

SOCIALIST PRESS

FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

NO 21 * 12th November 1975 * 10p

£1,000 MILLION IN CUTS AND SPEED-UP

A £1,000 million loan has been requested from the IMF by Wilson and Healey to finance a programme of massive speed-up and redundancies in a desperate attempt to solve the capitalist crisis at the expense of the working class.

In return for the loan the government will send the IMF a "letter of intent" underlining its commitment to stepping up profitability in British industry - at the expense of mass unemployment and further cuts in the social services, health and education. Their full strategy, announced from the Chequers meeting last week between Wilson, Healey Varley, the TUC and the CBI, is a threat to the job and living standards of every worker in Britain.

JOINT STATEMENT

Their joint statement spelled out that the central problems for British capitalism are: "low labour productivity reflecting poor management, inadequate consultation, restrictive practices, overmanning [which is the crucial question] and disruption by industrial action" together with the resulting "declining rate of industrial profitability" and "a capital market which does not give priority to the needs of industry".

They announce their determination to overcome the problem of overmanning by collaboration (or 'participation') between TUC bureaucrats and the employers to impose massive speed up. At the same time the Labour government will provide financial aid selectively to help re-equip and speed up the most lucrative capitalist industries, while the others are forced to the wall, or in turn take on and speed up their labour force.

CUTS

The huge sums of money involved in these subsidies are to be taken from cuts in spending on the nationalised industries (most of which they describe as "utilities") and the social services. The statement says clearly that:

"For the immediate future this will mean giving priority to industrial development over consumption or even over social objectives".

The logic of this is absolutely clear. In the name of profitability in capitalist industry, hospitals, schools, pensions, welfare payments, and jobs throughout the state sector must be axed in the immediate future.

Every sector of workers will suffer in this process - whether they are directly speeded up in the "top 30" manufacturing industries, or face redundancies through cuts in social services.

CLASS COLLABORATION

The Chequers talks show that the strategy of class-collaboration pioneered in the Ryder speed up plan for British Leyland is now

being extended to British industry as a whole.

The joint statement is full of references to "cooperation" of union bureaucrats and management. The TUC in signing the statement expressed its agreement with the crucial clause:

"The Government has made it clear that it accepts the importance of sustaining a vigorous, alert, responsible and profitable private sector of industry".

All Healey's talk of 'expanding capacity' and increasing employment in sectors with 'good prospects' is just so much hogwash to disguise the brutal attack now lined up against manning agreements, conditions and jobs on every shop floor, which means a wave of redundancies all over the country to add to the 1.25 million already unemployed.

With this commitment to deman-

ionary policies once and for all.

Workers voted Labour to defend jobs and wages against the Tories - not to face a state-backed employers offensive on speed up.

'LEFTS'

This is why the dismal sounds of the 'left' MPs are completely inadequate to lead the fight against the Chequers plans.

The Tribune Group of MPs, the day after the Chequers agreement, abandoned the 1973 Manifesto and the decisions of the last Labour Party Conference.

But where has been the fight of these 'lefts' to oust Wilson from the Cabinet?

What does it mean to bleat now about Wilson's flouting of the last Conference, if it is not backed with



Healey, Wilson, Varley and the NEDC's McIntosh at a press conference after the Chequers agreement.

ning and unemployment, it is small wonder the TUC has implicitly threatened action against Trades Councils which support the mass lobby of Parliament called on 26th November by the NW Region TUC, stating that to give such support they would be acting outside their authority.

HOSTILITY

Jones and Murray rightly fear that a big demonstration will provide a focus for working class hostility to Wilson's Tory policies, going much further than the reformist demands on which it was called.

But this is just what is necessary to begin the mass movement which must drive Wilson, Healey and Varley out of the labour movement, where they are protected by the TUC - and put an end to their react-

ing and the Labour Party to remove him?

NATIONALISATION

If these 'lefts' really oppose Wilson's policies, now is the time for them to take a stand on the fight for socialist nationalisation (specifically ruled out by Healey in the Chequers agreement) - in opposition to Healey's plan.

Only wholesale socialist nationalisation, combined with a programme of public works to provide jobs and expand the social services can now ward off the impact of the capitalist crisis and offer a way forward for the working class.

Such a programme must be fought for in the labour and trade union movement - taking up the struggle to open the books of the employers; for work sharing on full pay, and for a programme of public works under workers management.

ANGOLA-CIA'S NEW CONGO

The withdrawal of Portuguese political claims to the oil and mineral rich territory of Angola, the last remaining important colony in Africa, took place on 11th November.

The withdrawal of Portuguese claims to the newly-independent nation, and the struggle must inevitably continue between the liberation forces of the MPLA and the miscellaneous CIA-backed gangs of Portuguese and South African mercenaries, together with the Zaire-run FNLA and pro-Western UNITA organisations.

The continual references in the capitalist press to the 'rival liberation movements' in Angola is a conscious effort to confuse a complicated situation and to cast a smoke-screen over the efforts of the US imperialists, their backers in Zaire, and their allies from South Africa, to retain control over this strategically important and economically rich area of Southern Africa.

THREAT

The advent of a truly independent regime in Angola would pose a great threat to the inter-racial strategy of the United States by its possession of an enormous length of the South-West African coastline, and to the racialists of South Africa in their attempt to hold on to the area of Namibia immediately to the south of Angola.

The big international oil and mineral countries including Gulf and Krupp who took enormous profits from the country during the latter period of colonial rule are also afraid of any regime that might threaten to expropriate them.

The MPLA has carried on a bitter war for national independence against the Portuguese since its foundation as long ago as 1956. It has widespread support from many different sections of the Angolan people, including most of the urban petty bourgeoisie and some whites.

It is said to be 'Marxist', but in fact is a bourgeois anti-imperialist movement of a classic sort and has received support from the Stalinists of the Soviet Union.

MPLA

The nature of the 'Marxism' of the MPLA is clear from the recent calls in their paper *Vitoria e Certa* for a 'battle for production', and their efforts to break strikes by dockers at Luanda and by other workers.

A movement putting forward policies such as these clearly is not

going to be able to carry through the revolution in Angola, but the crisis of the imperialists is such that they cannot tolerate even that. During the course of the liberation struggle in Angola the imperialists have resorted to a number of methods to retain their hold over any independent regime.

ZAIRE

The best channel for this policy has been Mobutu, dictator of Zaire (formerly Belgian Congo) immediately to the North, who delivered left nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba to his murder in 1961, and since then has had the complete confidence of the CIA. During the course of the 1960's a series of small tribalist successionist movements in the North of Angola close to the Zaire border came together under the leadership of Mobutu's brother-in-law, Holden Roberto, a businessman from Zaire itself, born in Angola. This was the basis of the FNLA.

Whatever the shortcomings of the other bodies, there can be no doubt about the nature of the FNLA. During its early period its main purpose seems to have been not to fight the Portuguese but to prevent those who were actually doing so from gaining any assistance in the North.

The FNLA's support derives solely from the Bakonga tribe, which inhabits both sides of the Zaire-Angola border, and Roberto himself has stated quite explicitly that he considers it to fall within the sphere of influence of the USA.

POLICIES

Something of the social policies of the organisation can be gathered from the fact that their forces attacked on 30th April last the main offices of the National Union of Angolan Workers, the main trade union body killing 28 people. Another arm of Zaire and the CIA is a movement known as FLEC which has declared the 'independence' of Cabinda, a small oil-rich area surrounded by Zaire territory.

