors, anyone who seriously takes part in the revolution is obliged to more-or-less come over to this program and these ideas [of Trotskyism]. The development of the colonial revolution and the victory in China in particular is a masterful demonstration of the Trotskyist revolutionary Marxist theory of the Permanent Revolution. Thus the Chinese CP has found itself and is now obliged to bend its policy in practice in a manner which approximates the fundamental positions of Trotskyism".

OPPOSED

The present leadership of the WRP correctly opposed Pablo (after having supported his bureaucratic expulsions of those who disagreed with him) in 1953. But they never fought on the basis of a political



April 30th, 1975; liberation forces capture palace headquarters of the Thieu puppet regime.

turns his back on the real situation in Saigon and the south.

The Vietnamese were disarmed, not "in the face of the Moscow bureaucracy", but by the Stalinists in Saigon in face of two imperialist armies who were already landing. The murder of the Trotskyists destroyed the political spearhead of the struggle for workers and peasants power, and for revolutionary defence of independence. With their liquidation, the road was open to French imperialism and the 'agreements' forced on the Vietminh in 1946.

But Johns lifts the whole question to some ideal fairy-land outside the borders of Vietnam. All the Saigon Stalinists were guilty of, in his eyes, was "depriving the masses of the possibility of an understanding" of 'international Stalinism' and 'the Moscow bureaucracy'. Ah! Now we understand

the next.

He goes on to defend the claim that NLF declarations on independence and revolutionary movements in other countries are 'revolutionary internationalism', cynically glossing over - for example - the support Hanoi has given (in accommodation to Soviet foreign policy) for Gandhi's emergency measures in India, under which thousands of left-wingers are being imprisoned, gagged and persecuted.

Stalinism cannot be understood and fought against piecemeal. It is a world political formation, resting on the world antagonism between imperialism and the revolutionary aspirations of a rotten social order, and is itself contradictory to the core.

It is based on the one hand on the destruction of capitalist property relations and the establishment of planned economy, and

balance are those hostile to the Vietnamese revolution; imperialism and Moscow Stalinism. He does not mention the support of the international working class, the fact that British troops sent into Vietnam were profoundly bitter at being forced to fight a war they regarded as none of their business, or the fact that even the bourgeois Indian nationalist leader Nehru was forced to protest against the invasion of the south.

Little wonder, then, that Johns, compartmentalising the world revolution in typically Stalinist fashion to suit his 'theory', concludes that it would have been 'premature and abortive' to do other than the Vietnamese leadership did.

Johns also follows Pablo in seeing in the victory of the Vietnamese revolution a convergence between some Stalinist leadership and Trotskyism.

opposition to him. Now, disoriented by the world-wide offensive of the working class, they jump, as did Pablo, from impression to impression.

Eager to climb on the bandwagon of the enormous and correct enthusiasm which the Vietnamese revolution has aroused, they drag its real history in the mud.

In the view of the WSL the study of the revolution in Vietnam and of the struggle of opposed social forces which the policy of the leadership reflected, is a serious task. It is a central part of the study of post-war history to bring the political weapons of class struggle which will win the leadership of mass movements from the reformists and Stalinists.

But the WSL has a serious task. It is a central part of the study of post-war history to bring the political weapons of class struggle which will win the leadership of mass movements from the reformists and Stalinists.

SCARGILL'S PHILOSOPHY OF BETRAYAL

By John Lea

A long interview last June between Arthur Scargill, the militant Yorkshire miners' leader and the periodical New Left Review has recently been serialised in the Observer. This is no doubt to show the middle class readership of that newspaper what dangerous "extremists" exist in the ranks of the Trade Union movement.

Scargill begins by recounting his early history as a young militant in the NUM fighting for the right even to attend branch meetings against the entrenched power of the right wing leadership.

He then talks at length about his role in the miners' strikes of 1972 and 1974 which brought down the Tory government. He gives a vivid picture of the battle of Saltley coke depot in Birmingham where a mass picket of miners finally closed the depot after battle with the police and how the working class movement of the entire midlands rallied to the support of the miners. Speaking of the development of the "flying picket" tactic, in which he played a leading role himself, Scargill says:

"The picketing had been launched in all the areas but mobile pickets directed on targets outside the pits had been sent mainly from Yorkshire. You see we took the view we were in a class war. We were not playing cricket on the village green like they did in 1926. We were out to defeat Heath and Heath's policies because we were fighting a government. Anyone who thinks otherwise was living in cloud cuckoo land. We had to declare war on them and the only way was to attack the vulnerable points. They were the points of energy, the power stations, the coke depots, the points of supply."

