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LEFTS MUST FIGHT NOW SACK WILSON TO DEFEND JOBS !

Wilson and his backers, including almost every trade union leader and the vast majority of the Labour 'left', argue that the only way to avoid mass unemployment is to accept the state pay laws of the Labour Government. Determined to defend capitalism at all costs they push this line deliberately in order to sow confusion in the ranks of the working class.

An essential part of Wilson's platform in this fight is former 'left' Michael Foot, now leading defender of the pay laws on platforms with Wilson. Wedgwood Benn, too, has dropped the 'left' facade and called on workers to "sustain and maintain" the Government. Both 'left' and right then unite in support of the pay laws.

They go on treacherously to argue that the pay laws are a voluntary accepted scheme with legal backing. In other words, the law is being used to enforce the wage-cutting policy adopted by the TUC leaders.

These people know that the only way workers can defend their living standards against present-day inflation is by coming into conflict with capitalism. They will go to any lengths to prevent this.

The WSL warns, contrary to the lies of Wilson and his backers: to accept the £6 pay limit is precisely to accept high levels of permanent unemployment.

The reasons for this are clear. A cut in the spending power of the working class, imposed by the pay laws, creates unemployment by cutting their ability to buy consumer goods.

SPENDING CUTS

But today there is more at stake: the acceptance of the pay laws would be the decisive step towards the acceptance of the other side of the Labour Government's attack — cuts in government spending.

These cuts, which began in Healey's last budget are continuing today. Despite Wilson's assurances they are about to be massively stepped up, creating huge numbers of unemployed.

The full implications of these measures must be understood in the workers movement.

In the Post Office alone, for example, it is proposed that services, such as the second post in rural areas and Sunday collections, be abolished, along with cuts in Saturday Post Office opening hours. This will go along with a reduced volume of work caused by the staggering increase in charges, and lead to immediate redundancies. An expected 50% redundancy among postmen in rural areas gives an idea of the scale of this attack.

At the same time the trebling of telephone charges in less than

a year, resulting in a drop in the use of the service has led to the centralisation of exchanges at off-peak times and lay-offs among operating staff. All this in the name of "cutting costs".

This example shows that it is not a question of wage increases pushing up prices (what post office worker's wages have trebled in a year?) but of cuts in government subsidies deliberately driving up prices, and services being cut in order to cut the labour force. The creation of unemployment in this way is a central part of the Labour Government's offensive against the working class — and this from a starting point of 1 million unemployed.

This exposes the lie of Healey's threat to workers — made, ironically, at a Tolpuddle Martyrs memorial rally — that if the pay laws did not work and reduce living standards it would mean "two or three million on the dole for years". This is precisely the fate in store for workers if they do accept the pay laws.

DEMANNING

Spending cuts and demanning are taking place in every sector. In Birmingham eleven new schools have been cancelled. In the Health Service cash shortages have slashed the building programme and are forcing the closure of hospitals. On the railways, services are to be reduced and the labour force cut, while in the British Steel Corporation the threat of 20,000 redundancies has been revived to railroad through speed-up and demanning and pave the way for a cut in steel production.

We say that the fight to defend the right to work under these conditions is a political fight. The starting point of the struggle against unemployment is to oppose the pay laws of the Labour Government, and mobilise to defeat them.

The demand must be fought for to remove Wilson and the right wing, and replace them with people who will defend the living standards of the working class.

At a time when this stand is needed, the decision of the NUM Executive (built on Scargill's retreat from the £100 demand at the Scarborough Conference) not only to accept the pay laws, but to ballot the membership on it, is a straight betrayal. It cynically

uses the authority of the last two wage struggles, won by the determination of the rank and file, to win a 'yes' vote, as a conscious move to protect Wilson and the right wing.

A main point of government propaganda used by right and 'left' is that inflation is the main enemy, and must be "beaten".

We say that our programme — the protection of wages by a sliding scale keeping pace with inflation; the protection of jobs through work-sharing on full pay; the opening of the books of the employers to establish the case for nationalisation under workers management of firms unable to sustain their workforce, and a programme of public works for such firms to keep production going — is an inflationary programme. But it is the only way to defend jobs and living standards.

It is not inflation which is the main enemy, but capitalism. The capitalist system itself causes inflation, and we cannot accept that the working class are responsible for inflation. Nor do we accept workers should pay for it. Inflation can only be ended by the ending of capitalism itself



Selling state pay laws: Foot and Williams on platform with Wilson and Healey

and the establishment of a socialist economy under nationalised property relations. But to achieve this, the working class must defend the living standards it has won in years of struggle.

In carrying out the job for the employers, Wilson gets of course the enthusiastic support of every

sector of the capitalist press. The defence of extreme right-winger, Prentice, and the unprecedented witch-hunting of those who have correctly moved his removal in Newham is a part of this.

The defenders of capitalism know that if Prentice is removed it will be a blow against the ruling class.
continued on back page, col. 5

DEFEND PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION !

The forces which gathered behind the Portuguese Socialist Party's campaign for "democracy" during last week represented virtually every element of reaction which still dares to show its face at this stage in the development of the Revolution.

Since the overthrow of fascism in April 1974 the revolutionary offensive of the working class has driven out many of these who were openly associated with the Salazar and Caetano dictatorship. Reaction therefore must rally its forces behind tendencies of the labour movement.

While Socialist Party leader Soares called large rallies for "democratic rights" in Oporto and Lisbon, anti-communist hooligans carried out beatings and lynchings of Communist Party members, breaking down and burning their offices in the North.

The church hierarchy gave its active blessing to priests as they led a massive witch-hunt against the Communist Party in the Northern towns and villages.

The witch-hunt was aimed not only against the CP, but at all those advanced workers who have been in the lead of the struggle to clear out the fascists and establish the workers committees which rebuffed Spinola's attempted coup of March 11th.

Hand in hand with the violence in Portugal went the hysterical support of every spokesman of bourgeois "public opinion" in Western Europe.

Adding his voice to the "silent majority" was British Labour Party General Secretary, Ron Hayward, who returned from Lisbon at the weekend in full support of Soares' reactionary campaign.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party and their allies in the Armed Forces Movement have prepared a rod for their own backs in this situation by breaking strikes, disbanding workers committees and actively opposing any initiative by the mass of the working class. They have acted to contain the only force that can defend the Portuguese revolution.

In this situation the Socialist Party majority in the "constituent assembly" a body elected as one

with out powers from the beginning — have come to serve as the front for the whole spectrum of reaction.

It is only the development of the independent power of the working class, through the occupation committees and through joint committees of workers and rank and file soldiers that can defend the revolution at this time.

The Armed Forces Movement will not for much longer be able to perform their delicate balancing act between the opposed social forces. The release of some of the imprisoned Maoists at the weekend shows however that some of the AFM are being forced to make concessions to the left.

But it is only by the political defeat of the AFM and their Stalinist allies that the gains so far made by the Portuguese working class can be defended and carried forward.

This must be the task of the democratically elected committees of the mass movement, united on a Socialist programme. Only such a body — not the moribund "constituent assembly" — can protect the democratic rights of the Portuguese working class.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PORTUGAL

AFM Supports Right Wing in Angola

By their deeds shall you know them! The class inclinations of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement's Supreme Revolutionary Council were thrown into relief with Foreign Minister Melo Antunes' hurried trip to the Angolan capital of Luanda last week.

