# SOCIALIST PRESS X

FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

NO 13 \* 24th JULY 1975 \* 10p

# 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 lead to the centralisation of exchanges at off-peak times and lay-offs among goperating staff. All this in the name of "cutting costs".

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 subsides 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 work-force, 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 Heel

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 rulcontinued 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 those 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 revo-

lution.

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

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 CUBA **AFM Supports**

**Right Wing** in Angola

By their deeds shall you ow them! The class inclinof the Portuguese Forces Movement's Lapreme Revolutionary Counwere thrown into relief ith Foreign Minister Melo atunes' hurried trip to the ngolan capital of Luanda satweek.

Angola, the largest and richest Portugal's African colonies, has Il not yet received formal indepdence. The Portuguese governent, reflecting the wish of capitalt 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

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



Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica gave a clenched fist salute to cheering crowds when he landed at Hayana 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

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 REACTIONARIES

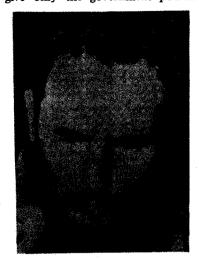
member of the Organisation of American States (OAS) since 1969, decided to establish relations with Cuba, despite the OAS sanctions against the Castro government.

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 dock-workers. 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. 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.

## REENTINA 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

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

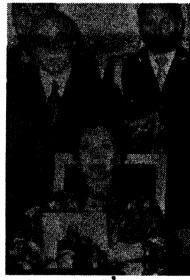
## Anti-Communist

Lopez Rega himself was heavily compromised with extreme rightwing and anti-communist elements. Immediately after his fall, Mrs Peron faced demands for a 'thoroughgoing enquiry' into his association with 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

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 governmentcontrolled 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 Pode 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.

### ake in the colony's wealth, have layed off the divided nationalist rces one against the other. The

Revolutionary soldiers demonstrating against the Constituent Assembly

test, most decisive, intervention me as the left-wing liberation rces of the MLPA began to gain e upper hand in Luanda in fierce treet fighting with the right-wing

Hard on Melo Antunes' heels me two plane-loads of fresh brtuguese troops to reinforce the ore than 20,000 already in the clony. Other aircraft were arranged at of the colony, while the Lisbon be imposed by a UN 'peace**eeping'** force.

## "PRESERVE"

Behind the AFM's policy on agola lies a determination to presthe territory - under one or nother 'nationalist' political form for the future benefit of capitalism. for the MLPA to assume the preominant power would jeopardise is and therefore, as in the Congo, action is played off against faction, and cultural differences are xploited, and a situation is created offer an excuse for intervention.

These reactionary policies give lie to claims by the AFM dership - closeted in continuous ession in the early part of last eek as they attempted to resolve e political crisis created by the ignation of Socialist Party leader pares and his fellow ministers from government - that they intend place power in the hands of the orking people through a system

f 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

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.

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

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

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

## GERMANY: "Participation" AUSTRALIAN Reformists' Watergate 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 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

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

## '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 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.

fundamentally The 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

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 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 unemp-

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' participa-tion 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 prepartion 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.

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

## 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 Carrins 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. Connors has been head ing 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

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 capita 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 involve ment of Labour NEC member T. Dan Smith with architect John Poulson and N.E. Labourite Andrew Cunningham in a network of back-handers 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.

## AT 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

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

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

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 tional and the development of revolutionary parties based

## SOCIALIST PRESS SUBSCRIPTIONS

| 6 Issues 93p  |
|---|
| 12 Issues £1.86p  |
| 24 Issues £3.72p  |
| I would like to take out a subscription to SOCIALIST PRESS; I would likeissues, I enclose £ |
| NameAddress   |
| Send to: 31. Dartmouth Park   |

I would like information about the WSL.

London NW5

COMPLETE and SEND to: 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

Name. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

## FROM LEFT TO RIG

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

NO 1. JAMES RAMSAY MACDONALD

Larxists have always been ciled to struggle against pportunist and reformist s of the working class ment. In August 1914 a we split occured when formists went over with**malification to 'their own'** classes by supporting est Imperialist War.

er since then, the policy of maists has been to fight to and push aside all those of the working class who in the way of its emancipation. the modern epoch of wars evolutions, the working class longer defend or improve onditions without defeating the course of its struggle leaders who hold back and every effort at its improveand act thus as direct agents employers in the workers'

## SCIENTIFIC

Dur struggle for a new leaderin the working class involves rious and scientific assessment e forces ranged against us. We fight for the immediate reement of those such as Prentice Healey who openly ally with class enemy, and use Tory ries, including state pay laws, e working class.

However, we must not be de-d by the left reputations d by those who sometimes test against these policies, like m, or Bidwell, or Heffer, even if do gain the support of militant left-moving workers. These le are, as Trotsky said of their valents in the 1920's, but rieties of the same basic Fabian

Their policies can do nothing erve the interests of the working in this period, but simply d off the struggles of workers by fining them to the legalistic neels dictated by the bourgeoisie. Such a conclusion is not always rious when we hear the militant rds of Eric Heffer about the rewsbury building workers, or d the capitalist press view of deewood Benn as some kind of eat to the bosses and their system. wever, under pressure of any pificant conflict, where the basic erests of the working class are at ke, these people always break for ver and run.