Scargill was quite aware moreover that the miners strike, having brought down the Tory government had to be continued under Labour until the claim was met, and that the working class must come into conflict with the Labour government.

"Yes, what we should really do is go harder into the attack because a Labour government should never ever find itself in a position of conflict with the trade unions in this way. And if it does then it has nothing in common with socialism and it has nothing in common with working class principles . . . They (the Labour leaders) are now deliberately opera-

ting measures that are deliberately designed to solve the capitalist crisis at the expense of the working class . . . The ruling class have created these problems . . . and if they're not prepared to pay then we take over as we should do anyway all the means of production, distribution and exchange."

Fighting talk! How then from such a 'clear perspective' does Scargill get to the position he adopted for example at the last Miners Conference of effectively capitulating on the question of the defence of miners living standards by his retreat on the £100 claim? To understand this is to understand the forces that drive towards betrayal in all the 'left talkers' in the unions and the Labour Party, however militant they are, and the vital need for the construction of an alternative leadership.

MAXIMUM

Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International in 1938:

"Classical Social Democracy . . . divided its programme into two parts independent of each other: the minimum programme which limited itself to reforms within the framework of bourgeois society and the maximum programme which promised substitution of socialism for capitalism in the indefinite future. Between the minimum and the maximum programme no bridge existed. And indeed Social Democracy has no need of such a bridge since the word 'socialism' is used only for holiday speechifying."

And this is exactly what ultimately unites Scargill and the 'lefts' with the right wing. On the one hand Scargill speaks of the necessity to take over "all the means of production, distribution and exchange" and on the other hand the need to "go harder into the attack" on the struggle over wages. How are the two questions to be linked?

For Scargill the answer to this question is absurdly simple:

"But struggles convince the workers of the need for real control over society. Saltley and the miners struggles of '72 and '74 did more to convince the miners in the coalfields of the need to take into social control all the means of producing wealth and not just nationalisation than anything else I know."

Struggle alone without clear political leadership convinces no-one of anything. Was it the struggle at Saltley that convinced Scargill of the "necessity" to capitulate to the £6 wage limit by abandoning the £100 a week demand?

PORTUGAL (cont'd from p 3)

with an inability to distinguish between the class forces at work in the revolutionary situation that confronts it. They have support among sections of the Armed Forces Movement and in practice work closely with the Stalinists, whose counter-revolutionary politics they appear incapable of confronting.

The first thing that strikes the visitor to the offices of the PRP in Lisbon is that their book-stall contains no works of serious Marxist theory, though there is plenty about colonial warfare such as Che Guevara and Amicar Cabral. On being asked about this, they assure you that they have no need of the theories of such outdated writers as Lenin and Trotsky. The result of this now is clear in their practice. The vacuous phrases of the left COPCON document and the 25th August accord are normally attributed to them, and one can see the disastrous results of their disdain for questions of

result they are precluded from any serious contact with rank and file members of the SP and are driven increasingly into the arms of the Stalinists. In their blind romanticism they claim that in their alliances with the CP it is they and not the CP who are in charge.

"LEFT STALINIST"

For example, we were assured that although it was true that Vasco Goncalves is a Stalinist, he is a very 'left' Stalinist! Even more alarming are the constant references to 'Comrade Otelu' (de Carvalho), and the assurances that 'he has never betrayed the revolution' given to us at a time when he was actively preparing a coup in association with right-wing chief of staff Fabio.

If the situation facing the working class were not so serious such confusion would simply be laughable. The PRP was recently delivered a large consignment of arms from some of its friends in the Armed Forces Movement, and though these may well be needed

The subsequent campaign in Yorkshire and other areas against the £6 wage limit were crippled before they began by Scargill's retreat.

Scargill capitulated of course not because he is a cynic or any such personal motives but because he could see no political alternative. Such claims as the one before the last NUM conference are in themselves inadequate to defend the living conditions of miners. As Scargill admits: "Even if you get a wage increase the problem will be there tomorrow."

ALTERNATIVE

Unable to see any concrete alternative to wage militancy and faced with a rate of inflation of 25% a year while the entire right wing in the unions and the Labour Party together with the capitalists campaign at high pitch for the view that 'one man's wage increase is another man's job' then of course Scargill out of 'tactical considerations' backs down on the claim itself.

His capitulation is aided by his attitude to the Labour party. Though starting from a position that workers should go "harder into the attack" on a Labour government, Scargill ends up in effect supporting the government. Scargill fails to understand that a Labour government is not just another

best for workers out of the situation as it is."