Angola, the largest and richest of Portugal's African colonies, has still not yet received formal independence. The Portuguese government, reflecting the wish of capitalist interests world-wide to keep a

ship, backed by the ultra-Stalinist Portuguese Communist Party, are calling demonstrations on the slogans "Dissolve the provisional government", "Dissolve the Constituent Assembly", "For workers' and peoples' power".

These demonstrations are a demagogic and reactionary fraud. The AFM and the Communist Party have done everything possible to straightjacket and suppress the really democratic committees - of workers, soldiers and tenants - except where these are closely tied to their own policies.

What they propose are not soviets - of any other type of

CUBA

Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica gave a clenched fist salute to cheering crowds when he landed at Havana earlier this month for his first official visit to Cuba.

The Jamaican premier is the third head of government from a Caribbean country to visit Cuba this year - following the steps of Forbes-Burnham of Guyana, and Eric Williams of Trinidad-Tobago.

Talks during the 5-day visit centred on bilateral relations, and regional problems such as the setting up of the newly-created Caribbean Shipping Company. Also discussed was the proposed meeting of the Economic Commission for Latin America.

Relations between Cuba and Jamaica have developed since Fidel Castro first described Jamaica as a "friendly and progressive country", some three years ago.

Shortly afterwards, Jamaica, a

CASTRO TALKS WITH REACTIONARIES

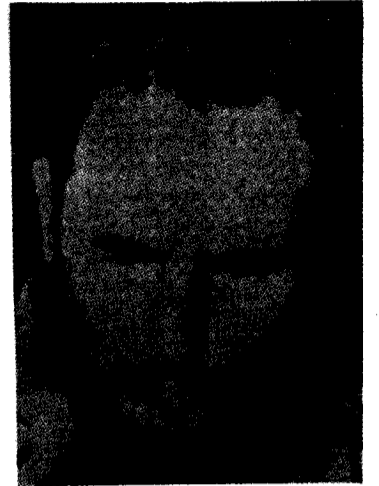
member of the Organisation of American States (OAS) since 1969, decided to establish relations with Cuba, despite the OAS sanctions against the Castro government.

Since Castro's lauding of Manley's Jamaica the infamous "Gun Law" has been passed which can be widely used against political opponents. Thugs hired by Manley's party have attacked Trevor Munroe, a university lecturer, as he held a meeting among Kingston dockworkers. The viciousness of this assault necessitated 300 stitches in hospital treatment.

But Cuba's other welcomed visitors are also well-known for carrying on the traditions of their colonial predecessors.

In 1970, only the intervention of British gunboats prevented Eric Williams from falling to the general strike in Trinidad-Tobago. This year has seen the first unity in struggle of East Indian rural workers with the black proletariat severely repressed.

Burnham, whose speciality is the rigging of Guyana's elections, is not averse to intimidating opposition by beating them up and wrecking their offices. This happened to a Maoist group in the last elections. Since that point he has introduced legislation to give only the government powers



Castro

to import newsprint - a crude but effective method of preventing opposition papers from functioning.

ARGENTINA PERON CLINGS ON

The dismissal of Lopez Rega, the reactionary power behind the scenes of Argentinian President, Mrs Isabel Peron, did nothing to stem the political and economic crisis there.

Lopez Rega's removal represented no fundamental concession by the government, though he went following a 48 hour general strike, reluctantly backed by the Trade Union leaders, against government attempts to freeze wage rises below inflation and enforce an 'incomes policy'.

Anti-Communist

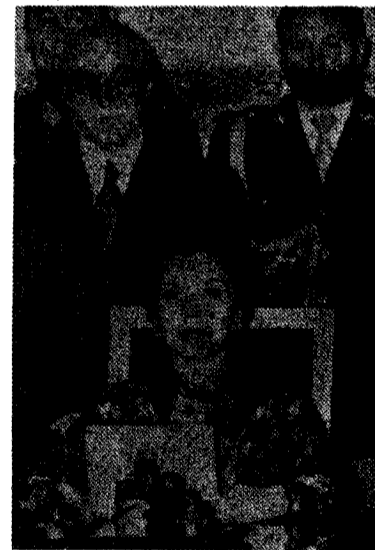
Lopez Rega himself was heavily compromised with extreme right-wing and anti-communist elements. Immediately after his fall, Mrs Peron faced demands for a 'thoroughgoing enquiry' into his association with the Argentinian Anticommunist Alliance (AAA), an ultra-right terrorist organisation which has carried out hundreds of murders of left-wingers and liberals in the last few years.

Last week Lopez Rega himself was reported to be making hurried preparations for an extended 'vacation' in Europe.

Yet the government reshuffle which followed the general strike left most of the key cabinet posts intact - in particular that of Economy Minister Celestino Rodrigo, whose dismissal had been widely demanded along with that of Lopez

Rega.

And though considerable money wage increases were conceded under pressure of the general strike, these are being eaten away almost before they have been paid. Among the price increases announced last week were a doubling in the cost of many goods, including the government-controlled tobacco, postal and tele-



Isabel Peron with Rega

phone services.

Some prices have in fact trebled in the last month, and even the largest wage increases conceded - of 130% - scarcely enable workers to keep up with the cost of living.

Official sources also forecast a further devaluation of the Argentinian

currency - the peso - of around 25%. This would drastically increase the cost of imported goods to workers, and follows on a 50% devaluation at the beginning of June which triggered the present stage of the crisis.

Though the Peronist leaders of the trade union movement have returned to a shaky alliance with the government, the campaign of terror by the right-wing continued. Last week the Mayor of La Plata, a major industrial city to the south of Buenos Aires, was riddled by machine gun fire while being driven from his office. The mayor, Rodolfo Cartier, was a leading Peronist in the labour movement, with close connections with the leaders of the trade union federation, the CGT.

Break

All these developments confirm the importance of a break for the workers movement from the bourgeois politics of the Peronist movement, in order to fight for a working class programme to meet the problems of the crisis.

The struggle for the sliding scale of wages can be seen as indispensable in Argentina to maintain living standards in uncontrolled inflation. This has to be combined with the nationalisation of key sectors of industry in order to regulate prices. At the same time the workers movement must be protected by the establishment of armed workers defence squads to defeat right wing provocations.

ITALY

The Communist Party leaders in the Italian trade union movement have taken the lead in a campaign to "prune" wage claims and help the employers reduce the unit cost of labour.

As the "centre-left" coalition government - based on an alliance between the Christian Democrats and the Socialist Party - last week prepared an economic package to try to counteract the deepening recession, Luciano Lama, National Secretary of the main Communist led trade union federation, the CGIL, issued a call for "voluntary" wage restraint. "The objective today" he said, "is to struggle against unemployment, rather than for wage increases."

COMMUNIST PARTY BOOSTS CAPITALISM

politicians for the "sense of responsibility" shown by the Stalinist leaders.

Unemployment

Lama's attack on wage claims comes in a situation where loss of work through unemployment and short time in industry has increased over seven times between the first half of 1974 and the same period this year.

The Stalinists thus pick up the classic cudgel with which capitalism attempts to make the working class pay for the economic crisis - "take wage cuts or you'll lose your jobs". And they do so at a time when at least 40 national agreements are coming up for negotiation in the late summer and early autumn. These include important sections of workers, such as those in engineering, metal-

The turn to the right in Stalinist trade union policy is part and parcel of their continuing behind-the-scenes campaign to get an agreement for coalition with the Christian Democrats. A labyrinthine struggle within the top echelons of the Christian Democrats to remove the thoroughly anti-communist party secretary Amintore Fanfani, has continued since the Communist Party scored significant gains against the right in the June regional elections.