An essential role of a revolution. paper is to expose in advance traitorous role of the fake lefts, to attack their hesitations and cillations. They should of course supported on those rare occass when they do take a principled and, as Heffer did when he left government over the Common and as Scanlon did when he ted against postal ballots in trade

## DECEPTIVE

However, it would be wrong to to point out that such steps as se in the end serve only to ceive workers and head off the ruggle for the revolutionary over-

row of capitalism.

In demanding that the 'lefts' the unions and the Labour rty take a stand in defence of interests of the working class, must constantly point out that, less they fight for a programme hich brings the workers indepenently into conflict with their pitalist masters, unless they come er unequivocally to the side of volutionary Marxism, then they all simply provide a cover for e openly pro-capitalist leaders of Prentice-Jenkins variety.

We cannot talk of a 'good side' d a 'bad side' in the policies these lefts, selecting which parts e worthy of support. The de-ands we put on them must be

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 leftsounding 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

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 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 cooperated with the appeasement of Italian and German fascism, helping to prepare for a new imperialist

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

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

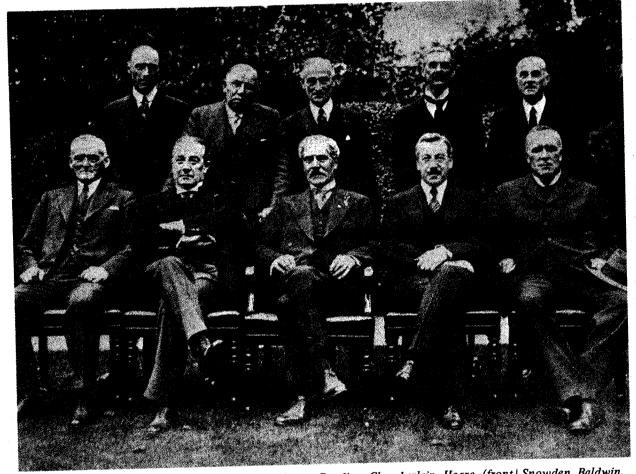
the labour movement.

Nor were the rumours of MacDonald's sympathy 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 soli-

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 They were quite untrue. Union.

The attitude of MacDonald to the War had nothing whatsoever in common with the revolutionary opposition of Karl Liebenecht 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. wrote to a MacDonald

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 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 and formidable philistineism 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 pacificism, not to mention his ignoprinciples, 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. How-ever 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-

objective forces in the world, and

we feel sure that these objective

forces will in the long run remedy

(International Secretariat documents

conception minimises the importance of the revolutionary party

which "objective force" to sub-

At first the Pabloites saw these "objective forces" arising in the

Stalinist Communist Parties inter-

This passive, almost religious

"subjective" factor), and relegates Trotskyism to merely deciding

1951-54 [SWP] Vol 2 p81)

subjective defects".

merge into.

## HT

road for the ultimate betrayal by MacDonald and some of his colleagues when they joined the Tories and Liberals in a so-called 'National' Government to carry out a whole range of attacks on the working class, including a large cut in the dole paid to the increasing army of of the unemployed. However, Mac-Donald left many behind in the labour movement such as Morrison and Dalton, who were able to carry out a similar role in later generat-

## SOCIALISM

For MacDonald, as for all reformists from that day to this, the struggle for socialism had nothing whatever to do with day to day politics. One of his former supporters wrote of him soon after his death that he considered socialism

that far-off Never-Never-Land born of vague aspirations and described by him in picturesque generalities. It is a Turner landscape of beautiful colours and glorious indefiniteness. He saw it, not with a telescope, but with a kaleidoscope."

MacDonald himself apparently

remained unaware of the level of his hypocrisy as perhaps his equivalents do today. Thus when in 1934 a delegation of unemployed workers from Jarrow went to see him, while he was already 'National' Prime Minister and responsible for much of their plight, he said to their Labour MP Ellen Wilkinson, "Ellen, why don't you go out and preach socialism, which is the only remedy for all this?'

Such a perverted view of the world will never be dead as long as we continue to hear 'left' Cabinet ministers like Barbara Castle speak of workers who fight to improve their wages and conditions "endangering the future of socialism in Britain"

## **SUPPORT**

It is easy to see in retrospect the patent and sickening hypocrisy of MacDonald and where it led. Yet MacDonald's oratorical flights of fancy and his left reputation gained him the firm support of large sections of workers during the 1920's.

His unearned reputation as an opponent of the war and his alleged sympathy for the Soviet Union gave him the millions of votes in the 1929 General Election, making it possible for him to lead the ultimate betrayal in 1931.

At the time of the 1929 Election the criminal ultra-left policy of the Communist Party, in calling MacDonald a 'social fascist', did nothing to challenge his power and reputation. Yet such a challenge had to be mounted. MacDonald had to be exposed at every turn, not simply as a liar and a hypocrite, but also as an enemy of every basic interest of the working class.