This is the essence of the reformist separation of the maximum programme of socialism - always put off till tomorrow because no-one can see what on earth can be done about it today - from the minimum programme of reforms which we try to get 'out of the situation as it is'. Workers' practical struggles are limited in this way within the confines of reformism and trade union consciousness.

But when reforms are no longer possible, and *nothing* can be got from the 'situation as it is', Scargill cannot see how a political alternative can be fought for in the working class movement. For this enable workers to see beyond both Wilson and Benn and the 'lefts' and drive these people out. Therefore despite all the rhetoric about democratising the Labour Party Scargill ends up making the best of a bad job.

"It may be with all his weaknesses the Left has got to consider whether or not Benn has got to be supported. Nobody's got more criticisms of Benn than I have . . . But at least he would be an improvement on the present leadership."

That the position of the 'Lefts' brings them in practice into unity with the right wing is shown graphically by the speech at the Labour Party Conference by ex-left Michael



Scargill and Stalinist McGahey - combined to drop the £100 demand.

government like the Tories. Whereas the Tory Party is a capitalist party, the Labour Party, like the unions was created to defend the working class.

When its leadership turns now to implement capitalist policies and viciously attack working class people this raises the most fundamental political questions in the working class movement. Namely the necessity for the construction of an alternative political leadership in the working class based on the defence of the independent class interests of the proletariat, and capable of leading a struggle for a socialist planned economy which is the only solution to the present crisis.

Scargill agrees that Wilson has to go but when asked what is his alternative he replies:

"I would like to see a broad alliance of the whole Left inside the party. I want to see the bans and prescriptions lifted so that the whole of the Left could participate. But having said that I'm a realist. You're not going to get that overnight. So in the meantime we have to see how we can get the

Foot who denounced any attempt to criticise the £6 wage freeze as "a recipe for its [the Labour government's] destruction. On this basis the left was completely immobilised. At the same time Benn calls for support of the Labour government as 'the only alternative', and votes for Wilson's policies one day, only to mouth abstractly about 'socialism' the next.

'LEFT'

Scargill ultimately can see, like all the other 'lefts', no alternative to supporting this Labour government which is determined to maintain capitalism, and therefore must intensify its attacks on the working class.

There is an alternative. It lies in the struggle for a programme which can defend workers against wage cuts and unemployment. It rests on a resolute defence of the political independence of the working class, and a fight for principle.

Such a programme - a sliding scale of wages organised by the unions, work sharing on full pay to defend jobs and nationalisation

under workers management of all bankrupt sectors of the economy, together with a programme of public works to create new employment - because it clashes irreversibly with the measures that the employers have to take in defence of profits, poses the necessity of workers control.

That is of workers committees taking control of the factories and supervising the management to prevent capitalist policies being implemented. This stage itself would lay the basis for the working class moving ahead to abolish capitalist property relations altogether

But Scargill resolutely refuses to give leadership by means of such a strategy and covers his tracks with a morass of confusion on the question of 'workers control': "Now I'm a strange trade union leader . . . in that I'm totally opposed to workers control . . . I believe once you start talking about workers control under capitalism what you are saying is that we establish a system where we open the books and we take charge of 51% of the Board and all this sort of thing. That's not workers power. Workers power is to take into the hands of the working people all the means of producing wealth, distribution, and exchange."

CONFUSION

Here is a total confusion between collaboration with management for speed up, and workers seizing control of the plant to prevent the implementation of such policies. The struggle to open the books to elected trade union committees is designed precisely to prove the necessity for nationalisation of the industry under workers management, and to mobilise the forces necessary to compel such nationalisation.

When reminded by the interviewers that "this slogan of workers control has had a very different meaning to the one put forward by those who have been advocating participation schemes . . . When the Bolsheviks called for workers control they meant that the workers should anticipate nationalisation by taking control of their factories and using the resources . . . to strengthen the workers struggle" Scargill refuses to be drawn, and again totally fudges the issue:

"Yes well I was talking about the situation today. In Russia during the time of the first world war you had a totally different ball game. . . . We could take over all the means of production and distribution and exchange more or less immediately. I believe we can do it"

Go on then Scargill - give the order! Of course there's little chance of that happening. By refusing to acknowledge the differences between a fully fledged socialist economy and the concrete struggle for workers control now (which is both the only solution to the problems facing the working class and the concrete way of posing the necessity of a socialist planned economy) Scargill can maintain the purity of his socialist rhetoric. But despite the words, he is doing nothing to carry forward the struggle to defend jobs, wages, and the democratic rights of the trade union movement which now necessitates the ending of the capitalist property relations once and for all.

reality of the split in the world movement in 1953.