Coalition

But far from putting up any programme to defend the rights of workers in the crisis and break up the present coalition, the Communist Party chiefs prepare to sacrifice pay packets as the price of their entry into a popular front coalition - a coalition which if



Revolutionary soldiers demonstrating against the Constituent Assembly

take in the colony's wealth, have played off the divided nationalist forces one against the other. The most, most decisive, intervention came as the left-wing liberation forces of the MLPA began to gain the upper hand in Luanda in fierce street fighting with the right-wing FNLA.

Hard on Melo Antunes' heels came two plane-loads of fresh Portuguese troops to reinforce the more than 20,000 already in the colony. Other aircraft were arranged to ferry white Portuguese civilians out of the colony, while the Lisbon government hinted at a settlement to be imposed by a UN 'peace-keeping' force.

"PRESERVE"

Behind the AFM's policy on Angola lies a determination to preserve the territory - under one or another 'nationalist' political form for the future benefit of capitalism. For the MLPA to assume the predominant power would jeopardise this and therefore, as in the Congo, action is played off against faction, tribal and cultural differences are exploited, and a situation is created to offer an excuse for intervention.

These reactionary policies give lie to claims by the AFM leadership - cloistered in continuous session in the early part of last week as they attempted to resolve the political crisis created by the resignation of Socialist Party leader Soares and his fellow ministers from the government - that they intend to place power in the hands of the working people through a system of popular democracy.

On their own admission, the

democratic bodies to represent the class strength of the working class - but committees to be formed from above, in the indefinite future, and to act as a transmission belt for Stalinist and AFM policies.

In effect they are trying to impose - in the here and now - a joint dictatorship of the AFM and Communist Party chiefs.

It is for this reason that they have had to suppress left wing tendencies within the workers' movement - such as the Maoist MRPP. The leadership of the 'security' command within the armed forces, COPCON, last week denounced 'infiltration' by the MRPP and other 'leftists' among rank-and-file soldiers.

It is the reactionary policies of the AFM and Stalinist leaders - dressed up in revolutionary phraseology - which created some of the greatest dangers and confusion for the working class in Portugal.

They create the conditions in which Soares and other Socialist Party leaders can launch anti-communist appeals in the name of 'democracy', and in which priests in the north can encourage the witch-hunting of Communist Party members and the burning of Communist literature.

COMMITTEES

The struggle for workers' democracy in Portugal lies neither through the AFM and the Stalinist bureaucrats, nor through the right-wing Social Democracy of Soares, but through the building of unifying of the rank-and-file committees, elected, and recallable by those who elect them.

GERMANY: "Participation" in Unemployment

Gloomy forecasts for the West German economy continue. With unemployment now at 4½ per cent of the labour force, the announcement on July 14th by the highly respected IFO economic research institute that unemployment will continue to rise at least until November has added another touch of gloom.

But unemployment is simply the result of the German SPD 'Labour' government pursuing the same policies that Healey and Wilson are now attempting to inflict on the British working class - seeking to bring down the rate of inflation through massive unemployment and cuts in workers' living standards.

In the midst of lengthening dole queues, Chancellor Schmidt proudly boasts that he has brought down the rate of inflation from 7% in February to 6% in May.

The widespread existence of worker participation in West Germany is an expression *not* of the strength but is a *weakness* of the German working class.

The post-war 'economic miracle' of a rapid rate of economic growth in West Germany was based directly on the political defeats inflicted on the German working class by Fascism.

Throughout the period of the Nazi regime wages were driven downwards. The total destruction of independent working class organisation by the Nazis made this possible. After the war, however, the massive destruction of German industry through allied bombing coupled with the historic defeats of the German working class together with the extension of massive credit by world capitalism to finance 'reconstruction' laid the basis for a restoration of capitalism with a high rate of economic growth.

Although the allied military government in West Germany immediately after the war

representation of workers and management. Last autumn a bill to extend this to all industry was defeated by the senate.

Right-wing opposition to the bill was based *not* on employer opposition to the system as such - they have supported it for the last thirty years - but fear of the growing resistance of workers to unemployment. In exactly the same way the CBI resisted the 'Industrial Democracy' aspects of Wilson's Industry Bill.

Side-Track

Finance Minister, Hans Apel, addressing the annual conference of the DGB (German TUC) in Hamburg in May, attempted to persuade the trade unions to accept a watered-down version of the bill involving less than parity representation.

This whole discussion is a complete side-track. The task now facing German workers is a complete break from 'worker participation' and for independent working class action against growing unemployment.

The struggle to open the books - reveal 'business secrets' to independently elected trade union committees answerable to shop-floor only as the first step in the campaign for nationalisation without compensation (except to small savers) is the only viable programme against rising unemployment.

Factory committees independent of the fake participation schemes must be elected with the task of leading the fight for workers' control of production in opposition to workers' participation in speed-up and redundancy.

Control

Workers have no interests in common with the employers. The task of the unions is to assert working class interests and control the management, in preparation to remove the employers' representatives and introduce full workers' management after nationalisation.

Along with nationalisation a programme of useful public works must be established to ensure continuity of work and enable the development of a socialist economic plan for German industry.

This programme, of course, comes into direct confrontation with the protection of business secrets and prohibition of advocacy of strikes embedded in the current West German system of worker participation.

It is around the struggle for such a programme that a new leadership carrying forward the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International must be built in the working class in West Germany.

AUSTRALIAN Reformists' 'Watergate'

Australia's 'Watergate' continued its ominous simmering last week, with all the main parliamentary parties treating the network of scandals, alleged 'backhanders', resignations and dismissals with extreme caution.

Labour Premier Gough Whitlam opposed a demand from opposition members of the Senate (the upper house of the Australian parliament) that a dozen senior officials of the civil service should be made to answer questions on the government's conduct in seeking to raise overseas loans.



Whitlam and his daughter

The present round of scandals started after a series of exposures gave Whitlam sufficient reasons to 'chop' his Deputy Prime Minister and Federal Treasurer, Jim Cairns - also a 'left' within the Australian Labour Party and one of Whitlam's long-standing rivals.

Cairns was accused of giving people with whom he had personal connections - including his stepson - authority to negotiate for massive government loans in the Middle East and London. Since the loans involved sums of the order of 2,000,000,000 dollars they could have meant 'commissions' of several millions for those involved with them.

REVELATIONS

A series of 'revelations' in the press, based on letters and documents from civil service files, went hand-in-hand with a carefully orchestrated Parliamentary campaign to bring this to the public eye. To add fragrance to the affair some rumours also connected Cairns' private secretary, Miss Juni Morosi, as a go-between in the loan negotiations.

Whitlam first demoted Cairns, then removed him altogether. Last week the Parliamentary Labour

Party attempted to put a stop to the scandal and restore some stability to Whitlam's government by voting in Frank Crean to replace Cairns as deputy leader of the Party and deputy Prime Minister.

But further rumours began to surround Rex Connor, Whitlam's nationalistic Minister for Minerals and Energy. Connor has been heading a campaign against the foreign companies who control the exploitation of about 60% of Australia's vast mineral resources, trying to give a bigger share to Australian capital.

To do so he attempted to raise a 4 billion dollar loan in the Middle East, through London financier Tirath Khemlani. According to government cables published in the Melbourne press Khemlani stood in line for millions of dollars in commissions had the deal gone through.