It was not a matter of separating out the "good bits" from the "bad bits" of his policies, but of building an alternative movement that could challenge and expose every step to his ultimate betrayal. From our understanding of this history, we can predict with complete confidence that whatever 'left' reputations are being built up in the capitalist press in 1975, be it Benn or Scargill, Foot or Scanlon, the need to fight those who have been given them is as sharp and urgent as ever it was.

Without the building of an alternative revolutionary leadership in the working class, these leaders will once again only open the door to defeat and betrayal. In further articles we will say something of others who have trodden the same treacherous road.

John Docherty

by

## I.M.G: CALLING ALL CENTRISTS

The lead article of the latest edition of "Red Weekly"; paper of the International Marxist Group, is a hysterical response to the incomes policy measures put forward by Wilson and Healey. It marks a new stage of political confusion in the IMG, and a continuation of their revisions of Trotskyism.

Wilson's imposition of state control of wages, and the preparation for it in the form of the acceptance by the TUC bureaucracy of Jack Jones' "flat rate" £6 scheme requires serious study and analysis by Trotskyists. Contained in these moves are vital lessons for the political education of whole layers of workers who seek to defend their rights and living standards, but who still retain some faith in 'leaders' who have all played a role in this unprecedented betrayal.

The 'left' MPs, who caved in on every question to Wilson and have refused to challenge his right to lead the Labour Party share a heavy responsibility for the state pay laws, along with the 'left' union leaders who refused to come out and expose the reactionary essence of Jones' £6 plan.

## STALINISTS

At the centre of the betrayal was of course the so-called "Marx-Arthur Scargill, who collapsed before the right wing even attacked at the NUM conference, and got up to move a right wing composite motion, rather than fight for a £100 pay demand for miners. But Scargill did not act alone: right alongside him providing the alibis and urging a "compromise" was leading Communist Party member Mick McGahey, and behind him were the other Stalinists also.

There can be no clarity and no soundly-based fight against Wilson's pay laws which ignores these political facts. Stalinists, centrists and reformists are among the factors relied on by Wilson and Jones as they force in their reactionary proposals.

IMG however does not attempt to analyse the crisis of political leadership in the working class, but responds in desperation, with no mention of the enormous strength of the working class movement. Instead they search round anxiously for any kind of allies with whom they can fuse in what they call a "mass action united front' of the "left" against Wilson.

The "united front" they envisage would include a motley array of forces and groupings, which the IMG refuse to differentiate politic-

Their attitude to these groups is the very opposite of that posed in a Communist united front. As Trotsky wrote:

"The party can achieve this [majority support of workers] only by remaining an absolutely independent organisation with a clear programme and strict internal discipline. This is the reason why the party was bound to break ideologically and organisationally with the reformists and the centrists who do not strive for the proletarian revolution, who possess neither the capacity nor the desire to prepare the masses for revolution, and who by their entire conduct thwart this work.

'Any members of the Communist Party who bemoan the split with the centrists in the name of "unity of forces" or "unity of front" thereby demonstrate that they do not understand the ABC of Communism and that they themselves happen to be in the Communist Party only by accident." [First Five Years of the Communist International, Vol. 2, p. 91]

Thus the IMG call for action (what action is undefined) from the Stalinist-run Liaison Committee

political discontent and determination to struggle down the blind alley of Stalinist protest campaigns. Most noted recently has been their refusal to fight the TUC bureaucracy in its abandonment of the Shrewsbury Two. The LCDTU has always acted simply as a safety valve to protect the bureaucrats.

## FRAUDULENT

Along with the LCDTU, they lump in the reactionary and fraud-ulently-named "Institute of Workers Control". This reformist body comprising bureaucrats, radical academics and centrists, is given a whole page in the current Red Weekly. In it, IWC spokesman Steve Bodington gives their definition of "workers control"

"It is in fact no more than the simple meaning of the words, viz. the exercise of some degree of political and economic social, control by the workers"

He goes on to show that this reformist notion means teaching workers "how to use the NEB and Planning Agreements", and what he terms 'social control' over "banking, finance, foreign exchange, import controls, etc." This bogus Institute thus emerges as a mouthpiece for Benn's reactionary "participation" schemes, as included in Wilson's NEB legislation, and for the Tribune Group's nationalist demands for import controls. None of this matters to the IMG, to whom any opportunist grouping is grist to the mill of their "united front" This can be the only reason

for including in their list the ISfront "Rank and File Movement" a body which has always restricted itself to the lowest levels of nonpolitical trade union militancy, reflecting the opportunism and syndicalism of IS itself.