The Hansenite minority in Portugal also have a group which acts quite independently, called the PRT (Revolutionary Party of Workers). They seem to have taken up a number of wrong positions in relation to the Armed Forces Movement and other issues, but correctly attacked the 25th August unity accord and tried to intervene in the movement that was built up around it with policies aimed at a break with the bourgeoisie.

PRINCIPLE

For our part we will continue to intervene in the developing situation in Portugal on the basis of the principle of Trotsky's Transitional Programme and aim to bring the problems facing the workers there before the working class movement internationally. It is only the basis for a struggle for the re-building of the Fourth International that it will be possible to develop the kind of leadership for which the situation in Portugal now cries out. For this we will have

ary lead will be attracted to their militancy and their romanticism. Without a serious effort to understand the forces currently pitted against them, and to win over the workers who currently follow the CP or SP, the PRP is clearly in no position to lead such workers to the socialist revolution.

Of course the basic questions can only be explained by the Trotskyist movement. It is impossible in the space of this article to go into the policies of all those claiming this mantle in Portugal. The movement is very new, only being established about 1968, and there are at least four organisations, reflecting the well-known international divisions.

SMALLEST

The two smallest groups in Portugal are supporters of the international tendencies associated with Lambert's 'Committee for the Construction of the Fourth International', and Healy's 'International Committee'. Lambert's followers, as elsewhere, seem content to burrow into the inmost recesses of the social democracy, from

long intervals and confines itself to general statements about the need for a workers' government and the building of a revolutionary party. To judge from the *Workers Press* of 20th September, the only policies it considers necessary to put forward at this point in Portugal are the immediate introduction of a Soviet Socialist Republic and the building of a revolutionary party. Such a perspective, in line with the British WRP's sectarian demand of "Bring down the Labour Government", will clearly offer nothing to the Portuguese working class, and it is unlikely that much more can come of a group with such conceptions.

The two different factions of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International have separate organisations operating in Portugal. The Mandeliste majority group, known as the LCI (International Communist League) have shown that they bear all the obvious marks of the Pabloite beast by their signing of the 25th August accord against all the elementary principles of Trotskyism. Whatever efforts are now made by Mandel

LEFT TALK - RIGHT WING POLICIES

By Our Correspondent in Blackpool

The '75 Years of Achievement' banner which hung above this year's Labour Party Conference platform was indeed a testimony and tribute to the part played by social democracy and the Trade Union leadership since 1900. To have enabled British capitalism to continue through two World Wars and a General Strike was indeed an achievement. Right and left social democrats and syndicalists have each played their part, united by their anti-Marxism, and deference to the 'respectable' institutions of the capitalist state and fear of the revolutionary character of the working class.

The assortment of bureaucrats and careerists which make up the body of the conference, met this year under conditions of capitalist crisis not known for a generation; a background not only of international victories for the working class and peasantry and revolutionary struggle in Europe itself, but as a party brought to power by those same class forces.

RESPONSE

It is precisely as a response to that working class movement that the ruling class must turn for assistance to their reformist agents in the Labour government and the TUC. For them, class collaboration is the order of the day, with a common willingness to cut pay and create further unemployment being the 'unity' talked about by Wilson and Benn.

A measure of the importance to the capitalist state of the Labour Party leaders and trade union bureaucracy was shown by the unprecedented security arrangements at the Conference. Uniformed police and Special Branch men were everywhere from the entrance to the conference press gallery, and even on the rooftops opposite, with Party hacks eagerly and meticulously searching bags and checking credentials.

Though Wilson had every

confidence that his policies would be overwhelmingly supported, the government and the union bureaucracy were, after all, on display and it was important that they impressed their capitalist masters. One after another, trade union leaders applauded the government's anti-working class policies, neither they nor the Labour 'lefts' having any perspective whatever for the defence of wages and jobs.

Led by Scanlon, Clive Jenkins and Bassnett, they eagerly took up the demand for import controls, a reactionary, nationalist diversion which can solve nothing for the working class, together with condemnation of the capitalists' refusal to invest and properly maintain their system.

'BREATHING SPACE'

Benn's speech incorporated both these points and complimented the TUC for abandoning the right to collective bargaining on the basis that it provided a 'breathing space' for socialist policies! His call for unity with Wilson, Healey and the trade union wage cutters was followed by 'left' phrases about the 'unjust and ineffective system' and 'changing society'. Benn and his Tribune supporters have no difficulty in reconciling the two.