HESITANT

But the opposition in Canberra - Malcolm Fraser's capitalist Liberal Country Party - seem hesitant to exploit the matter to the hilt. For one thing, details on Connor's loan dealings were allegedly provided through Australian merchant banks offended at not being in on the floatation themselves.

And the opposition contains many spokesmen for foreign capital wishing to get a slice of the vast profits potentially offered by the country's natural resources.

Thus they accepted - with only cries of 'Shame!' - Whitlam's refusal to allow civil servants to be questioned and his claim that to force this would be a breach of 'executive privilege' - essentially the same defence as Nixon offered at the beginning of the Watergate affair!

CORRUPTION

The corruption exposed in the Australian reformist party has a common cause with scandals in W. German social democracy, and the revelations in Britain of corrupt practice of leading Labour Party members.

This has included the involvement of Labour NEC member T. Dan Smith with architect John Poulson and N.E. Labourite Andrew Cunningham in a network of backhanders and development contracts involving Labour councillors in the North East, as well as Wilson's private secretary being tied in with property speculation.

The current adventures of Walsall MP Stonehouse are also part of the same crisis - which flows from the class-collaborationist policies of reformism.

Thus during the boom period reformist leaders grew attached to the bourgeoisie, their lifestyle and their corruption - and now the break up of the boom is drying up the gravy train. Meanwhile the capitalist press, with such information at its finger tips, bides its time, waiting only to use it for best political effect.



West German unemployed

At the same time Schmidt is using the increased terrorist activity in West Germany as a pretext for extending the apparatus of police repression and surveillance in preparation for mounting working class resistance to unemployment.

It is in this context of rising unemployment and a Labour government moving continually to the right, that the question of workers' control raises itself in West Germany.

'Joint' Decision

Systems of 'joint decision making' abound throughout West German industry both at the level of the firm itself and at the plant level where 'joint participation' works councils comprising unions and management exist. Experience in West Germany, therefore, exposes the whole nature of schemes for worker participation such as those embodied in Wilson's Industry Bill in Britain.

dismantled the trappings of the Fascist state apparatus and restored free trade unions, the development of works councils and joint participation schemes was an attempt by the bourgeoisie to continue a vital aspect of Fascism - the tying of the working class to the state and the ruling class.

The fundamentally anti-working class nature of the worker participation systems can be clearly seen in the existence of severe penalties for the revelation of 'business secrets' by worker representatives. (This is an important aspect of Wilson's Industry Bill proposals in Britain). Clearer still is the fact that workers elected on to the local works councils are prohibited by law from calling for strike action.

Because of this a system of shop stewards' committees has evolved at factory level totally separate from and independent of the works councils and the trade union bureaucracy.

In the coal, iron and steel industries there exists parity of

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 all increases in the cost of living as determined by trade union prices committees; the challenge of the 'rights' of the employer and the

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 propaganda, bringing important gains in trade union work and opening up completely new areas. We are beginning to recruit and train from the new forces thrown into struggles in this period - not only trade unionists, but also professional workers, housewives, students and youth - in the fight to construct the party.

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

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

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FROM 'LEFT' TO RIGHT

FIRST OF AN OCCASIONAL SERIES OF ARTICLES TRACING THE CAREERS OF 'LEFT' MPS.

NO 1. JAMES RAMSAY MACDONALD

Marxists have always been called to struggle against opportunist and reformist policies of the working class movement. In August 1914 a great split occurred when reformists went over with the ruling classes by supporting the Imperialist War.

Ever since then, the policy of reformism has been to fight to keep and push aside all those elements of the working class who are in the way of its emancipation. In the modern epoch of wars and revolutions, the working class can no longer defend or improve its conditions without defeating the leadership of its struggle. Leaders who hold back and do every effort at its improvement, and act thus as direct agents of the employers in the workers' movement.

SCIENTIFIC

Our struggle for a new leadership in the working class involves serious and scientific assessment of the forces ranged against us. We must fight for the immediate removal of those such as Prentice Healey who openly ally with the class enemy, and use Tory policies, including state pay laws, to divide the working class.

However, we must not be deceived by the left reputations of those who sometimes fight against these policies, like Healey, or Bidwell, or Heffer, even if they do gain the support of militant left-moving workers. These people are, as Trotsky said of their equivalents in the 1920's, but varieties of the same basic Fabian

Their policies can do nothing to serve the interests of the working class in this period, but simply divert the struggles of workers by confining them to the legalistic channels dictated by the bourgeoisie. Such a conclusion is not always obvious when we hear the militant words of Eric Heffer about the Newbury building workers, or the capitalist press view of Edgewood Benn as some kind of threat to the bosses and their system. However, under pressure of any significant conflict, where the basic interests of the working class are at stake, these people always break for ever and run.

An essential role of a revolutionary paper is to expose in advance the traitorous role of the fake lefts, and to attack their hesitations and dilutions. They should of course be supported on those rare occasions when they do take a principled stand, as Heffer did when he left the government over the Common Market, and as Scanlon did when he stood against postal ballots in trade union elections.

DECEPTIVE

However, it would be wrong to point out that such steps as these in the end serve only to deceive workers and head off the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

In demanding that the 'lefts' take a stand in defence of the interests of the working class, we must constantly point out that, unless they fight for a programme which brings the workers independently into conflict with their capitalist masters, unless they come over unequivocally to the side of revolutionary Marxism, then they will simply provide a cover for the openly pro-capitalist leaders of the Prentice-Jenkins variety.

We cannot talk of a 'good side' and a 'bad side' in the policies of these lefts, selecting which parts are worthy of support. The demands we put on them must be based on the exposure of the fact

in general will be ever more treacherous, ever more liable to deceive the masses and hold back the struggles for their interests.

The purpose of this article and others which will follow is to show that however militant and left-sounding leaders of the working class may be, unless they take up the cause of revolutionary Marxism, they inevitably in the end become an obstacle to the interests of workers.

However much workers are deceived by the handouts to capitalists in the Industry Bill, they will be unable to defend their jobs unless they fight for factory occupations, for opening the books of their employers to committees of trade unionists, and for work sharing without loss of pay.

However much they are deceived by left rhetoric in favour of such policies as selective import controls, only by a sliding scale of wages under trade union control linked to a campaign for socialist nationalisation and workers management will they safeguard their wages and working conditions in this period. It is only the working class under revolutionary leadership who will be able to do this, and not the manoeuvring of the Benns and Heffers.

Of course much that Benn, Scanlon and others say can at times sound militant and even 'revolutionary'. Besides analysing their statements to show their treacherous essence, we can also show where such policies end, by examining the careers of others whose promises have been just as golden, and whose road has always been that of betrayal.

TRAITOR

This series must begin with a few remarks about the career of James Ramsay MacDonald, first Secretary of the Labour Party, and first Labour Prime Minister. MacDonald is of course now remembered in the working class movement chiefly as the turncoat and traitor, who joined the Tories and Liberals to form the so-called 'National' Government of 1931.

He then presided over a government which obediently carried out policies of mass unemployment and wage cutting at the behest of the international bankers, and co-operated with the appeasement of Italian and German fascism, helping to prepare for a new imperialist war.

It should be emphasised that whatever hatred now surrounds the memory of MacDonald in the working class, he was not always seen in that way. There was a time when MacDonald commanded the fiercest loyalty in the working class movement, and when those who warned that he would betray it were treated with derision.