But the IMG shopping list of left and radical groupings does not stop here - on Page 3 they go on to include such political "Uncle Tom Cobleys" as the National Abortion Campaign, the Troops Out Movement (Leo Abse, Catholic priests and all), the Medical Committee Against Private Practice, and that organisation with the task of rehabilitating Stalinism after the Chile betrayal - the Chile Solidarity Campaign. Conspicuously absent of course are the traditional organisations of the working class - the trade union branches and trades

So desperate are the IMG to

'The trade union leaders opposed to the measures could play an important role here by calling for organisation and action of the rankand-file. Similarly, national organisations inside the trade unions such as the LCDTU, the IWC and the Rank and File Movement could play a powerful role if they

what such a circus should actually

do the Red Weekly descends almost

to incoherence:

co-ordinated their organisation and action. But so far the trade union leaders refuse to organise the rank and file, and the national political organisations in the unions display an important role here by calling organisation and therefore [!] the establishment of local conferences and action committees against the measures. If these are established in even one or two areas they can spread to the rest of country. Every single means of united action against the measures sought out." [Front Page 10.7.75]

The incoherence is only the outward form of political confusion and the attempt to substitute "organisation", bogus "unity" and syndicalist "action" for political understanding and the fight for principle.

Indeed after disillusion and despair with the right wing of the bureaucracy, the IMG centrists direct attention not to! the building of revolutionary leadership, but to the 'left' wing of bureaucrats. The working class only rates one sentence in their front page article, while their hope seems to revive only at the thought that:

'Some trade union leaders have opposed Healey. A few Labour MPs may vote against".

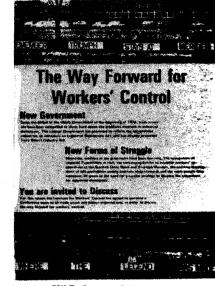
This turn towards the bureaucratic layers rather than the workers movement is not new. Readers of Red Weekly may have noticed that for several weeks now the paper has also been angling for a cosier relationship with the 'lefts' of the Tribune Group. This requires that IMG cover over the capitulations and betrayals that the 'lefts' continue to carry out. Thus Red Weekly has suggested that the betrayals

are not really very important:

"However unless Tribune comes out clearly both for the removal of Wilson from the leadership of the Labour Party and for the open organisation of forces for mass action against his policies. . . they will not be playing a role which can really have any important weight in the working class struggles which are coming". (Red Weekly, 26.6.75 emphasis added).

Thus the impact on the workers movement of the political collapses of the 'lefts' is concealed, and IMG crawls nearer the 'lefts' on its belly. This is the meaning in practice of the majority tendency position adopted at the IMG conference, with its talk of close political relationships with social democracy". For the IMG "relationships" and "unity" are abstractions to cloak the workings of opportunism.

Such policies, subordinating the independence of the party to alien political forces are in line with the history of the IMG and its parent international organisation, the United Secretariat (US). The original forces of the US split from



IWC: boosted by IMG

nationally, and some Trotskyist parties, following Pablo's directions, dissolved into their national Communist Parties.

The onset of colonial struggles then produced the concept in the US that the "epicentre" of revolution was in the so-called "Third World" peasant and liberation movements. Uncritical support was given to these, to the extent of terming Fidel Castro, that notorious anti-Trotskyist, a "natural Marxist".

Then the radicalisation of the middle class in the student and anti-war movements in the late 1960's produced the Pablo-ite concept of the "student vanguard"

Conspicuously, all of these "objective forces" into which Pab loites dissolved were outside the main organised working class movement. IMG continues this line today with calls for the united "left" and relationships with the left MPs.

This is light years away from Trotsky's clear statement in the Transitional Programme that "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterised by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat". (emphasis added).

Trotsky also specifically dissociates from the IMG conception that the 'smallness' of a revolutionary organisation means it must merge itself with others in order to act. He wrote:

There are epochs when the revolutionary tendency is reduced to a small minority in the labour movement. But these epochs demand not arrangements between the small groups with mutual hiding of sins but, on the contrary [NB, IMG!] a doubly implacable struggle for a correct perspective and an education of the cadres in the spirit of genuine Marxism. Victory is possible only in this way". (emphasis added: Communism and Syndicalism, 1929

## UNITY

This does not mean, and neither does Socialist Press at all suggest, that there is no need to unite the working class on the widest possible basis to fight all attacks such as the state pay laws, and in the struggle for power. It goes without saying that revolutionaries, along with all class-conscious workers must and will lead the struggle to support any section of trade unionists that takes on the government and fights these laws. But within that "solidarity"

movement must develop the sharp fight for the Trotskyist programme and principle, which cannot proceed if the Trotskyist party is tied to a coalition of politically bankrupt and fraudulent front organisations and radical groups. That is not a united front but sheer opportunism, "linking up" single issues in order to duck the fight for leadership.