The job of Benn and the Tribune group in covering up for Wilson at the conference by limiting all their criticism to vague calls for "defence of the manifesto" was backed up by Militant supporters who refused to demand that they challenge the right-wing leadership.

The role of Militant is one of complete subordination to these 'left' talkers and avoidance of the main issues with the utopian demand that the government legislate the nationalisation of 250 monopolies without compensation and under workers control. While in words, like so many so-called 'Marxist' groups, Militant express formal agreement with Trotsky's Transitional Programme, in reality, they are incapable of taking up a struggle for these demands.

At their mid-week Militant meeting none of their three speakers (including Ted Grant) raised a single point of programme



Jones (extreme right) interrupts Mikardo (centre, standing), while Foot pretends he's not there

for the defence of pay and jobs. From an attendance of over 250, the only contribution to take up the importance of transitional demands was from the WSL.

The main resolutions before the conference were those calling for support for the government's policies of wage cuts and unemployment. Tom Jackson, leader of the Postal Workers' Union, summed up the position of the TUC in arguing the 'higher prices means fewer jobs' line.

His anxiety about the welfare of international bankers was clearly greater than that for his membership, a fact he frankly admitted by saying that the policy he was defending would mean loss of jobs in all sections of the Post Office.

To reply on behalf of the NEC, Wilson produced leading Tribune Michael Foot as his star turn. Foot, having served his apprenticeship appearing on platforms with Healey, Williams and Wilson defending the government's actions over the last few months, knew this was graduation day. Of course, Wilson has every confidence in the Labour left talkers and Foot's performance richly confirmed his judgement.

CRISIS

After making the obligatory points about the 'crisis of capitalist' Foot defended classic capitalist solutions, with the right-wing's threat of a Tory government as the 'only alternative' and fine words about 'socialism tomorrow'. Needless to say it was Wilson who led the standing ovation.

Foot's betrayal was consciously covered up by the Stalinists in the next day's Morning Star which buried his speech in their conference report.

The relationship between the policies which the conference was supporting and the working class was sharply demonstrated early in the week during Healey's speech calling for further cuts in public spending to appease the govern-

ment's international creditors.

Because of measures already taken, the jobs of workers in Plessey and G.E.C. factories in the North-West are threatened by cuts of 39% in Post Office orders. More than 2000 men and women took part in a protest march through the town and lobbied the conference. The slogans on their banners of "WE WANT PAY, NOT DOLE" and "WE PUT YOU THERE - NOW BACK US" are an indication of the enormous struggles which will erupt between the working class and their reformist leaders.

WEAKNESS

The political weakness which is contained in such spontaneous moves, however powerful, was typified by the lack of any perspective by the leadership which is carrying through the struggle. Sid Rainford, a member of the Plessey Shop Stewards Committee, said that their demands were confined to "pressurising the government into restoring the Post Office contracts".

He advocated no programme for an elected committee of workers to fight for work sharing on full pay in opposition to sackings, or for the opening of the company's books as the basis for the nationalisation of the firm under workers management to protect jobs within Plessey itself.

A further indication of struggles which are taking place over jobs was the stream of delegations throughout the week asking for government support. Among them was a group from NVT where 1600 jobs are at risk. Ray Durman, secretary of the Action Committee, said it would be "criminal" if the Labour leaders turned their back on them by refusing nationalisation.

It was significant that the only hint of criticism by the 'left' MPs of the complete abandonment of basic trade union principles which the TUC have carried out in volunteering pay cuts, was outside the

conference.

Mikardo's mild remarks at the Tribune meeting brought a calculated outburst from former 'left' Jack Jones. Saying that Mikardo was "attacking trade unions" and inferring that he was a Tory, was an indication of the viciousness with which the class collaborating union leaders will react against any opposition from any section of their membership. Jones had the full support of Healey who used almost the same words to attack Mikardo in a speech the same evening.

In fully supporting Mikardo's stand we demand that a fight is immediately taken up by the 'lefts' in his defence and against Jones and the other union leaders who support him.

With Heffer now elected onto the NEC, the 'lefts' must now campaign immediately within the Parliamentary Labour Party, in opposition to the government's capitalist policies, at the centre of which must be the removal of Wilson.

UNEMPLOYMENT LOBBY

The North West area TUC has called for a lobby of Parliament against unemployment on November 26th.

The Workers Socialist League calls on all members and supporters to campaign among the unemployed in union branches, Trades Councils and shop stewards committees for full support to this lobby and to this lobby and to put forward their policies against unemployment fought for consistently by the WSL.