Nor is there more to be said in favour of the other so-called liberation movement, the UNITA of Jonas Savimbi.

There is little evidence that this movement, which controls a small area of the centre of the country around the town of Nova Lisboa, has ever been engaged in any serious opposition actions against the Portuguese, though there are

CONTINUED ON PAGE

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



Ford and Rockefeller.

USA

Over the weekend of 2nd November Washington was hit by a spate of dismissals and resignations as sudden and drastic as those which heralded the political death agony of Nixon.

The Secretary of Defence, James Schlessinger, was sacked in favour of Ford's chief of staff Donald Rumsfeld, and CIA director William Colby dropped in the middle of the congressional investigation of the spy agency, to be replaced by George Bush, currently head of the American mission in Peking.

Henry Kissinger, while remain-

ing Secretary of State, is yielding the chairmanship of the National Security Council to Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, whose loyalty to Kissinger is widely supposed but not certain. And in the midst of it all, Nelson Rockefeller announced his intention not to stand as Republican vice-presidential candidate in the 1976 election.

In the wake of the shake-up, the capitalist press has poured forth a stream of often confused and contradictory analysis. This is not surprising, for it reflects the confusion and disarray of the US ruling class as the world crisis of capitalism continues to work its way through American society and to disrupt political and economic

stability on an international scale. Ford tried to explain the "shuffle" in terms of personalities rather than politics, a trick of which the American bourgeois confusionists are specially fond: according to him Schlessinger and Colby were simply not "my guys".

INEPT

Ford has never been thought a particularly adroit politician (Lyndon Johnson is supposed to have described him as "the only man I ever knew who couldn't walk and chew gum at the same time"), but it would be quite wrong to see this latest fumble as at bottom a personal failure.

Rockefeller's withdrawal - whether he jumped or was pushed - (most likely he was helped to jump) is intimately linked to the inability of the ruling class to unite in dealing with the deepening crisis, and especially with its sharpest current expression, the imminent financial collapse of New York City.

Ford's hard line on the plight of New York is doubtless in part aimed at crushing whatever resistance the crumbling reformist leadership of the city's main unions might offer to the conditions which will eventually be put forward for bailing it out. But there is more to it than that. The most reactionary elements of American capital see a return to policies of *laissez faire* as the best way to ensure that the burden of the crisis is yoked securely to the shoulders of the working class.

RIGHT WING

They would quite happily see New York City slip into medieval social conditions. These elements are largely grouped around California's right-wing former

governor Ronald Reagan, who has a substantial base of support among the petty bourgeoisie.

After a period of quiet, Reagan is rapidly coming forward as the strongest challenge to Ford's nomination as Republican presidential candidate. The increasing alignment of the right-wing behind Reagan was driven home to Ford by the cool reception given to his speeches at party gatherings in California at the end of October.

His policy on New York City must be seen as partly an attempt to head off Reagan by adapting to his viewpoint. This, too, is behind Ford's satisfaction at the promised departure of Rockefeller, whose name is anathema to such types as Reagan and Goldwater.

SEPARATE

Rockefeller meanwhile had good reason to separate himself from Ford's stone-age tactics towards the big city. Not only was he, as Governor of New York, deeply involved in the recent history of the city, from which his political power base is partly drawn.

He is also immersed to the neck and beyond in the city's financial institutions - his brother David is chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank - which is gravely menaced by the danger that New York will default.

LIBERAL STRATEGY

The strategy of liberal finance capital, which Rockefeller represents, is for the government to prop up ailing but essential institutions, such as the Wilson government is doing in Britain. Reagan's approach is a far cry from this, even though the aims of both - to drive up the rate of profit at the expense of the working class - are identical.

It is in this sense that the antagonism between Rockefeller and the Reagan-Goldwater wing of the Republican party shows the inability of the American bour-

geoisie to solve the insoluble, with Ford buffeted about in the middle by forces which he almost certainly does not understand.

SIGNIFICANT

The most significant move in terms of global politics is the sacking of Schlessinger as Secretary of Defence. During the recent period, he had emerged as the chief opponent of detente within the government, earning the hostility of Congress by speaking out against cuts in the defence budget, and of Kissinger by posing a danger to the progress of the SALT negotiations.

The Soviet Stalinists were as overjoyed by his removal as the Chinese were dismayed. The American ruling class now seems ready to sacrifice relations with China to the development of detente, at least in the short term.

The Soviet bureaucracy, for its part, is no less ready than at the end of World War II to sell out the international working class by connivance with the major capitalist powers.

THREAT

That China feels threatened by the US shift of strategy was already evident from the tension and hostility which accompanied Kissinger's recent visit, and which bid fair to interfere with Ford's trip planned for the beginning of next month.

Although George Bush probably made no lasting impact on Chinese culture with his Coke and hot-dog parties in Peking, the Chinese bureaucrats are surely unhappy about his leaving to become America's chief spy.

BETRAYAL

It begins to look as if their recent eagerness to betray Asian revolutionary movements in the interests of "friendship" with the USA is not paying off.

SPANISH SAHARA

As we go to press, King Hassan of Morocco prepares to lead his 350,000 unarmed 'peace marchers' into the minefields and gun sights of the Spanish foreign legion. The Foreign Legion, should the need arise, will be joined within a matter of hours by jet fighters from Torrejon and 2,000 paratroops from the Canary Islands.

In the face of this force, brandishing only the sacred book of Allah, King Hassan's marchers will attempt to cross the frontier from Morocco into the Spanish Saharan colony, where Governor Gomez de Slazar has issued a warning that "the consequences will be terrible". In this he is undoubtedly correct.

King Hassan's desert adventure

is designed to get hold of valuable phosphate deposits which lie under the Spanish Sahara. The Spanish government is prepared to relinquish the colony if an arrangement can be arrived at protecting its right to the phosphate.

To this end negotiations have been underway for some time between Morocco and Madrid. Spanish bargaining power is strengthened by the fact that Hassan, in laying claim to the Spanish colony, is defying a ruling of the world court.

Secondly there is no large body of opinion among the population of the colony for absorption into Morocco. The largest nationalist guerilla movement, Polisario, opposes both Hassan's designs and the march.

Thirdly, the most important factor is that the Algerian government is also determined that the phosphate deposits shall not pass

to Hassan, and for this reason supports the Polisario guerrilla demand for independence. Consequently if Moroccan troops attempt to clear a way for the holy marchers they are likely to face not only the Spanish foreign legion but also Polisario and Algerian forces as well.

As far as Juan Carlos is concerned, the Spanish Sahara question could not have occurred at a more opportune moment. It provided the pretext for the final transfer of power to him effectively even though the fast decomposing Franco has stubbornly refused to relinquish it.

Furthermore Juan Carlos' support for the army's wish to stand and fight against any Moroccan invasion has strengthened his support in the Army as his immediate power base in the coming political struggle in Spain.

INDIA - CHINA BORDER CLASH

Four Indian soldiers were killed when a small border patrol clashed with a detachment of about forty Chinese troops somewhere on the eastern frontier with China on October 20th, according to a delayed statement by the Indian foreign office on November 1st.

The incident - the most important since the fighting in the disputed areas of Ladakh, eastern Kashmir, in 1962 - immediately provided the pretext for Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorship to renew its nationalistic pressure on China to relinquish its claims along the Himalayan border - more than a thousand miles long - which divides the two states.