It is also important for workers to know that there was a long period in MacDonald's political life when he was considered a left, to be supported as an opponent of capitalism and imperialist war.

During the First World War, MacDonald resigned as leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, spoke up on behalf of conscientious objectors in Parliament, and even attended the 1917 Leeds Convention which greeted the February Revolution in Russia.

VICIOUS

Furthermore, MacDonald was subject to a vicious and dirty press campaign accusing him of being a 'pacifist', an 'agent of Germany', and much more besides. Horatio Bottomley, the patriot and swindler, who made a profit of £78,000 out of persuading young men to join the army, published in his magazine *John Bull* a copy of MacDonald's birth certificate, in order to prove his illegitimate origin. So great was the campaign of

All of this proved of considerable political benefit to MacDonald. He gained a great reputation as a man of principle falsely accused. A book was even written about him with the title *The Man of Tomorrow*.

ELECTION

This view of him played an important part in his election to the position of Parliamentary leader in 1922, in preference to Clynes, whose support for the war had been well known and who had been a member of the wartime Coalition Government.

Nor was this by any means the end of the campaign in the capitalist press against MacDonald. During the General Election campaigns in 1923 and 1924 posters were issued by the Conservative

at the moment, settle the immediate issue of victory'. He claimed that it was possible to separate the struggle for 'peace' from serious opposition to the slaughter on behalf of capitalism that was taking place on the battlefield.

This was how he managed to come into alliance with the disillusioned ex-Liberals and pacifists of the Union of Democratic Control who provided an important element in developing concepts of class compromisers in the leading ranks of the labour movement.

Nor were the rumours of MacDonald's sympathy with communism anything more than a slander on MacDonald — and on communism. He was the most consistent and continuous opponent within the Independent Labour Party of affiliation to the Communist International, which its left wing favoured.

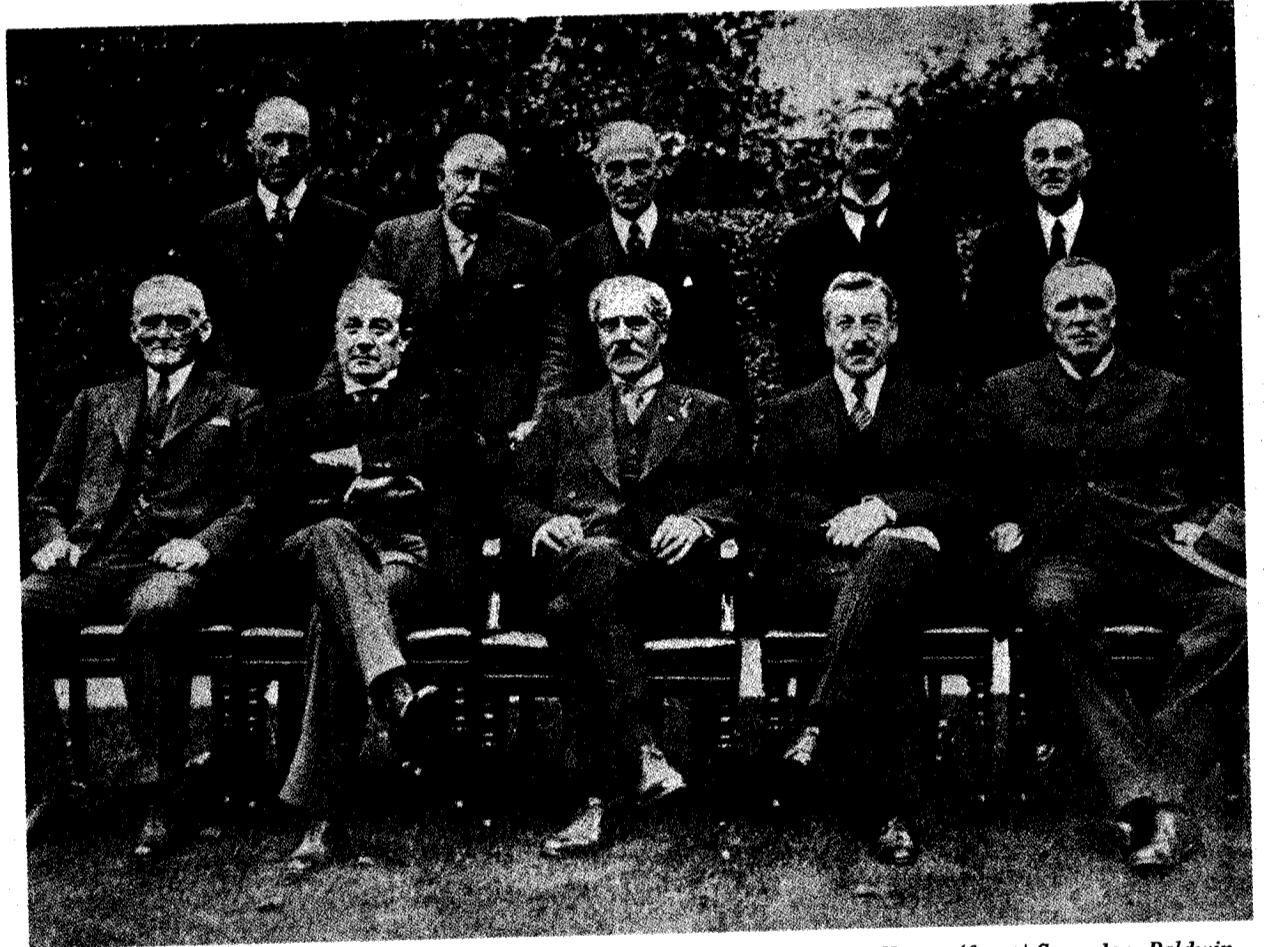
For a time he was Secretary of the Second International, trying

working class are shown in such statements as 'in place of class consciousness we want to evoke the consciousness of social solidarity'.

With such conceptions as these, the second Labour Government of 1929-31 under the leadership of MacDonald, had no policies at all for dealing with the devastating capitalist crisis that soon engulfed it. The relative weakness of British capitalism made her particularly vulnerable in the period between the collapse of the Wall Street stock market in 1929 and of the Austrian Credit-Anstalt Bank in 1931.

Throughout these years the only policies discussed by the 'Labour' Cabinet, including by many who later claimed to be opponents of MacDonald, were swingeing attacks on public spending, wage cuts and unemployment. MacDonald told a TUC delegation about one such series of proposals:

"There is no abandoning of



National Cabinet 1931: (back) Cunliffe-Lister, Thomas, Reading, Chamberlain, Hoare, (front) Snowden, Baldwin, MacDonald, Samuel, Sankey.

Party claiming that MacDonald was in some way sympathetic to the Soviet Union because he favoured recognition of the new Government and the establishment of trade links.

Press attacks were again whipped up when MacDonald decided, acting on legal advice, not to prosecute J. R. Campbell, editor of the Communist Party *Workers Weekly*, for an article that called on soldiers not to shoot at strikers.

This was the issue of confidence on which the first Labour Government was voted out of office by the combined votes of Tories and Liberals. In the election campaign that followed, sections of secret service, in league with the *Daily Mail*, used a fabricated letter from Soviet leader Zinoviev in a further attempt to smear MacDonald.

All of these charges by the press, personal attacks, etc., rebounded against their authors by building up the prestige of MacDonald within the working class movement. However, there was another important point about all the statements on MacDonald's opposition to the War and his sympathy for the Soviet Union. They were quite untrue.