*No redundancies - work sharing on full pay.

*Nationalise firms shown to be bankrupt.

*Programme of public works to create jobs paid at trade union rates, under workers management

MCAPP ADOPTS FIGHTING POLICY

The first conference organised by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice (MCAPP), held in London on 11th October, under the title 'Fight Against the Cuts in the NHS', showed the real determination of the working class to defend the health service as a basic right.

Some 300 delegates and visitors from over a hundred trade union branches, trades councils, shop stewards' committees and constituency Labour Parties voted unanimously to campaign for a socialist programme against private practice and to defend the NHS.

The conference was introduced by Audrey Wise, a Tribune MP, who said correctly that the Labour Party should not just manage capitalism, and that to fail to put forward socialist answers would only cause defeat for Labour at the polls, but omitted to say whether the lefts would fight to remove Wilson and his cabinet who are doing just that.

Many speakers in the discussion on the main MCAPP resolution gave telling examples of the worsening crisis in the NHS. Dr. Dominic Costa, proposing the MCAPP resolution, said that almost 600,000 (one in a hundred of the population) were now on hospital waiting lists.

Barbara Castle said last week at Folkestone that the shortage of money meant hospitals would have to be closed. Obviously this cynical starving of the NHS would lead to the mushrooming of private practice.

There were two main amendments to the main resolution - one was proposed by the International Socialists, who wanted, incredibly, to delete the demands for automatic increases in the NHS budget to compensate for inflation, for a sliding scale of wages in the NHS, for a workers' inquiry into the NHS and for the opening of the books to the workers' movement, and insert demands for shop stewards' committees and rank and file papers.

The second amendment, from Oxford Health Service ASTMS branch was supported by the WSL and sought to place the emphasis on the opening of the books of the health service to prepare for workers' control and management of the NHS. It began:

"The defence of the NHS must centre around the formation of independent workers' organisations to fight for the following programme:

1) For a health service under the control of the working class. The setting-up of elected committees of Trade Unionists, representative of health service workers and NHS consumers, to examine the day to day running of Health Service Authorities and to supervise control and deploy resources to satisfy the health requirements of all workers. This must involve these committees in forcing the Health Authorities to give full information on their budget allocations and a complete breakdown of expenditure, manning levels and on private practice.

It also called for the distribution of additional funds to be under control of these workers' committees and for a black on all private practice.

Sue Lister (ASTMS), in moving the amendment, said the main motion was only a "shopping list of vague demands" which the amendment would make more concrete and clear as a fighting programme. She said that NALGO Executive had supported the conference as a form of 'left' solidarity, but that to carry out such a programme as was proposed, trade unionists would have to fight the union bureaucracy, including the National Executive, which in ASTMS had simply forgotten about similar motions passed at conference.

R. Robson (NUPE) said in support that opening of the books was essential to prepare for workers' control. He called for NHS union leaders to call official strike action for a cash injection into the NHS. The amendment won much support, and was accepted

into the motion, which was later carried.

Dr. Berry Beaumont said the Royal Free Hospital, recently completed, had a whole private floor but they would not build accommodation for its nurses for 4-5 years. She called for the working class to take over the monopoly of power in the NHS at present held by doctors. She demanded the opening of the books in the NHS, and called on the lefts like Benn in Wilson's cabinet to dissociate from the government and 'stand on the side of those who are fighting against it and its attacks'.

STRIKE

If the conference programme is to be fought for in all, especially Health Service, unions, all those who support such a programme must fight for national official strike action around such demands if the NHS is to survive. The enthusiastic approval of the MCAPP conference shows that the force are there in the workers' movement for that to be done.

CHRYSLER LOSES £16M

Chrysler UK have announced record losses for the first six months of 1975. The deficit of £15.95m is not far short of the £17.7m loss for the whole of 1974. Indeed the decline of Chrysler has been much sharper than even these figures show. In the first six months of 1974, for example, the company made a profit of £72,000.

Compared with the same period in the previous year the production figures for the first six months of 1975 show a reduction of 14,000 to 166,822 cars. Chrysler's share of the British market has declined from 10.6% in the first 8 months of 1974 to 8.5% by the end of August this year.

The situation would be even worse if it had not been for a major export arrangement with

Iran. In the latest sales figures exports comprise £90m of the total £191m. This compares with only £50m for the first six months of 1974. Recently, however, the order from Iran has been reduced by 20%.