The Chinese foreign office disputed the Indian claim that the clash had taken place on Indian territory, saying the Indian forces

by crossing the frontier into Tibet (an autonomous region of China).

For Mrs. Gandhi, such incidents offer a diversion from the economic and political crisis in India itself, which the populist 'concessions' made since she imposed her state of emergency have done nothing to solve.

Her planned official visit to Gangtok (capital of Sikkim, the statelet on the Chinese border immediately east of Nepal, officially annexed by India following a 'referendum' in August) was certainly designed to whip up national feeling in India for continued rule over the border states - most of them territories inherited by the Indian bourgeoisie from the conquests and annexations of British imperialism.

For years Indian troops and police have been tied down in fighting against nationalist movements (supported by the Chinese since 1967) in Nagaland and Mizoram on the Burmese border.



Gandhi

men, is the fourth largest in the world.

The Indian government is supported to the hilt by Moscow - which also supports the dictatorial powers and the imprisonment of thousands of left-wingers under the Indian state of emergency.

An article released by the Novosti press agency in Moscow at the end of October claimed that "the Chinese expansionists are occupying 14,000 square kilometres of Indian territory" - a claim immediately interpreted by the Indian press as justifying their right to the areas under dispute.

Soviet policy thus directly contributes to the dangers of Indian

ANGOLA

Continued from front page

documented allegations that they cooperated with them against the MPLA.

What is certain is that they are also tribally based, on the Unmudu, who constitute about 40% of the population, and within recent weeks they have been openly supplied with American and French weapons by planes flying from Zaire.

It also seems certain that they are receiving active support from South Africa, and the only forces they ever seem to be able to put in the field when independent observers see them are Portuguese and South African mercenaries.

"RECONCILE"

This is a situation where all efforts to 'reconcile the opposing factions' such as has been put forward by the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement or by the Organisation of African Unity have inevitably failed. Despite the promise of Portuguese foreign minister Antunes earlier this year to support the MPLA, nothing has come of it.

The Portuguese military authorities for a long time were under the control of Silva Cardoso, an extreme right-winger completely out of sympathy with the decolonisation schemes of the new regime in Lisbon.

His 'active neutrality' was in fact a way of helping the right-wing groups and some of those of his soldiers who have not now gone home are to be found in the struggle for control of the country with the FNLA and UNITA forces.

BREAKDOWN

After the break-down of the 'provisional government' including all three groups in the summer, the MPLA fought a series of military campaigns which brought most of country, including apparently the entire coastline, under their control. According to the *New York Times* of 25th September, the CIA began to channel thousands of dollars through Mobutu to deal with this.

In an effort to pre-empt the MPLA from declaring itself as the government on 11th November, a his counter-offensive has been

launched in recent weeks. Some of the area close to Luanda in the North has been won back by the FNLA.

RECAPTURED

Last week it seems that the major sea ports of Libito and Benguela were recaptured by white mercenaries acting on behalf of UNITA. According to *Le Monde* of 7th November, the pro-imperialists have not succeeded yet in winning back much of the mining areas of the North they lost in September.

One interesting participant in these events has been the Chinese Stalinists. With a most cynical disregard for the elementary principles of internationalism, they have been sending military advisers to help the FNLA, and published an editorial in the Peking *People's Daily* expressing their support for Zaire against 'Soviet expansionism'.

Such conscious misrepresentation and active pro-imperialism is the logical outcome of the politics of 'social fascism'.

BREAK LINKS

The attitude that must be adopted in the British labour movement is clear. There must be an end to all talk of 'rival independence movements' and active support for the independence of Angola under the MPLA. The Labour government must break off all its links with the reactionary leaders of the FNLA and UNITA organisations.

At the same time there must be a clear understanding of the limitations of the MPLA and their pro-Soviet Stalinist backers. Only socialist policies can serve the interests of the African masses at this time.

'National liberation' by itself cannot be successful without policies of nationalising foreign capital and socialist planning of agriculture, mineral extraction and industrial development.

Only in this way can the national revolution be completed in Angola and all those other colonial countries that still remain under the threat of colonialism and imperialism.

INDOCHINA

SPLITS EMERGE

Political divisions between the newly liberated states of Indochina emerged in sharper relief at the beginning of November. While the Vietnamese regimes in Hanoi and Saigon swung themselves definitely behind Soviet foreign policy, the Cambodian 'royal government of national unity' cemented its links with China and Thailand.

A November 2nd joint communique announced that the Thai and Cambodian governments are to establish full diplomatic relations, following a visit to Bangkok by Ieng Sary, Cambodian deputy Prime Minister now judged to be the leading figure in the Phnom-Penh government. Thailand will supply large quantities of rice - mainly paid for by China - to the Cambodians, and will open the rail link between the two countries to help meet the acute shortages (especially of fuel and cement) now hampering the recovery of the economy.

The joint communique declared - in terms which brought it into harmony with Chinese policy towards Cambodia - that 'the political economic and social system of each country is an internal matter concerning only the people of that country, and that all outside interference cannot be tolerated'.

There was no comment on the continued presence of over 16,000 US troops in Thailand, now likely to stay beyond the date effectively set for their withdrawal in March next year, nor of the powerful guerrilla and strike movement which has shaken the Pramoj government in recent months.

CONTRAST

This stands in sharp contrast to the mounting attacks by Vietnamese and Laotian radio stations on the Thai government, denouncing its (very real) former support for 'reactionaries' in the Indochinese states, protesting at its border provocations, and demanding the return of right wing refugees and the boats and aircraft they have stolen.

The Hanoi government has now aligned itself quite clearly with the Soviet leadership, taking its distance from China. Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party,



Ieng Sary, Cambodian Deputy Prime Minister

returned from an official visit to Moscow at the end of October, having signed a joint declaration with Brezhnev. In it the Vietnamese government and party:

"express their support for the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet government who are applying on the international arena a policy aimed at realising the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, at supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, at consolidating by every means universal peace and international security and at rendering 'detente' irreversible".

IRONY

Needless to say Brezhnev's 'peaceful coexistence' has nothing to do with 'Leninism'. It is an irony that the Hanoi leadership - having only months ago put an end to three decades of the most bloody revolutionary war to free themselves from imperialist oppression - should attach themselves to the counter-revolutionary 'peace-keeping' diplomacy of Brezhnev and Kissinger.

Le Duan - who also effectively speaks for the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam; many of the ambassadors in Hanoi have also been accredited with the Saigon authorities - also led a Vietnamese delegation on an official visit to Peking at the end

of September. But on that occasion there was no joint declaration and the two parties put forward quite distinct foreign policies.

Chinese vice-premier Teng Hsiao-Ping denounced 'the rivalry between the two super-powers (ie. the US and the Soviet Union) over achieving world hegemony', while Le Duan identified the main enemy as 'imperialism, of which the leader is American imperialism'.

The political divisions between the Indochinese states make it clear why Ieng Sary rejected in Bangkok the idea of an 'Indochinese federation' linking Cambodia, Laos and the two Vietnams. The split between Cambodia and Vietnam is not over issues of principle; it reflects the Stalinist character of the leadership in each country and their domination by Peking and Moscow respectively.

BACKING

Despite the fact that neither government could exist without the backing of a mass revolutionary and nationalist movement against US imperialism, they are now both drawn into the orbit of the major Stalinist powers, adjusting their foreign policies to the expediencies of the complex system of agreements and alliances with pre-imperialist governments set up by the Soviet and Chinese Stalinist leaderships.