The internal opportunism of IMG has already been exposed in Socialist Press - with its "peaceful coexistence" of opposed tendencies but this latest Red Weekly reaffirms that Pabloite revisionsim and opportunism, and not the defence



Troops Out Movement: summoned to action against the pay laws along with National Abortion Campaign

get this carnival of opportunists on the road that they forget to mention themselves - or do they only see IMG as a coalition of members from these groupings? Certainly the "programme" to fight against the Labour government's imposition of state control of wages, put forward on Page 3, seems to set out to provide something for everyone. It misses out the call for a sliding scale of wages (deliberately omitted to enable an alliance with the IS and the CP who oppose the demand), but includes the demand for "free abortion and contraception Trotskyism in 1953 precisely on the question of the need to develop independent revolutionary parties in each country to lead the struggle for power. Their main spokesman, Michel Pablo, developed the alternative theory that the "objective process" of revolution would spontaneously throw forward the vanguard forces of leadership. This was perhaps clearest expressed in the passage from Pablo-supporter Harry Frankel, quoted in our previous article on the IMG (Socialist Press, no. 6, 17.4.75):

'We have confidence in our analysis of our epoch. That analysis and the confidence which flows from

on demand", to provide a lure for "left" middle class women uncon-

## EXPLOITED IMMIGRANT WORKERS

A Review of: Robert Moore - Racism and Black Resistance in Britain (Pluto Press, 1975, 75p)

> John Berger and Jean Mohr - A Seventh Man (Penguin, 1975, £1.)

The role played by immigrant labour in the expansion of st war capitalism is well known. The rapid rate of capital ring the war sucked into the European labour market ousands of workers from Asia, the Carribean, the Near East d the underdeveloped parts of Europe itself.

Generally, immigrants were sught into the lowest paid, most kly trade unionised 'dirty jobs' ch as refuse collection, portering, tering etc., releasing native rkers for the expanding manucturing industries.

However, technical advance has ant the simplification of the our process even in the advanced ctors of the economy enabling migrants to be brought in here D. Thus in West Germany immiants are 30 per cent of assembly e workers in the motor industry. Besides solving capitalism's oblem of labour supply, immiant workers have other advantages the ruling class orance of trade union rights d organising methods; and greater Hingness to work long hours and exible shifts (to pay back loans d return home as quickly as essible).

factors are especially portant in the current depression sectors like the textile and light gineering and the catering induswhere many firms but for the ploitation of the high intensity labour obtainable from immints would collapse.

### BENEFITS

Finally, the capitalist class in receiving country benefits from t having to pay the education child-rearing costs of its nigrants and furthermore where, in Europe, migrants can be sent me if no work exists, unemployent benefit payments rise at a lower rate than the rate of employment as migrant workers e sent back.

All these facts are noted by the Berger and Mohr using combination of text and photomph, describe graphically the subective side of this process as the grant leaves his village and follows e road to the industrial metro-olis and the dehumanising aperiences that await him there.

However, the task is not simply o understand but to change the rorld and it is here that both ooks reveal their weaknesses. The irst question that has to be ckled is racism; of the employers but more crucially of the leadership of the workers' movement itself.

Moore, when tracing the change in Labour Party policy from the opposition to the racist 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act through Labour's own Acts of 1985 and 1968 to the disgusting failure to repeal the Tory 1971 Immigration Act, offers only facile explanations.

He suggests that the presence of black and therefore visible immigrants showed up problems that had already existed and for which migrants themselves were not to blame, or "the racist position on race has received respectability in about ten years . . . because it has found spokesmen within the existing political parties . . . these politicians have brought racist policies in from the fringe to the centre of politics . . . the fringe has been able to feed its policies to politicians eager for new vote-winning ideas." (p. 29)

This idealist method of argument completely begs the question of the historical origin of racialist conceptions first of all in the labour aristorcracy in the nineteenth century. The privileged position of certain groups of workers was financed by the brutal exploitation of the colonies by British imperia-This created the illusion that British workers had a common interest with the capitalists in maintaining such relations.

From this environment came the bureaucratic leaders of the workers movement, cultivated by the employers as a buffer between the working class and capitalism. Any tendencies to racialism amongst workers is attributable largely to the treachery and nationalism of such leaders. Only on this basis could racist policies be winning'.

## ABSTRACT

Berger and Mohr are, however, content to let this matter rest at the level of fairly abstract psychological generalities: "the indigenous workers see another group less privileged than they are who differ from them. A Marxist would from them. immediately point out that their differences are secondary and that they share the same class interest . . . the indigenous worker in migrant an position and what he sees and hears emphasises how the migrant is different. Different to the point of being unknowable. Imperceptibly . . . the migrant comes to be seen as being beneath understanding as being intrinsically unpredictable, disorganised, feckless, devious . . . such a view, widespread in the indigenous working class, can in certain circumstances lead to overt and violent racism." (pp. 139-40)

We have quoted Berger at length here because he puts succinctly what is probably the most widespread view especially among middle class liberals as to the causes of racism in the working class.

## **BASIS**

Racism is seen as all a gigantic "mis-understanding" based on lack of contact, rather than having a material basis in the development of capitalist production and in the methods of reformist trade unionism which is its political expression.

But further, this view as to the nature of racism gives no clue as to how it is to be fought. If racism among white workers is based on the fact that immigrants are 'different' then of course the only thing is to remove the

Thus, subtly, the responsibility for fighting racism is placed on the immigrants themselves and we arrive at the view, again popular among middle class radicals that Black Militant organisations are the answer and that indeed militant immigrants, 'uncontaminated' by long traditions of reformist trade unionism can become the revolutionary vanguard of the working

Moore tends to this position. His final chapter 'Fighting Back' deals exclusively with the struggles of immigrant workers over the last few years especially in the East Midlands such as the well known strike at Mansfield Hosiery in which Asian workers fought against the collusion of racist management with local area union officials and racist white workers.