The new Chrysler sales drive, designed to win back a section of the lost car market, will be combined with sharp attacks on the shopfloor. The workforce has already been reduced by 4,000 through "natural wastage" and voluntary redundancy.

Last week's dispute over manning arrangements at the Ryton plant in Coventry centres on arrangements for an 11% cut in production (to 2,000 cars a week) and the establishment of labour pools. This move must be rejected. If there is insufficient work a system of work-sharing on full pay must be fought for.

Lay-offs, in all Chrysler plants, begun in September have man-

oeuvred so that some workers face as many as 10 days off work in October. Now there are rumours of a two-day week and delay in production of the much-heralded new car until 1977.

'PARTICIPATION'

It is in this context, the attack on jobs and conditions, that Chrysler proposals on "worker participation" must be seen. Despite drastic losses management is still prepared to pay out over £2m for agreement to these proposals.

The object of the participation proposals is to involve workers' representatives in responsibility for speed-up and demanning. Chrysler stewards should follow the lead of Leyland workers at Cowley, beginning a fight around the demand of the opening of the books and workers' control of manning.

NORTHERN IRELAND PAISLEY STEPS FORWARD

The British Labour Government continues to attempt to discover a middle ground in the sectarian Orange state in N.E. Ireland.

While the funeral rites are waiting to be pronounced over the political career of William Craig, the *Sunday Times* still believes that "his finest hour is yet to come."

Craig, however, has moved overnight from the position of leading spokesman for the loyalist population and unchallenged leader of Vanguard to being thrown out of the Ulster Unionist Council and winning a vote of confidence by only 128 - 79 at his Vanguard Central Council.

To see why it was Craig and not Paisley who broke rank, it is necessary to see the very different class base on which these two loyal-

ist politicians rest. The difference is that between a bourgeois that can accommodate to the changing need of capital, and the petty bourgeois who cannot.

DECLINE

Since 1957 it has been clear that the traditional industries of the North East - linen and shipbuilding - were in decline and that capital was leaving the province. The narrow economic base questioned the longer term viability of the province. The bourgeoisie North and South saw the need to create an infrastructure for foreign investment. But with such investment the objective reasons for maintaining a divided Ireland disappeared for the Unionist bourgeoisie.

But the Unionist petty bourgeoisie and the Protestant working class saw the position differently

- their ascendancy over the nationalist population demanded the maintenance of the Orange state. Paisley built his movement entirely on this base.

Now these forces make the running, and the struggle is no longer between Craig and Paisley. The UDA picketed to the convention demanding and getting 'no compromise' on power sharing; and the UDA Belfast journal backs Paisley and West.

The real struggle is now between Paisley and the official unionists, the Conservative Party and the British Army to win support for the United Ulster Unionist Council majority convention report. Conspicuously it was Harry West, not Craig, who spoke last week at the Tory Party conference. The battle lines for a new stage in the struggle are nearly drawn.

NEW YORK - GENERAL STRIKE?

The decision of Mayor Beame of New York to bring in further austerity measures meaning 47,000 jobs lost, and a 3 year wage freeze has brought a response from the trade unions.

Local Teamsters President, Barry Fennstein, said "I'm in favour of a general strike in this city at this time. We have given our blood. The unions are bleeding to death".

Police union leader Ken McFeeley said that he had been "ready for a strike in the last couple of months" The strike call is being discussed

at the Municipal Labor Committee meeting on Tuesday - this body is a joint body of all the city's major unions.

The background to these moves is the financial state of New York City which is described by the Governor as facing an "economic Pearl Harbour". It is about to default on several huge payments, which will affect financial centres all over the world.

Clearly the call for a general strike is immediately faced with the question of political direction, because it will be confronted with the question of the collapse of whole

sections of capitalism. The necessity for the fight within the unions for a break from the capitalist politicians of the Democratic party and for an independent party of the working class with a socialist programme is clearly posed.

The unions of New York could give a lead to workers all over the world in action against the social welfare cuts or we could have a repetition of the recent teachers strike there, against increased classes and other cutbacks, which ended in defeat precisely because no direction was given.

VICTIMISED BY STEWARDS

Two militant workers have been victimised at Tower Housewares, a subsidiary of Tube Investments, in Wolverhampton. They were given a minute's notice by management following a request from the T&GWU shop stewards' committee that they be sacked.

The sacking of these workers takes its place in a long line of victimisations all over the country particularly involving the T&GWU. In this case the T&GWU District Officer did nothing to force the shop stewards committee to reverse their position or to force management to reinstate these

This action is a reflection of the collaboration of union leaders at national level in accepting state control of wages and mass unemployment with Jones of the T&G in the leadership of the betrayal.