ERITREA CRITICAL STAGE

The struggle for independence in Eritrea has reached a critical stage. Forcibly annexed by Ethiopia in 1962, after a decade of federation imposed by the UN, the ex-Italian and ex-British colony occupies a key strategic position in the Middle East.

Its 500 miles of coastline, Ethiopia's only access to the sea, lie at the southern entrance to the Red Sea. Israeli and US military aid to Ethiopia protects their interests in the only Red Sea coastal area "friendly" to Israel.

The oil rights to the coastal area and 10,500 square miles off Eritrea were shared out between

Standard Oil (New Jersey) and Mobil Oil. Many other US countries have interests inland, and thousands of US "advisers" have trained the Ethiopian forces being used in the subjugation of Eritrea.

The Eritrean Liberation Front, which captured the honorary British Consul last month, also holds four Americans from the Kagnew communications base in Asmara, the Eritrean capital. This "irreplaceable US communications and surveillance facility" is part of the US spy satellite system, snooping for signals throughout the Middle East and deep into the USSR.

In 1971 the ELF was split into two factions, apparently because of personal, religious, and geog-

raphical differences. An estimated 600 were killed in interfactional fighting a year ago. But insubordination resulting from a refusal to fight fellow Eritreans, coupled with the enormous recruitment since the Ethiopian attacks on Eritrea in February, has forced the unification of the movement.

This unification, expected to be complete in a few months, is based on a reportedly 'Marxist' perspective. A recently returned British correspondent reports that "the class struggle, the history of oppression in Eritrea, and democratic centralism are the main themes" in the ideological orientation of the soldiers, the "heroes" of many of them being Marx and Lenin.

The Eritreans fear that Ethiopia, having desolated the area around Asmara, will now destroy their harvests by air strikes. But the increase in popular support for the ELF, and the training of 10,000 more recruits since February, allows the ELF to have 25,000 men around the city against 20,000 Ethiopians.

Classical guerrilla war tactics may be replaced by set piece engagements, where the ELF is expected to be able to isolate Asmara, Keren, and Massawa on the ground. Arms arriving from Syria and Iraq will include anti-tank weapons, anti-aircraft guns, and some SAM missiles - which were used to devastating effect against Israeli aircraft in the October war.

WHAT IS THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE?

The Workers Socialist League was formed in December 1974 to struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism in Britain and towards the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

Since then our work in the mass movement has seen the League develop into an expanding organisation with important new areas of work (especially in the Midlands and the North West), and an enlarged trade union base.

In the daily struggle to take the demands and principles of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* into the trade unions, the WSL has been at the forefront of the fight for the sliding scale of wages, and work sharing on full pay - demands which at the T&GWU Conference were the only alternative to Jones' treacherous £6 pay plan and the wholesale acceptance of redundancies by the bureaucracy.

In the Health Service, WSL comrades have led the struggle for the sliding scale of NHS spending and for trade union committees to open the books of the Authorities, along with the fight to end all private practice policies adopted by ASTMS National Conference.

In local disputes also, WSL comrades have tested and developed the demands of the *Transitional Programme*, putting forward in every case the only real opposition to the Stalinists and the right-wing. Our struggle for the "open the books" demand in the motor industry has won a mass response. The WSL alone among the groups on the left has fought the speed-up proposals of the Ryder Report since its very publication, and we have leafleted almost every major BLMC plant in the only national campaign against its implementation.

At the same time we have put forward a policy to fight unemployment, calling for unity of employed and unemployed through the fight to mobilise the trade union movement, and following this initiative, the first Trades Council sub-committee to fight for these policies has already been established in Banbury.

On every issue facing workers today the WSL is the only movement that fights consistently for transitional demands, going beyond mere trade union militancy to pose the political issues to workers.

While these practical interventions have developed the League's grasp of Trotsky's Programme there has been a consistent drive to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International, as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

This has gone alongside the development in the *International Pages of Socialist Press* of programme and perspectives on a whole range of international struggles against imperialism, in which again the method and the principles of the *Transitional Programme* are an essential starting point, and on many of which no other movement puts forward any perspective.

We urge all readers who agree on the need for revolutionary leadership, and the demands we put forward to find out more about the WSL and join our fight in the labour movement. Simply fill in the form below:

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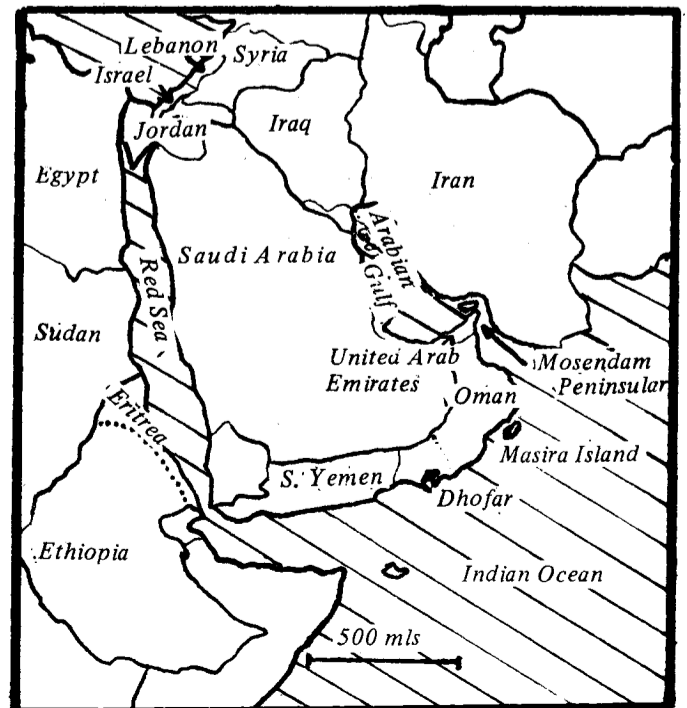
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The Middle East

THE BIRTH OF ULSTER UNIONISM

Loyal Ulster was once the most rebellious of the Irish provinces, holding out the longest against the English invaders and only finally succumbing in 1607 with the defeat and flight of the Gaelic chiefs, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconell.

The land that the Catholic Irish had been driven from was planted with English and Scottish farmers. Unlike the English who let much of the land they had acquired to the native Irish, the Scottish landowners let their land to Scottish tenants thus creating in Antrim and Down where they principally settled a kind of extension of the Scottish lowlands.

In their struggle to hold on to what had been secured for them by force the Scottish and English farmer forged a consciousness that saw every advance that the Catholic made or attempted to make as a threat to himself.

UNITED IRISHMEN

The failure of the revolt of the United Irishmen of 1798, in which the Presbyterian and Catholic middle class attempted to lead the peasantry against English and landlord domination, closed the door upon a unified capitalist development of Ireland. Instead the Presbyterians were pulled away from their temporary alliance with the Catholics, the Irish Parliament was abolished and their representatives sent to Westminster.

Under the 'union' that the English government imposed Ireland developed as two provinces of Britain. The South and the West developed chiefly as an agricultural province that provided Britain with cheap food and cheap labour while the North-East developed as an industrial province engaged in linen, engineering and shipbuilding, looking not to Ireland but to Britain and her Empire for her raw materials and her markets.

The rural depopulation and emigration that followed the Famine of the 1840's allowed a reorganisation of agriculture into larger units. Various land acts led to a lessening of the grip of the landlords and stimulated the emergence of a rural Catholic middle class whose growing control of the land was paralleled by the Church of Rome's growing control over education and social life in general.