Moore ends his book with a discussion of the debate over strategy between the various black militant groups. As if talking of

a separate world and a different class struggle altogether from that confronted by all workers, black and white, he concludes: 'whites can be drawn into this if they are willing to listen and argue their point of view with sympathy and commitment".

### **PROGRAMME**

Any sustained discussion as to the development of a programme that will in struggle break down racist ideas among white workers is missing. All whites are told is that immigrants are interesting; "We have something to learn from trying to understand the responses

of black people."

It is quite true that immigrant workers have fought hard to defend wages and jobs often against formidable combinations of racist management, working with area union officials in manipulating white workers, together with harrassment from police and facist thugs. All revolutionaries must support these struggles.

Furthermore, as Berger says "A migrant's experience of capitalism, because he is exploited in every field, becomes, if he is politically aware of it at all, a very unified experience". But on the other hand as Berger continues: "Their position is highly vulnerable because they can always be deported within twenty four hours".

Apart from this the lack of a long tradition of trade unionism and sustained struggle which is the other side of the coin of the absence of a long tradition of reformism, weakens many immigrant workers as a preformed revolutionary vanguard.

## UNIONISATION

Furthermore, the ruling class intend as far as possible to maintain this weakness and counter any developments in the direction of developed trade unionism among immigrants. The attempted use of section 42 of the 1971 Immigration Act against the young Italian trade unioncorganiser Franco Caprino has to be seen in this context.

There are therefore no short cuts to the building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class as a whole based on its strongest sections, and uniting these strong sections in a struggle with their weaker brothers. This question neither of the authors have anything tossay about.

European workers are not innately racist, nor is the racism that does exist based simply on the difference' of immigrant workers. It is the Epolitical method of reformism based on the appearance of capitalism as a 'bargain' between capitalist offering jobs and workers seeking them, that gives rise to such sentiments.

Obviously, in times of increasing unemployment the reformist sees the presence of 'immigrants' from outside his own 'nation state' which in two world wars the reformist leaderships have defended as sacred - as weakening the bargaining position of labour in the face of a declining supply of jobs. Rather than challenge capitalism and its right to impose unemployment the reformists allow racist concepts to weaken and divide the working class. This is in line with increasing reformist talk of "import controls'

and other nationalist concepts.

Therefore to fight racism, reformism has to be fought.

## CAPITALISM

Revolutionaries have to fight for the view that the working class all workers - are a productive resource and that the real question is why capitalism cannot now allow such resources to be used.

This perspective can only be fought for, not simply as propaganda, but as part of the struggle for a programme against unemployment, including work sharing on full pay, nationalisation of threatened industry, and a programme of useful public works to eliminate unemployment. These demands in the present epoch pose the abolition of the capitalist system itself.

Such a programme besides countering the proposition that 'immigrants' are responsible for unemployment, enables revolutionaries to make clear the point that all workers whatever their origins have the right and the capacity to add to the productive forces.

The demand for a programme of public works to bring this about now comes directly up against capitalism's need to cut public expenditure and throw thousands on the dole queue in a desperate attempt to salvage an historically outmoded social system.

editions of Socialist Press have extensively tackled these questions

(Editions 5 and 7) From these techniques he draws the conclusion that our policy is to the right of the right wing union leaders. Even they are not selecting which workers should be unemployed."

Here the height of Gale's ivory tower obscures his view. He cannot see that in the Cowley BLMC Body Plant the stewards committee has actually demanded the management speed up the process of voluntary

The Workers Press article is riddled with misquotes and distortions. Gale writes, for instance: "Thornett merely calls on the IS leadership to dismiss one or two 'unprincipled' individuals". The Socialist Press article did not use the word "unprincipled" once, and ended up focussing on the oppor-tunism of the whole leadership, saying "We wait to see if anything is done about Jock Wight inside IS and those who cleared his voluntary redundancy.

Again, since WRP members are banned from reading Socialist Press, Gale feels he can get away with telling them that the WSL has arrived at a "position of regarding nationalisation as a 'maximum' demand, beyond the comprehension of workers." Anyone reading our paper will find the nationalisation demand in nearly all our articles.

For us, opposition to voluntary redundancy is a principle and voluntary redundancy schemes are a material factor in the class struggle - not an abstraction. We hold that it is not simply a question as Gale says, that "it must be fought against within the unions",

that those who take voluntary redundancy should go to the end of the queue for jobs is correct as a weapon to threaten those who might otherwise accept it. Of course, it could only be enforced through workers' control both of manning and the hiring of labour.

This of course can only be part of a programme of transitional demands on the defence of jobs, which must centre around work-sharing on full pay, functioned by trade union committees. As a demand, it can only be fought through by the development of revolutionary leadership.