The attitude of MacDonald to the War had nothing whatsoever in common with the revolutionary opposition of Karl Liebknecht who declared that 'the enemy is at home', or of Lenin who called for the imperialist war to be turned in every country into a civil war of workers against their 'own' capitalist class. MacDonald wrote to a sitting meeting at Leicester in

without success to breathe some life into that 'rotten corpse'. He supported the proscription, and eventually the expulsion of Communists from the Labour Party, and defended the puppet regimes of Georgia and other areas set up by the imperialists and Mensheviks to challenge Soviet power during the Civil War.

Although, as one recent writer on his life has put it, 'most of the other Labour leaders of his generation shared his ideas and reinforced them', he was the only one who seriously tried to give them a "theoretical" gloss.

Some of his pamphlets and speeches have been reproduced recently with learned introductions and explanatory notes, but they do little to allay his reputation for crass philistineism and formidable obscurity.

He defended reformism on the grounds that for the working class politics should consist of 'laboratory experiment, not revolution'. He was particularly disposed to biological analogy in presenting his arguments for gradual revolution.

TROTSKY

The fifth chapter of Trotsky's *Where Is Britain Going?* provides a particularly devastating critique of this view of the world, which exposes MacDonald's hypocritical pacifism, not to mention his igno-

principles, only bowing to necessities. Everyone responsible for a department is a Trade Unionist or a Socialist, or both, and the meeting can trust us."

INEFFECTIVE

Even the leaders of the TUC found it impossible to wear this. They could never defend in front of their members policies which were proposed to cut the pay of those working in the public service, and the massive increase in unemployment, which eventually was nearly 3 million, or close on 25% of those registering for jobs. However there was no hint from them, or from the 'left' opponents of MacDonald's policies in the labour movement, of an independent mobilisation of the working class in defence of jobs and wages, or for a socialist programme to solve the crisis.

Without such a mobilisation, the proposals from 'left' MPs for increases in taxation and programmes of public works were utterly ineffective. Although union leaders like Bevin and Citrine spoke of 'revenue tariffs' and other 'radical' solutions, they had no proposals for carrying out even these limited measures. Leaders of the Independent Labour Party spoke of "Socialism in Our Time" and even expelled MacDonald in anticipation of his betrayals, but they had no prog-

DEFEND TYNDALE TEACHERS!

The recent refusal by the staff to allow managers into the building of William Tyndale Junior School appears to be unprecedented in this country.

Since the present headmaster took over the school, in Islington, North London, in January 1974, and employed a NUT member previously witch-hunted from job to job, relations with the politically-appointed managers have deteriorated.

PARENTS

Parents have been canvassed and told that their children's education was being "subverted" by long-haired left wing teachers whose aim was to smash capitalism

SOCIALIST

At a time when the Labour Government is preparing to slash education spending by a further £600m and limit wage increases to £6 per week, 165 members of the NUT and the EIS (Scottish teachers' union) met at a Socialist Teachers' Conference in London on July 12th.

The conference was called because of the failure of the IS-dominated Rank and File group to pose a socialist alternative to the right wing and Stalinist leadership of the NUT.

Discussion centred round the

by not teaching working class children.

At one point in the campaign the slogan "let's kick the reds out of Tyndale" was used.

PETITION

It was after the circulation of a secret petition among Labour councillors that staff banned managers during school hours.

Repeated requests from the teachers to the education authority to investigate the managers have been side-stepped, despite the fact that the managers have tried to usurp the role of the professional inspectorate in examining the work of the teachers.

The London *Evening News* has got in on the act and are now being sued for libel by the NUT. Already another Islington primary school

is being subjected to similar pressure from its managers, and the local NUT branch is supporting the action of the Tyndale staff to resist this political attack.

The membership of the NUT must be mobilised to defend the right of William Tyndale staff to teach in the way they find most effective, without McCarthyite witch-hunts.

MOTIONS

A defeat for the teachers at Tyndale would open the way to more wide-ranging attacks on education in this period of crisis.

Motions of support must be passed at all NUT branch meetings.

Further information is available from the school NUT representative, Jackie McWhirter, 24 Palace Road, London N.8.

TEACHERS CONFERENCE

questions of salaries, education cuts, affiliation of the NUT to the Labour Party, and women and education. Conspicuous by their absence were the WRP, IS and CP, although all other left wing groups with members in the teachers' unions, as well as individuals with no political affiliation were present.

MAXIMUM "UNITY"

One immediate weakness in the IMG-dominated gathering was that group's refusal to criticise the CP or the 'Lefts' of the Labour Party for their role in the trade union movement, on the basis of

"maximum unity" at all costs.

The majority of those present supported the demand for a sliding scale of wages, together with the need for a sliding scale of public expenditure, with trade union committees in each Local Education Authority to open the books to determine the needs and the allocation of resources as a first step towards workers' control.

But it remains to be seen if this agreement is anything more than verbal, and if they will now adopt this programme in the fight in the union branches. This will be shown in practice by the time of the next such conference - scheduled for the autumn.

"ACTION COMMITTEE" HEADED OFF

The second meeting of the East London Action Committee Against the Cuts, held on 17th July at Bethnal Green Hospital, was side-tracked away from political questions by members of the IS.

The committee was formed from a conference of trade unionists from NALGO, NEPE, NUT, T&GWU and ASTMS, originally convened by NUPE on May 10th. Its aim was to discuss defence of the Health Service, particularly the defence of ten hospitals, including Poplar, which have been threatened with closure.

A resolution passed with enthusiastic support at that first conference called for independent action by the working class as the only way to fight the cuts. A committee was to be established to

fight for the resolution which demanded the opening of the books and the waiting lists of the Area Health Authority, the completion of new hospitals before old ones were allowed to be closed, and a sliding scale of Health Service expenditure to keep pace with inflation.

WORKERS CONTROL

Discussion on these demands did not figure on the agenda for this meeting, and the first speaker, an IS member, got up to say that as far as the closure of Poplar Hospital was concerned "the matter now rests with the Secretary of State". In other words workers should put their trust in the tender mercies of Barbara Castle!

The whole concept of workers



Castle

control which is posed by the fight for access to the books and administration of the AHAs was missed by the IS. For them, as another member put it, workers control is merely a "theoretical

concept", while the important question is "getting people involved". But involved in what?

Other speakers proposed that to carry out the original programme of demands that they should not only be fought for in every union branch by speakers from the Action Committee, but that they must also be taken in to the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Trades Councils with the demand for supporting action to carry them through.

This proposal was headed off by more interminable "organisational" talk from IS, who clearly see the whole campaign as a single issue protest and not a central part of the defence of jobs and conditions in the NHS as a whole.

The vital question is not "involvement" in rationalisation and closures, but the mobilisation of working class action to oppose the NHS spending cuts.

NALGO PAY AND JOB CUTS

The recent pay settlement between Local Government workers and the employers, giving a 25% increase (only 4.3% above the original offer), is tantamount to a pay cut when viewed against the erosion of wages by rampant inflation.

Inevitably the lower paid grades will be hardest hit. The leadership of NALGO succeeded in intimidating the Group meeting of June 27th into an acceptance of the pay offer with the threat of the coming pay freeze. This enabled them to avoid pushing ahead with the original pay claim of £10 plus 15%, which itself was only a limited attempt to protect wages.