HOME RULE

This was the background against which the Liberal prime minister Gladstone advanced the neo-colonial strategy of Home Rule. Ireland would remain economically tied to Britain but it was hoped that by devolving government onto an Irish Parliament the social steam would be taken out of the nationalist movement.

In 1860 the Irish middle class had £20 million on deposit in Irish banks while having double that, £40 million, invested in British stock. A clear indicator of their subordination to (hence suitability for representing) British imperial interests in Ireland;

The strength of Ulster resistance to Gladstone's strategy was slow in emerging and consequently allowed the Catholic nationalists and their Liberal imperialist sponsors the illusion of believing it was of no consequence and could be discounted. Gladstone's first move in elaboration of his neo-colonial strategy was the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869.

NATIONALISM

Correctly interpreting this as a threat to the Protestant ascendancy

for nationalism! "Dissolve the article of union between Church and State", declared a Protestant clergyman to the *Daily Express* in March of that year, "and you will see how few Protestants will be loyal to the connection between England and Ireland".

Responding to the threat of a new 'union' being forged between the English government and the Catholic middle class the Protestant ascendancy attempted to lead a nationalist movement against England. The next year Isaac Butt, an Ulsterman, a Protestant and a Conservative, set up the Home Government Association, in which a Protestant leadership predominated.

MINORITY

But representing as they did only 10% of the country's population and with their bourgeois and proletarian domination restricted to the North-east the control of the Association passed to the Catholic middle class and clergy. So that in the 1874 elections, of 59 Home Rule candidates only two apart from Butt himself were ex-Tories.

Having failed to capture the nationalist movement the Protestant ascendancy set its face against Home Rule. Yet it required substantial nationalist successes in Ulster to propel the divided and disorganised landlords and capitalists to combine their forces into what became Ulster unionism.

In 1883 Tim Healy unexpectedly won a bye-election in Monaghan for the nationalists who rather prematurely declared "All Ulster is ours". Two years later in the general election of 1885 the Liberals lost all their seats while the nationalists increased theirs from three to seventeen, thus becoming the largest party in the Province. Seeing this seemingly irresistible nationalist tide Gladstone openly at the end of the year came out for Home Rule and in 1886 introduced the first of the Home Rule bills, that was defeated only because a section of the Liberal Party defected to the Tories.

DEFEATED

While the second Home Rule bill of 1892 was defeated by the Lords after passing the Commons, the Ulster unionists knew that with the restriction that had been placed on the Lords in 1911, the defeat of the third Home Rule bill would ultimately depend upon their own efforts.

To resist Home Rule an ex-Liberal, Colonel Saunderson revived the Orange Order as "the only body capable of dealing with the condition of anarchy and rebellion which prevails in Ireland". He urged Orangemen to arm, drill and don uniforms to "drive popery and radicalism before us as we have done many a time before".

But the Orange Order proved incapable of rallying the anti-nationalist forces of the province. Its working class character and its sectarian exuberance were feared to be the very means of driving the entire Catholic population of Ulster into the arms of nationalist agitators. More important, the Belfast bourgeoisie wanted an instrument that they and not the landlords controlled. This they worked for and finally got with the formation of the Ulster Unionist Council in 1904.

Only the bankruptcy of the nationalist leadership enabled the Belfast capitalists and the Protestant landlords to hold onto their mass base which time and again was in revolt against its masters. In 1881 at the very moment that Protestant tenants were leaving the Orange Order to join the Land League Parnell called off the agit-

named the League the "National League" and invited Catholic priests onto its committees.

THREAT

An even bigger threat to Ulster unionism was posed by a Belfast shipyard worker Tom Sloan who broke with the Orange Order in 1903, formed his own Independent Orange Order which by 1905 had formed 71 lodges, and stood in alliance with the Belfast Trades Council and Joe Devlin's nationalists against official unionism in the elections of 1906.

Yet the enormous potential of this working class unity was squandered by Devlin within a year when he withdrew his support for the big Belfast strike of 1907 and denounced its leader, Jim Larkin. Larkin too was attacked by the more radical nationalist party Sinn Fein, whose journal in 1908 sneeringly referred to him as "that English strike organiser" who fomented strikes for the purpose of diverting trade away from Ireland and towards England!

It was Devlin who had formed the Catholic counterpart to the Orange Order, the Ancient Order of Hibernians. "This squalid confederacy of Catholic place-hunters as William O'Brien the nationalist MP for Cork described it "rose up . . . to alienate that powerful minority of our countrymen by the establishment of a pseudo-Catholic ascendancy leading to no alternative but the partition of Ireland".

"ALL FOR IRELAND"

O'Brien and his "All for Ireland League" worked both to win the Protestants to Home Rule as well as to curb the power of the Catholic Church in the Home Rule movement, a policy which subjected them to abuse and physical assault by gangs of Hibernians.

The nationalists led by Redmond denied on the one hand that the unionists had any support in Ulster and on the other banked upon the British government to coerce them into a united Ireland if they did resist.

A speech by the Ulster unionist leader Edward Carson illuminates this very well. Speaking in the Commons he asks "Where have we any single instance in the whole conduct of the majority in Ireland any encouragement to believe that we can expect fair play at their hands? Not one in twenty years. There has been an attempt and I admit it frankly and freely by some few of the Irish members, led by the member for Cork (Redmondite laughter). See how it is laughed at . . ."

"When the Hon Gentleman (O'Brien) and some others proceeded to what they called trying to reconcile Ulster and the Protestants of Ulster and Ireland generally they made speeches which if they had been made by the majority of them for the last twenty years might I admit possibly have had some effect on some of the unionists in Ireland.

"WORTHY IDEA"

"Their idea was certainly a worthy idea, nobody can deny that, of bringing about reconciliation and better feeling and the moment they do that they are denounced and they are persecuted and they can hardly hold an election in Ireland".

From the comfort of their masters (parliament at Westminster) Redmond and his nationalists could have had a good chuckle at Carson and his "stage army". Yet that a man like Carson, a vicious enemy of labour and democracy was able to pose as a champion of political and



Edward Carson

nationalist leadership.

Carson's army did not remain a stage army for long. On the night of April 24th 1914 Fred Crawford guided the *Clydevalley* into Larne harbour with its cargo of 35,000 rifles and five million rounds of ammunition, allowing Carson to replace the wooden guns in the hands of the Ulster Volunteer Force with mausers.

The Tories had encouraged the unionists to defy Home Rule and the Liberal government, not because they served different class interests but because they were not ready for a neo-colonialist solution as Gladstone proposed. They feared that any concession to nationalist sentiment in Ireland would be infectious. The feared its consequences in the rest of the empire.

MANIPULATED

This preoccupation comes through very clearly when we listen to the Tory leader Bonar Law addressing 100,000 unionists in Belfast at Easter 1912. He cleverly manipulates Ulster Protestant symbols but it is not for Ulster that he is urging them to fight:

"Once again you hold the pass The pass for the Empire. You are a besieged city, the timid have left you, but you have closed your gates".

The third Home Rule bill received the royal assent but the outbreak of the imperialist war in 1914 suspended its implementation. The effects of the war, the Russian Revolution and the revolutionary waves that swept Europe showed even the Tory party that they could no longer rule in the old sabre rattling way.

"This great advance in democratic sentiment" as the *Times* so delicately put it had to be placated while support for Carson appeared as a provocation to it. Bonar Law with his family ties to Ulster remained loyal but the *Daily Express* was much more representative of the new Tory mood when un-

the *Daily Express* had until recently so enthusiastically supported) he would be guilty of "criminal folly".