Gale's latest outburst against Socialist Press, however, comes as a contrast to the previous position of Workers Press. Only once before, in this daily paper, have we seen any call to fight voluntary redundancy. This was in an article on the Speke Trade Union Defence Committee, headlined "FACTORY ESTATE COMMITTEE WILL FIGHT FOR

JOBS", published on April 8th. The article, after quoting Tom Healey, I.S. National Committee member, without mentioning he was in I.S., went on without comment:

"Sunday's meeting carried a resolution, proposed by Bill McCoy, a shop steward from Dunlop's, to urge shop stewards committees to oppose the employment in their factory of any worker who had accepted voluntary redundancy.

McCoy said it was against trade union principles for any man to sell his job and then take another while there were other workers on the dole."

Who was the author of this article - which never mentioned the economic crisis or the trade

## WRP: Bans and Distortions

orkers Revolutionary Party s sunk to new levels of stortion in their attacks on Workers Socialist League.

In Workers Press ((24.6.75) ck Gale writes an article suppodly taking up a feature in cialist Press No. 10 entitled S Opportunists Exposed", in hich we dealt with the opportunity of the IS group (as is pretty byious from the title).

Our article showed how, whereall the public statements of IS re against voluntary redundancy, ad in Speke a National Committee ember of IS was on the committee at proposed a policy for its ho had accepted voluntary redun-ancy should not be employed ere, IS had given clearance for other one of their NC members ock Wight — to accept voluntary dundancy from the BLMC Body

ant at Cowley. We stated clearly that for a ading militant to take voluntary edundancy at a time when the SL members in the Body Plant ere fighting against it, stabbed

Editorial Board of Workers Press, jumps on this article. From his own ivory tower he completely distorts the article (and on the way defends both Jock Wight and a Cowley IMG member who also took voluntary redundancy). In horror at our attack on them, Gale compares these men, both leading members of their "revolutionary" organisations, to simply any other

worker. He writes:
"Thornett only wants these men to be expelled from their political organisations, expelled from their union and permanently deprived of the right to work.

The fate of the WSL member who applies for voluntary redundancy at Cowley does not bear

thinking about.' But our article was not just about "members" but an NC member of IS. Can we suppose that the fate of a Central Committee member of the WRP who took voluntary redundancy in the middle of a struggle would be to be put on the

## Editorial Board of Workers Press? Bare Faced

Gale's method is one of bare-

thing different. He says:
"In the entire article purporting to deal with redundancy [!], there is not a single mention of the trade union leadership. Nor is there a mention of the Labour Government which is deliberately creating unemployment." (Emphasis added) On the contrary, the article is

about the opportunism of IS, and does not even mention redundancy. Indeed half the article is on the record of Jock Wight in the BLMC Body Plant. IS opportunism is exposed on the question of voluntary redundancy, and, as we do say in the article "gives credibility to the right wing who are accepting it all over the country in order to 'avoid confrontation'." If that does not mention the trade union leadership, we don't know what does.

Gale accuses us of covering up the real nature of the IS group, saying that our article "counterposes 'unprincipled' IS leaders like Wight to the 'principled' IS leaders who agree with Thornett about driving workers out of the unions". This is easy to say only if your readers are not aware that the original attack is boldly headed "IS Opportunists Exposed". This is facilitated in the WRP by instructing members not to buy Socialist Press. Gale's distortions rest on such suppression of facts.

Likewise, when the WSL is accused of not dealing with the economic crisis or the IS anti-

## EFEND TYNDALE TEACHERS! MIDLAND

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, Noeth London, in January 1974, and employed a NUT member previously witch-hunted from job to job, relations with the politically-appointed managers 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 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 ISdominated Rank and File group to pose a socialist alternative to the right wing and Stalinist leadership of the NUT.

Discussion centred round the

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

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 represent-ative, Jackie McWhirter, 24 Palace Road, London N.8.

### CONFERENCE TEACHERS

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.

## JOBLESS

Mass unemployment is coming for the first time to the Midlands, the industrial heart of the engineering industry, where one worker in every four is employed in one way or another in motor manufacture.

the Although area unaffected by the slump in the 1930s which depressed the rest of the country, unemployment is now increasing at twice the national average, a sure indication of the

recession now developing.
With 58% of the labour force employed in manufacturing industries, the Midlands must now take the brunt of the economic crisis as the car industry cuts back production, factories close, and employers close their books to recruitment.

With the trade union leadership steeped in the boom period of the past, no lead or perspective is being given to workers who have lost their jobs or who face the threat of redundancy in the near future.

The Workers Socialist League calls for the campaign to begin. Birmingham Trades Council or one of the major unions must call a demonstration in defence of jobs followed by a meeting to adopt a programme of policies to meet this crisis. We call on all workers to campaign for this in their union

## COMMITTEE" HEADED OFF ACTION

The second meeting of the East London Action Commit-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, NUPE, 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

## **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

while the important is "getting people 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 "organisatiotalk 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 "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 intimidation of NALGO succeeded in intimidation. ing 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

## **PROJECTS** SHELVED

This means that all new projects other than 'inescapable commit-ments' 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

nosition of commoil 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 accomodation 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', scrutinising staff numbers.