NO POLICIES

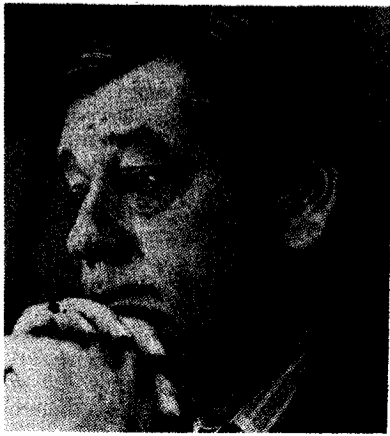
This same leadership refuses to put forward any policies to defend its members against the cuts in public expenditure which the Labour Government has been consistently directing Local Authorities to carry out for the past year.

According to Government policy (recently made public in a series of joint circulars to Local Author-

instead of the 3% originally planned. Over the same period, capital expenditure will actually be reduced by 10%.

PROJECTS SHELVED

This means that all new projects other than 'inescapable commitments' will be shelved, and worse could follow if the government



Crosland: in charge of cuts

further reduces Local Government finance in its 'fight against inflation'.

The actual form the cuts take will, according to the circulars, be

such as environment, health, recreation and community facilities will be the first to go to the wall, along with many of the social service facilities.

The position of council tenants will suffer further by reduction of facilities for repair, maintenance and management of council dwellings. Local Authorities are advised to search for ways in which they can increase the degree of responsibility for repair and maintenance of rented accommodation on to the tenants themselves.

VACANCIES UNFILLED

It is also made clear in the circular on manpower that it is the Government's intention to ensure that staff vacancies in Local Government remain unfilled. NALGO estimates that at present there are 40,000 such unfilled vacancies. This is surely the first major step towards the announcement of redundancies. In fact the Government has set up a joint watch committee with the local authorities aimed at reducing the 'rate of increase of manpower', by scrutinising staff numbers.

In contrast to these drastic measures the police force is to be

to the TUC General Council have correctly voted to reject the Labour Government's proposal to hold wages down to a flat rate £6 increase, when it comes to mobilising the union in defence of wages and jobs the leadership have absolutely no proposals.

NALGO members can defend their living standards only by fighting for:

*A sliding scale of public expenditure in line with the level of inflation as decided by committees of trades unionists.

*The setting up of trade union committees to maintain staffing levels and to ensure that vacancies in local government are not allowed to remain unfilled.

*A sliding scale of wages to keep up with the rate of inflation as determined by committees of trades unionists.

CAMPAIGN

At the same time all trades unionists must demand that those 'left' Labour MPs who have been criticising the Government's intended cuts in public spending translate their words into action and campaign for the removal of the right wing in the Cabinet led by Wilson and their replacement by

EMPLOYERS' VIEW OF 'PARTICIPATION'



Blast Furnace

The developing crisis, forcing employers onto the offensive, brings out increasingly clearly the reactionary essence of the call for "workers participation". Enshrined in Wilson's Industry Bill and the Ryder report, it is also sought after by key employers. Chrysler have offered workers a £100 bonus if they accept the scheme.

In this context it is interesting to see how the employers see question of participation. In an article in the section "Executive World" in the *Financial Times* (25.6.75) James Ensor showed a way a form of "participation" forcibly introduced into ICI:

"At the start there was resentment that the agreement had been negotiated nationally without involving local shop stewards. AEU stewards, especially, saw it as a threat to the status of the craftsman. The strongest resistance came at Billingham and Wilton in the North East where the local union leaders were determined to protect their members' immediate interests... [ensor as] "the preservation of jobs, status, procedural distinctions, markings, and any other structural defence against a fluid labour situation on the site". It was only after two old-fashioned confrontations - the dismissal of the AEU senior steward and the defeat of the T&GWU strike - that management regained some initiative". (emphasis added)

Here are no 'left' illusions of class compromise - rather participation is forced on a weakened, leaderless workforce. Ensor is clear on this:

"... one cannot expect union officials, national or local, suddenly to abandon their traditional role of defending the livelihood of their members, in favour of a new one, that of assisting the company as a whole to become more efficient and more profitable."

RESTORE "VIABILITY"

The employers know that assist in restoring "viability" bankrupt capitalism means speed and redundancies - and is the opposite of trade unionism. Indeed unemployment tops the millstone and goes on rising in recession it threatens many unions. Again the *Financial Times* has eyes wider open than the TUC:

"The most national trade unionists can be expected to do... is acquiesce to certain proposals. Some unions, after all, face a drastic decline in their own membership. How can the National Union of Blastfurnacemen be expected to enthrone over a programme that could have the effect of halving membership by the early 1980's?"

So yet again "worker participation" is shown to be merely a move to silence and compromise local and national union bureaucrats and prevent opposition to sav-

aged up. It is no coincidence that the discussion here includes the steel industry, where threats of 20,000 redundancies have been revived in order to railroad through the speed-up charter which was agreed by union leaders and

NEWHAM SHOWS THE WAY



A demonstration of teachers: part of the movement against Reg Prentice

Prime Minister Harold Wilson has added his voice to the witch-hunt of Labour Party members in Newham N.E. Along with 14 Labour ministers, 160 Labour MPs, the whole of the capitalist press and the whole employing class, Wilson wants to prevent the constituency removing extreme right wing cabinet Minister Reg Prentice from his position as their candidate in the next election.

This is because all of these forces are aware of the political development that would take place in the workers movement if right wingers could be removed when they attack the working class. The Newham campaign, whether or not immediately successful, points the way forward for class conscious Labour Party members and trade unionists.

The moves against Prentice began within the trade unions, as a response to his vicious anti-working class position - as expressed in his support for the sacking of the Five Pentonville lockers by the Tory government in 1972, and the Shrewsbury Two wilders pickets (kept in jail by the Wilson government).

But while reserving special venom for trade unionists and workers like the Clay Cross councillors who challenged the right of the employers to cut workers living standards, Prentice lies with the Tories on almost every issue.

WAGECUTS

He has fought tooth and nail for the wage cutting social contract, and is now a pillar of Wilson's fight for state imposed wage cuts, legally enforced.

He leads the call for cuts in education spending and stands squarely by Chancellor Healey's measures which have already

created 1 million unemployed.

Like most of the leading members of Wilson's cabinet, Prentice campaigned jointly with the Tory leadership in favour of the capitalist Common Market in the referendum, and then called for that coalition of forces to continue.

To conceal how extreme are these positions and how savage Prentice's attacks on trade union rights have been, the Tory press has coined the term "moderate", and all opposition to him has been branded "extremist" and "unrepresentative".

HEALEY

Denis Healey, for those who could stomach the sight at a Tolpuddle Martyrs rally on Sunday of a Labour minister, while legislating state pay laws, addressing a meeting commemorating those who fought against men like Healey to build the trade unions and defend the working class, spoke strongly in defence of Prentice. The *Daily Mirror* gave up its front page to ram home his words. He said:

"It is important that a life-long trade unionist [!] like Reg Prentice should be allowed to make his contribution to our cause."

It is important to the employers and their servants in the cabinet that Prentice should not be displaced by the rank and file of the Labour Party.

This is the reason for the hysterical and nauseating gutter witch-hunt of those opposing Prentice in Newham. The *Daily Mail*, the paper that backed Mosely in the 1930s and which played a key role in the witch-hunt of Alan Thorne in the BLMC victimisation at Cowley last year, has led the pack leaping in with whole page features making personal allegations against Tony Kelly, Assistant Secretary of the Newham N.E. CLP in an attempt to divert from the political issues, and suggesting some sinister or undercover 'plot' is involved. This is the line Wilson has taken up with his talk of 'unrepresentative minorities'.