ACCEPTED

Sensing that unionist support in Britain was not what it had been before the war the Ulster unionists accepted ironically what they had resisted for thirty years, Home Rule for themselves. Charles Craig, the brother of Northern Ireland's first prime minister expressed their dilemma in the Commons on the 29th March 1920 when he said:

"We would much prefer to remain part and parcel of the United Kingdom. We have prepared and we have made our Province prosperous under the union and under the laws passed by this House. We do not in any way desire to recede from a position that has been in every way satisfactory to us. But we have many enemies in this country and we feel that an Ulster without a parliament of its own would not be in so nearly as strong a position as one in which a parliament has been set up".

EASTER RISING

The Easter Rising and the execution of its leaders created such a revulsion against English rule that the nationalist party of Redmond completely tied to British strategy was swept to oblivion. Supplanted by Sinn Fein it prosecuted a war against the British that as it proceeded began to take on more and more a social character thus stimulating Griffith and Collins to settle on terms no less humiliating than had been offered to Redmond's party, while also abandoning the nationalist population of Ulster leaving it trapped inside Carson's sectarian Protestant state.

by Joe Quigley.



Masaccio's wall painting of "St Peter paying the tribute money at the gates of Jerusalem".

IN GREATER DEPTH

Michael Baxandall: *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, (Oxford University Press paperback, 1974, £1) Reviewed by Adam Westoby.

This is a book about the beautiful and the true — primarily the second. To be exact it is about the great steps forward which the 'Renaissance' artists of Florence and central Italy took, in the early fifteenth century, to know and to represent on flat, painted surfaces, the depth, colour, weight and movement of the world around them.

But unlike the great majority of books about 'art history' Mr. Baxandall's book does not concentrate just on the influence of one painter on another, or on the impact of individual 'geniuses' in making the great innovations.

CHANGES

He tries to root the 'revolution' in painting in the swift changes in economic, social and intellectual life that were taking place in the Italian cities at the time: for example, the great increase in trade which brought in both new materials and books and works of art from outside Italy; the use of the Italian language, rather than Latin, by the intellectuals; the return to studying the non-Christian writings of Greek antiquity; the Church's political role in preaching dramatic popular sermons; the development of architecture, engineering, mathematics and geometry.

Earlier, medieval, paintings were almost entirely produced for the churches. Painters were specially skilled craftsmen organised in 'guilds' and apprenticeships, and their task was to produce religious images to show the bible stories

to the (largely illiterate) congregation, helping prayer and the sermons of the priests.

Though Renaissance paintings are still mainly religious, there is a vast difference between them and most medieval paintings. To our eyes they are much more modern. In one word they are *naturalistic*.

The religious figures appear as real figures in the real world. But, in a contradictory way, this development away from mysticism and towards greater realism in painting *strengthened* the hold of religion. The new paintings had a much more vivid and immediate impact on the worshipper.

The central question of this book is — how was this new naturalism achieved? Mr. Baxandall sets about answering it with a wealth of beautiful examples, many of them excellently illustrated.

Take one central facet of the Renaissance.

One of the basic problems of painting is *perspective*. The world has three dimensions, while a painting only has two. How, then, to make it seem that some figures or objects are more distant than others? Medieval artists did not face this problem directly.

For them, the relative sizes of figures often represented their *religious* importance, not their distance from the viewer. Thus the surrounding saints in a medieval 'Madonna and Child' are generally smaller than the Virgin Mary, but this does not mean they are 'behind' her.

The main device which Renaissance painters used to show depth was a geometry of perspective lines — showing parallel lines which would (in reality) travel through the painting's surface as if all converging on a single point.

In the large wall-painting by Masaccio (1401-1428) of 'Saint Peter paying the tribute-money at the gates of Jerusalem' (illustrated) he uses this technique with the greatest economy and strength. The building on the right plays the essential part. The two roof-edges, and the floor and steps, which recede from us converge on a single point. Unconsciously we place all the figures, and the trees and hills beyond, in the space which these lines construct.

It is true that linear perspective is not the only device Masaccio uses — he takes great care to fashion the draperies to give solidity and 'relief' to the figures, and if the illustration were in colour one could see the background colours becoming fainter. But what gives the perspective-lines their special importance is that they converge — almost — on Christ's head.

It is this, not just the fact that he is the central figure in the main group, that makes him stand out from the Apostles gathered round him. Masaccio's genius (he made this huge painting, in about a month, when he was only 26) takes concrete form in his ability to concentrate our attention on Christ by using our abstract — but almost unconscious — knowledge that all parallel lines seem to meet in a single point.

Later (and lesser) painters used perspective lines more prominently, setting their figures in vast receding colonnades, but Masaccio uses a single building with much simpler and deeper effect.

GEOMETRIC PERSPECTIVE

Piero della Francesca (about 1420-1492) was an even greater master of geometrical perspective than Masaccio. (In fact, during the last 15 years of his life he did not paint at all, devoting himself to mathematics.) But in some of his paintings Piero finds a way — a sort of psychological way — of extending the picture's space 'beyond' perspective.

In his 'Baptism of Christ by St. John' (illustrated), for example, there is a group of three angels on the far left. They are obviously together. Two of them are looking to the right, where St. John is pouring the water over Christ's head. But the third (the right hand one) is looking almost straight at us. This seizes our attention, and from there we follow the line of sight of the other angels towards Christ in the centre.

But the effect is not merely to focus on Christ. The fact that we seem to look one of the angels in the eye brings us — the spectators — into a direct relationship with the trio of angels, and thus into the space of the picture itself. We become part of the painted scene. With purely geometrical perspective, space starts at the picture surface, and only recedes behind it, but with this device — one abstract line of sight — space also comes forward to embrace us. These examples are set out in

Mr. Baxandall's book (though not in exactly the same way) along with many others. He makes vivid (with many good photographs!) what it was to be a painter, a patron or a viewer of early Renaissance pictures — before the camera was thought of.

'The imitation of nature' was, naturally, by no means the painter's only goal. In a multitude of ways Mr. Baxandall sharpens our understanding of the living conditions in which the pictures were made; in doing so he enriches our enjoyment of them.

Why, for example, are Christ's robe and other significant garments often painted in dark blue? Because ultramarine was the most expensive pigment on the market, and wealthy patrons wanted to display their peity. The working painter had to know and show this. At one stroke he (quite literally) painted onto the panel both a religious scene, and the pride and affluence of a Florentine merchant.

Mr. Baxandall is not a Marxist. One result of this is that he tends to treat his examples in an ad hoc and empirical manner; another is that he has no overall view of social development in the early fifteenth

century — he tries to reconstruct it as an aggregate of the 'experience' of the time.

Yet no matter how tough and intricate his subject matter he never substitutes routine enthusiasm for understanding. And the examples he describes confirm the richness and truth of the Marxist theory of human knowledge. They show us thinking men reconstructing the world (though through religious subjects); first in their minds and sketches, then on their panels. They do so as the intersection of abstractions — general ideas springing from practice and thought outside the particular situation. The more conscious this process is, the higher the level it can reach.

It was the commercial growth and the intellectual and scientific ferment of Florence in the early fifteenth century which formed the soil out of which men like Masaccio and Piero della Francesca grew. (Piero was not only a painter and mathematician, but also wrote books on measurement and barrel-gauging; many of his pictures reflect these techniques.)