In contrast to these drastic easures 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

absolutely no proposals. NALGO members can defend their living standards only

wages and jobs the leadership have

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 hy Wilson and their replacement by

**EMPLOYERS**' VIEW OF **'PARTICIPATION** 



Blast Furnace

The developing crisis, fo ing employers onto the off sive, brings out increasing clearly the reactionary esset of the call for "workers pa icipation". Enshrined in V son's Industry Bill and Ryder report, it is also sou after by key employe Chrysler have offered work a £100 bonus if they accep scheme.

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

'At the start there was resentm that the agreement had been ne iated nationally without involve local shop stewards. AEU stewa especially, saw it as a threat to status of the craftsman. The stro est resistance came at Billing and Wilton in the North East will the local union leaders seen determined to protect their m bers' immediate interests . . . [sa as] "the preservation of jobs status, procedural distinctions, marcations, and any other struct defence against a fluid lab situation on the site". It was o after two old-fashioned confro ations - the dismissal of the A senior steward and the defeat of T&GWU strike - that managem regained some initiative".

(emphasis added) Here are no 'left' illusions class compromise - rather parti ation is forced on a weakened leaderless workforce. Ensor is c on this:

". . . one cannot expect un officials, national or local, sudde to abandon their traditional re that of defending the livelihood their members, in favour of a n one, that of assisting the comp as a whole to become more effici and more profitable."

## RESTORE "VIABILITY

The employers know that assist in restoring "viability" bankrupt capitalism means speed and redundancies - and is the opp ite of trade unionism. Indeed unemployment tops the mill mark and goes on rising in recession it threatens many unio Again the Financial Times has eyes wider open than the TUC:
"The most national trade uni

ists can be expected to do . . . is acquiesce to certain proposals. cave in without a fight]. Some the unions, after all, face a drag decline in their own membersh How can the National Union Blastfurnacemen be expected enthuse over a programme the could have the effect of halving membership by the early 1980's?

So yet again "worker parties."

ation" is shown to be merely move to silence and comprom local and national union bureauci and prevent opposition to sav speed up.

It is no coincidence that t discussion here includes the st industry, where threats of 20,0 redundancies have been revived order to railroad through the s point speed-up charter which w oreed by union leaders and IN

## **NEWHAM SHOWS THE WAY**

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 ring cabinet Minister Reg Prentice from his position as their candidate in the next election.

This is because all of these orces are aware of the political evelopment that would take lace in the workers movement fright wingers could be removed when they attack the working. class. The Newham campaign, hether or not immediately accessful, points the way forward or class conscious Labour Party members and trade unionists.

The moves against Prentice egan within the trade unions, as response to his vicious antiorking class position — as exessed in his support for the aling of the Five Pentonville lockers by the Tory government ■ 1972, and the Shrewsbury Two wilders pickets (kept in jail by he Wilson government).

But while reserving special enom for trade uniohists and porkers like the Clay Cross councillors who challenged the ight of the employers to cut Torkers living standards, Prentice lies with the Tories on almost

## WAGECUTS

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

He leads the call for cuts in ducation spending and stands quarely by Chancellor Healey's casures 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 Healy to build the trade unions and de-3. fend the working class, spoke strongly in defence of Prentice. The  $\overline{Daily}$  Mirror gave up its front page to ram home his words. He

"It is important that a lifelong 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



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

This is the reason for the hysterical and nauseating gutter witchhunt 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 Thornett in the BLMC victimisation at Cowley last year, has lead 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 Socialists who had just adopted a prog-

ramme 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 socalled '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-

## SCARGILL'S COLLAPSE AIDS HEALEY

Confident of TUC backing, d hypocritically addressing Tolpuddle Martyrs Memrial Rally in Dorset, Denis taley claimed a "massive roundswell of support roughout the land" for his ate pay laws.

He went on to praise the NUM particular for backing his pol-, saying "both on the left and right of politics there is a owing determination to drop octrinaire nit-picking and to meentrate on the big issues cing the nation".
Earlier, at the Durham Miners' Ma, Wilson was given the plat-rm arrogantly to attack any maining NUM resistance to nte pay laws with the direct reat of unemployment, when said: "The Yorkshire miners' e increase could be the miners' pit closure" Two main turning points: preped the ground for the pay laws. The first was Jack Jones' achieve-ent in swinging the T&GWU aference behind his fraudulent lat rate increase" plan. The cond was Arthur Scargill's streat at the NUM conference.

## **STRENGTH**

The miners could break Wilson's s just as they twice defeated ath's Tory government - the cond time forcing them from fice. Scargill held the key to s enormous strength. He was arged with fighting for a York-ire area resolution demanding NUM proceed with a claim
r £100 a week. At present rates inflation, nothing less than 100 could re-establish miners'

ng standards. argill did not retreat publicly the conference - he still made litant speech, though not entioning the pay laws. But, in many union conferences,



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 Scott-ish 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 resp-onsible 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

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 thi

## 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 move-

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 leader-ship 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 prem-

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

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.

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

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

## WSL PUBLIC MEETING

Swindon:

all donations to:

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

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