1964

This is the first time that Wilson has had to do battle to save a right winger. But Trotskyists will remember how in 1964 the whole right wing Labour Party leadership witch hunted and expelled the majority of the Young Social-

ists who had just adopted a programme of socialist policies.

In 1964, there was no talk of the expelled being allowed to "make a contribution to our cause" - merely the bureaucracy baying for blood. Then, as now, the mobilisation of the right wing prepared the way for Wilson to introduce anti-working class policies - pay laws and unemployment.

The Tories, the press and the right wing unite to defend their man from the workers movement, and attempt by any means to sway the vote. Their line is consistent: Reg Prentice is a "moderate" with a right to attack the trade union movement, and Labour Party members have no right to mandate their MPs.

But possibly more significant for workers is the move inside the Parliamentary Labour Party itself. Not only the obvious right wing has mobilised in order to protect Prentice from the working class - over half the PLP has signed a letter attempting to sway the vote

in his favour, including some so-called 'left' wingers from the Tribune Group.

And why has no prominent 'left' in the cabinet or in the PLP begun a mobilisation in favour of the anti-Prentice forces?

Every class conscious worker can see that Wilson's policies can only spell disaster for the Labour Party. An election fought on this platform would almost wipe out all but their safest possible seats in Parliament. Wilson does not act alone. He works with Prentice and with the 160 who back him.

To defend the Labour Party means there must be hundreds of Newhams - to clear out those 160 and any others who will not answer to the Labour movement, who carry out the employers' policies, who sponge off the strength of the unions and the party built to defend them, and who seek only a career of class-collaboration.

SCARGILL'S COLLAPSE AID HEALEY

Confident of TUC backing, and hypocritically addressing the Tolpuddle Martyrs Memorial Rally in Dorset, Denis Healey claimed a "massive groundswell of support throughout the land" for his late pay laws.

He went on to praise the NUM in particular for backing his policy, saying "both on the left and the right of politics there is a growing determination to drop doctrinaire nit-picking and to concentrate on the big issues facing the nation".

Earlier, at the Durham Miners' Gala, Wilson was given the platform arrogantly to attack any remaining NUM resistance to late pay laws with the direct threat of unemployment, when he said: "The Yorkshire miners' wage increase could be the Durham miners' pit closure".

Two main turning points prepared the ground for the pay laws. The first was Jack Jones' achievement in swinging the T&GWU conference behind his fraudulent "flat rate increase" plan. The second was Arthur Scargill's retreat at the NUM conference.

STRENGTH

The miners could break Wilson's laws just as they twice defeated Heath's Tory government - the second time forcing them from office. Scargill held the key to this enormous strength. He was charged with fighting for a Yorkshire area resolution demanding the NUM proceed with a claim of £100 a week. At present rates of inflation, nothing less than £100 could re-establish miners' living standards.

Scargill did not retreat publicly at the conference - he still made militant speech, though not mentioning the pay laws. But, in many union conferences, a similar claim remains the



Advocates of Wilson's pay laws: McGahey, Gormley and Daley

"demand" to the vague term "seek". Scargill, posed with a fight, collapsed and accepted their position.

He excused his position even though he had to fight to get it accepted by the other Yorkshire delegates - by saying that it seemed the vote would go against him. Central in this cover-up was Mick McGahey, President of the Scottish area NUM and a leading Communist Party member.

McGahey passed Scargill a note urging him to drop the claim, saying "it is better to appear responsible than defeated". Scargill obviously accepted this opportunist formula.

The key question for the working class was for the £100 demand to be fought for - even if lost - to provide a focal point of resistance to Wilson's pay laws. Given a fight and the left forces present at the conference, the resolution could even have been passed.

The weakness was Scargill's politics. Like all left talkers he defended capitalism at the point where the chips were down.

opened the door to the pay laws, and that in reality it was a choice between £100 a week demand or a £6 limit.

The depth of this betrayal can now be seen. On the strength of this conference resolution - moved by Scargill - the right wing were able to get not only an executive decision to support the pay laws, but intend to ballot the membership on it.

Their recommendation, carrying the authority won by the NUM leaders in two successful pay struggles, may well be accepted. If it is, it will become the main political prop of Wilson, who will claim it shows "mass support" for his policy in the strongest section of workers.

It exposes all too clearly any illusions that the NUM leadership is in any sense separate from the TUC treachery of recent weeks. The last period has seen miners' galas consistently used by Labour's right wing as platforms for the most reactionary speeches. Only the class collaboration of the NUM right wing and the opportunism of the 'left' and Stalinists has brought this

Imperial Workers Defeated

The sit-in at Imperial Typewriters' factory in Hull ended on Wednesday July 16th, when workers were led out of the plant by T&GWU Regional Secretary David Cairns, who had spent the last 4½ months preventing the action being carried into the labour movement.

The occupation indicated two things: the determination of workers to struggle to defend jobs; and the determination of the trade union bureaucracy to head them away from the main political issues.

Every stunt in the book had been tried by the local T&GWU leadership to avoid the struggle to make Labour nationalise Imperials under workers management, and for a programme of state contracts.

In the end, sooner than direct at the government's conscious policy of creating unemployment and refusing to nationalise industry.

HULL VICTIMISATION

Strengthened by the collaboration of the trade union leaders, employers in the footwear industry have gone onto the attack. On Monday evening a militant worker was sacked from Holmes Halls Ltd of Hull at a minute's notice.

Management gave as an excuse for this action the ludicrous complaint that Jeff Fowler had attended a TUC course on health and safety at work - in an industry notorious for infringements of basic health and safety standards. When he returned from the course, he was sacked and ordered off the premises.

The National Union of Footwear Leather and Allied Trades must ensure Jeff Fowler's reinstatement. If this is not done this victimisation must be made an issue for the trade union movement throughout the Hull area.

WSL PUBLIC MEETING

Bristol:
Wednesday July 30th 7.30 pm.
Room A, Shepherds Hall.

Cairns blamed the campaign's failure on himself for "failing to find a viable alternative". He announced to the press that he "nearly cried" when the decision was taken to end the sit-in.

This hypocritical breast-beating shows only the reactionary role of the bureaucracy. Cairns says not a word about the hundreds of jobs lost through his refusal to mobilise the regional resources of the T&GWU and other unions behind the occupation, or to call for national assistance from the working class.

The workers defeated by their own leadership at Imperials join a growing dole queue in Hull at a time of recession. They, together with others threatened with redundancies, must learn the political lessons of the sit-in and begin the fight in the unions to remove those like Cairns who oppose "politics" in the unions.

They must replace them with leaders who will mobilise the working class in defence of jobs.

FUND

Our £500 monthly development fund is designed to enable us to improve further the technical quality and coverage of *Socialist Press*. Our objective is to launch as a weekly Trotskyist paper by the end of the year. We need your support to carry this through. Please send all donations to:

WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill,
London NW5 1HR.

WSL PUBLIC MEETING

Swindon:
Tuesday August 5th 7.30 pm.
Eastcott Hotel, Manchester Road,
Swindon.

continued from front page

ing class through the weakening of the right wing in the Labour Party.

Now the struggle against the right wing must be carried both into the Labour Party, where an emergency motion must be prepared for the Labour Party conference demanding the removal of Wilson, and into the trade unions. The lefts have a responsibility to campaign for Wilson's removal not only in the Labour Party, but to call for