The illustrations of this book are living refutations of all theories which see human knowledge as something ready-made, smoothly developing and simply coming closer and closer to the objective world.

Like all knowledge, painting can never be just a process of approximation, of weeding out the 'error' to leave the 'truth'. Its limits are at the same time part of its power, its ability to reflect the world more truly:

The essential contradiction of early Renaissance painting is that man came to grips with the real problems of 'the imitation of nature' — but still only through religious, imaginary subjects. Look again at Piero della Francesca's angel. Seen carefully, he does not seem to look straight into your eyes, and his own eyes are slightly lidded.

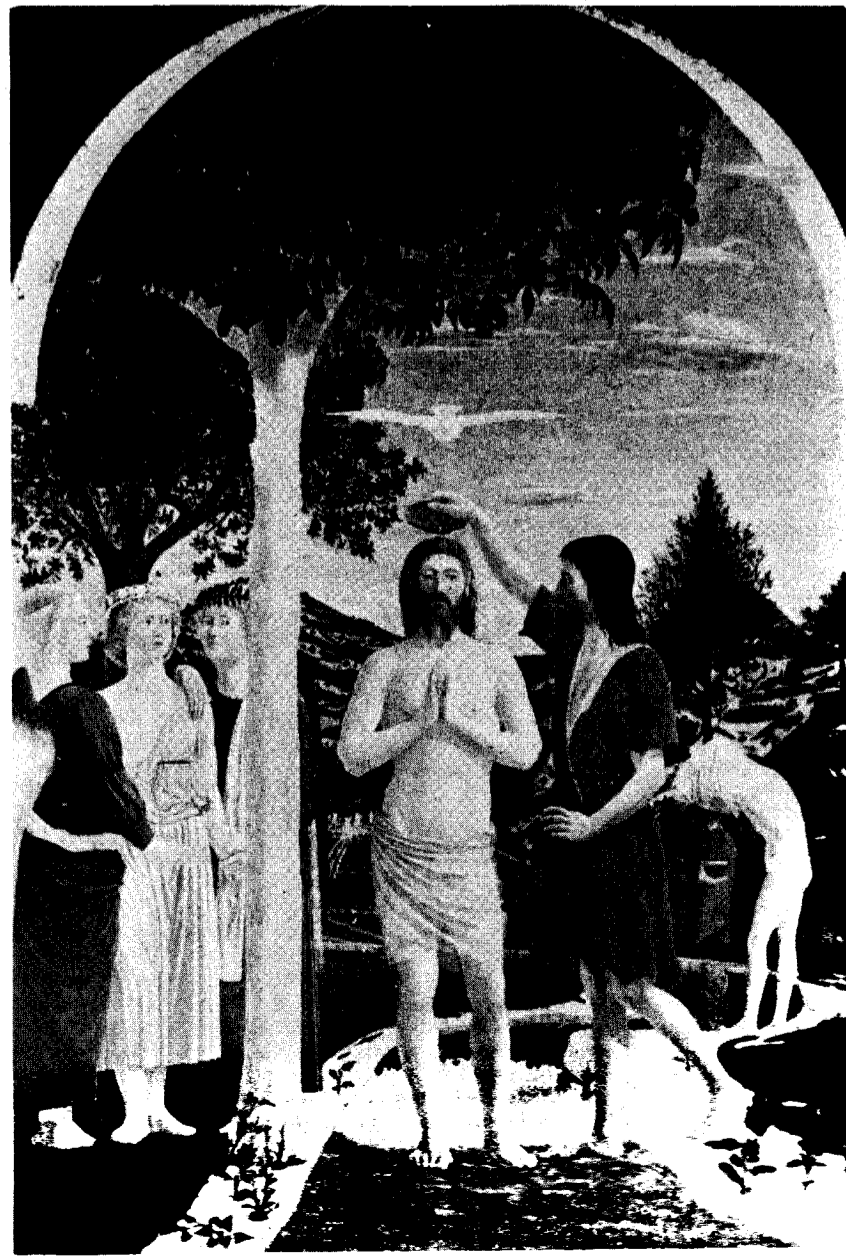
This cannot be an 'error' on Piero's part. If the line of sight were completely direct, there would be too great an intimacy. You would share not only the angel's space, but also his world. And since Piero believes in the basic sinfulness of man, he cannot allow this.

So he uses his pictorial device, he bends everything to greater naturalism — but then he sets a limit.

And the limit is a part — a central part — of the painting's truth. Like the others of his generation he celebrates the things of the earth as no-one had ever done before — but still on bended knee.



Detail from Piero della Francesca's "The Flagellation of Christ".



"Baptism of Christ by St John" - Piero della Francesca.

DEAD END FOR CAPITALISM



Miners forced Tories out of office in 1974

For at least three months bourgeois political leaders and their economic 'experts' have been claiming that the world recession has 'bottomed out', that the world capitalist economy has 'turned the corner towards recovery.

There has certainly been a sharp upturn in production in both the United States and Japan since the early summer, and this has been enough to mean that total production in the 24 major capitalist countries (the members of the OECD) has remained about static since June compared with an enormous fall in the previous year.

This definite change in the immediate world economic situation must, however, be seen in context. After all, even patients with grave illnesses sometimes feel quite well!

In the supposedly 'booming' United States in the last three months the utilisation of productive capacity in manufacturing industry has still been below 70 per cent; and there are increasing signs that the recent speed of the economic upturn will not be maintained. It may be helped by the tax cut that is currently proposed but Ford has said that he will veto that cut if it is not accompanied by cuts in government spending, which Congress is very unwilling to vote.

The world recession has continued, in spite of the American and Japanese upturn, to be much worse than the economists' most sophisticated prediction. Only two weeks ago the OECD yet again revised downwards its previous estimate (made only in July) of production for 1975.

Total gross national product is now expected to be 2.5% below that of 1974. The table below shows the change in industrial production in the first two quarters of this year.

% change in industrial production 1975

	1st ½	2nd ½
US	-8.0	-1.5
Britain	-1.0	-3.9
France	-3.4	-2.9
Germany	-2.8	-1.9
Italy	-1.7	-2.7
Japan	-7.7	+2.6

In none of the major European countries is any clear evidence of an upturn yet visible.

In Britain, where the development of the crisis has taken a somewhat different form recently, production continued to grow until the last three months of 1974. Since then, unlike the rest of the capitalist world, it has gone on falling at a rapid and increasing rate. Inflation is much faster than elsewhere and has not slackened off.

Despite the drop in production and depreciation of the pound, the balance of payments remains in deficit, unlike elsewhere.

Retail prices % increase on previous 3 months

	1974		1975	
	3rd ¼	4th ¼	1st ¼	2nd ¼
US	3.0	2.9	1.8	1.6
Japan	3.8	4.4	1.5	3.4
France	3.3	3.7	2.7	2.4
Italy	6.0	6.1	3.3	2.7
Germany	0.9	1.3	1.9	1.9
Britain	2.5	4.4	6.1	9.5

In 1973 and 1974 deflationary policies were introduced throughout the capitalist world to reduce inflation and the huge balance of payments deficits following the oil price rises and, more basically, to attack the strength and organisation of workers. At that time the

British bourgeoisie were too weak to impose such policies.

The Tories were forced out of office by trade union action after a confrontation which, in the three day week, involved capital running at a loss and experiencing severe cash problems. Even if it had been politically possible for Wilson to engineer a recession immediately he took office (which it was not) British capital could not have stood it.