CAMPAIGN

A campaign must now be fought for the reinstatement of these workers and for a labour movement inquiry into the circumstances where a shop stewards' committee instigates a victimisation. A start must be made by building a movement in Wolverhampton which can begin to challenge and expose this kind of betrayal and fight for powerful leadership and programme

£500 monthly development fund

The campaigns begun by the WSL on unemployment and against the implementation of the Ryder report in BLMC are a new development for our movement. It is not an accident that no other group on the left is campaigning on these questions. All of them shrink from the fight for principled leadership in the working class.

Such a leadership must be built. For this reason we ask you to send a donation towards our monthly £500 development fund.

Send to: Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London, NW5, 1HR.

WRP RAID

Just as our last edition went to press the news broke of the police raid on the Derbyshire education centre of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

This raid was clearly timed to precede the Labour Party conference, and must be seen as part of a continuing campaign by the press and the Labour right wing to vilify and witch hunt any opposition to Wilson's policies. It is for this reason inseparable from the press witch hunt of the militants in Newham NE Labour Party (which culminated in the arrest of Tony Kelly, shortly before the crucial vote to remove Prentice), and the campaign of slander against the *Militant* group in the weeks before the Conference. The WSL therefore condemns

unequivocally the police raid on the WRP, and all intervention of the capitalist state into workers' organisations. We support the WRP call for a trade union enquiry into these events. Those responsible for such interference must be forced out of the labour movement.

At the same time we have grave reservations about the political methods being employed by the WRP in their defence campaign.

In particular, the exclusion of our comrades from the "public" WRP meeting on the issue in London on October 13th, while from the platform speakers demagogically demanded "Where does the WSL stand?", indicates still further the subjectivism of the WRP leadership.

SCAB FORCE

The aptly named exercise "Inside Right" by 30,000 men which includes 10,000 Army reservists and territorials is the first such nationwide exercise since the war.

It was purposely concealed during the week of the Labour Party conference so that questions could not be asked there.

Although these manoeuvres are said to be related to external events, it is quite obvious that they are a preparation for a confrontation with the working class and are being organised by the Labour government; they go alongside

the organised police raid on the educational centre of the Workers' Revolutionary Party as a preparation for an attack on the left in those conditions.

The "left" cabinet ministers such as Benn must have known about these. Why aren't they warning the working class of these preparations? Why aren't they fighting for the removal of Wilson and the right wing who are organising this preparation?

Military organisations like the T.A. are part of the "armed bodies of men" who will be used to attack the working class and any socialist should be fighting for their disbandment and not concealing what they are doing.

BANBURY TRADES COUNCIL SETS UP UNEMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE

Following a meeting on unemployment in the town, the Banbury Trades Council has set up a committee to organise the campaign against unemployment and to organise the unemployed.

At its first meeting on Monday of this week decisions were taken to contact all trade unions in Banbury and asking them to make provisions for the recruitment of unemployed workers. In addition, the committee asked to be informed when redundancies are taking place so that they can be involved in the fight.

WSL PUBLIC MEETING

AYLESBURY

Tuesday October 21st, 8.00pm
"Unemployment"
Plough and Hammer, Stoke Rd.

OPEN LEYLAND BOOKS!

continued from front page

ever reason, will rush into print.

This week's leaflet says that information on which the company bases its forward planning should be made available. Is Leyland likely to be willing to reveal its model policy, its programme planning and development plans if there is a chance of seeing it in print, and available to competitors, within 48 hours?

This editorial was reproduced on Monday morning as a clock notice and countersigned by the Plant Director which demolishes any illusions in the 'impartiality' of the local press and explains why it was their men who were brought in to 'refute' the £23,000 figure.

The argument of commercial confidentiality is simply an employers' argument against the working class. As Trotsky makes clear in the Transitional Programme, employers do not have secrets from each other, only from the working class.

know the dangers of the penetration of workers' eyes into the inner workings of their system that they so jealously guard these secrets.

In Oxford the open books demand has been taken beyond the factories into the labour movement as a whole. The local Trades Council has set up a committee to investigate the books of the University. A committee has also been set up, which is working jointly with the hospital unions in defence of the NHS, to examine the running and the use of resources within the Area Health Authority.

A similar policy, moved from the Oxford ASTMS Health Service branch, was overwhelmingly passed at ASTMS National Conference.

These struggles are the first steps in the fight for workers' control of production and the nationalisation of private industry under workers' management.