ATTACK

When the attack came it was with a vengeance. Real wages fell by 10% in the first six months of 1975. The biggest ever recorded fall in a year before this was 6% in 1857! This historically unprecedented fall was combined with savage cuts in social expenditure which also hit workers' living standards and unemployment which is now officially running at 1.2 million.

The fall in demand resulting from these policies will reduce capacity utilisation still more and hence there will be a further fall in profitability and accumulation. Reduced tax revenue and increased unemployment benefit payments will raise the budget deficit and entail more government 'borrowing', much of which is in effect the printing of money which increases inflationary pressure. For capital

the recession as such is no solution.

Hence the partial alleviation of the recession in other countries has not lessened the need for capital to attack working class organisation and living standards. In Europe unemployment is continuing to rise as fast as ever, and even in the United States it has only fallen infinitesimally.

Unemployment in latest available month ('000s)

	1974	1975
US	5303	7773
Britain	607	1043
France	534	946
Germany	557	1006
Italy	484	667
Japan	740	970

This is a clear indication that, even with production rising or falling more slowly, speed-up, rationalisations and redundancies are continuing as before. It is a sure sign that any respite in the slump in production in no way means a respite in the economic crisis which is threatening the continued accumulation of capital.

In fact any upturn in production will contain forces which worsen the economic crisis of capitalism and pave the way for further convulsions in the process of production.

A generalised economic upturn would produce another upsurge in

commodity prices, worsen the balance of payments, renew the danger of hyperinflation and help to maintain the strength of the working class.

It is necessary for capitalism to break decisively this strength before it can recreate the conditions for capitalist accumulation which the contradictions of the post-war boom have destroyed.

Capitalism has so far been able to do little to solve its basic problem, that of falling profitability. In the present situation both upturn and downturn in production continue in different ways to result in lower profitability.

This is why, if there is any short-term upturn in the economic situation, it will be on the most insecure possible basis. The accumulation of problems it would bring in its train may suddenly throw it at any time into reverse.

In addition there are major dangers for imperialism of a sudden renewal of the slump lurking in the background in the form of a possible major collapse of international credit (of which the danger signals are increasing) or a full-scale trade war.

The latter possibility is clearly shown by the fact that at present one fifth of all Common Market exports to the United States are being, or are about to be, investigated under legislation which obliges the US government to impose import duties if the exports are shown to be damaging to American competitors.

The workers' movement must realise therefore that an imminent renewal of the world slump is a real possibility. And that, even if the world capitalist economy has turned a corner, then it is a corner into a cul-de-sac. There will be no let-up in the merciless capitalist offensive against all the rights and material gains of the working class. And the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International is the only weapon capable of resisting this offensive.

In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels wrote of each crisis placing capitalist society, 'on trial'. It is the historic task of the workers' movement in this trial to ensure that the verdict is 'guilty' and the sentence is 'death'.

WHAT PRICE LONDON TRANSPORT?

by John Lea

Workers in London, reeling under the blow of the 25% increase in bus and tube fares at the beginning of the month may well be trying to remember why they voted Labour into the GLC with a large majority two years ago.

They, together with a large section of the middle class voted Labour if for no other reason, to prevent London becoming one vast motorway. This was the theme of the Tory inspired Greater London Development Plan which was to all intents and purposes a road building plan and little else.

The GLC's own statisticians estimated that even by 1991, 23% of households in the GLC area and over 30% in the Inner London area would be without cars.

With the prospect of further increases in petrol prices the figures may be much higher than this. The Tory plan therefore was a piece of blatant middle class planning in favour of the middle class motorist and the road haulage companies.

Meanwhile the working class families, many without cars or unable to use them due to soaring petrol prices would be left with a deteriorating public transport system. Added to which the social cost of massive road building in terms of pollution, the diversion to roadbuilding of land vital for working class housing and amenities, was totally ignored by the plan.

Many of these criticisms were made by the Layfield Committee which was set up to inquire into objections to the GLC. The

example that the rapid deterioration taking place in London's public transport system was leading to a vicious circle in which increased car use led to peak hour road congestion, a slowing down of bus speeds, a reduction in bus usage and a further shift to private cars.

The London Traffic Survey of 550 miles of bus route found that only on 20% of the route were buses travelling at over 12 mph. Bus passenger mileage fell by 45% over the period 1955-69 though actual usage fell one and a half times as fast as the fall in services reflecting congestion and the fact that the response to falling revenue from fares is to increase fares, driving more (poorer) people off the buses on to their feet.

This is the classic strategy pioneered by British Rail during the Beeching era in which services were cut, as a result of which passengers sought other, usually more expensive forms of transport, revenue fell, and then Beeching could 'show' that the route was 'uneconomic' and should be closed.

Several times in the last ten years the vital cross-city North London Line of British Rail has been threatened with the axe by such methods.

The conclusion from this is that a rational public transport system to meet the needs of working class people - and the majority of the middle class - cannot be constructed alongside but must take the place of a road system devoted to the private car and the haulage capitalists. Transport planning in other words raises the question of power.

ly recommended a reduction in road building in the GLC and an improved public transport system, pointing to London Transport figures showing that the average peak hour bus load is 12 times the passenger load of the three private cars that occupy the same road space, and that a peak hour tube train load carries the same number of passengers as five miles of (single lane) traffic consisting of private cars.

To ease the effect of road congestion on public transport the committee recommended the bus lane system and the reduction of parking facilities in central London.

Labour restricted itself to improvement of stretches of existing roads, the extension of bus lanes and the reduction of parking spaces in central London.

This piece of reformist tinkering has needlessly to say led nowhere. The abandonment of the orbital roads scheme without an increase in public transport has simply increased traffic pile-up at the periphery in the outer suburbs where peak hour traffic speeds have been consistently falling.

Likewise banning heavy lorries in central London only serves to increase congestion as the same volume of freight is brought in in fleets of smaller vehicles.

The need is for a massive planned shift in freight transport to rail and the use of the latest developments in freight handling such as the "Small Container Inter Modal Distribution System" which makes road/rail interchange more flexible. There must be no loss of employment from such planning

GLC has taken up no fight along these lines and has refused to fight the government on the question of finance. The near bankruptcy of the GLC last March which prompted the resignation of the right-wing Labour chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Haseler, who demanded further swingeing cuts, resulted in the proposal for an 80% increase in fares over the following year and a quarter. Londoners have just taken the 25% rise and they are going to get another 50% increase next year.

This will lead to further decreases in the usage of public transport and a further deterioration in conditions. As central government finance is reduced through Healey's cuts and Crosland's recent ultimatum to local authorities the prospect is opened up of more fare rises and the final destruction, at the hands of capitalism in crisis and its agents in the Labour government and the Labour GLC, of London's public transport system.

The conflict between the social need for public transport and the demands of the capitalist crisis for its reduction as part of the cut in state spending is clearly shown in the attempts in other areas of the country to hold down fares.

Such developments would require massive injections of finance, protected against inflation by a sliding scale of spending, to increase public spending facilities through a massive increase of bus/tube/rail interchange facilities, the extension of routes, and increased frequency of services and the bringing about of substantial reductions in fares.

which means that it can only be implemented in the context of a programme of public works to counter unemployment in general.

For example the Labour-dominated West Midlands County Council froze bus fares in 1972 and together with South Yorkshire the fares are now the lowest in the country. The result has been a reversal of the trend from 1954 to 1972 for usage to decline as fares rose and over the period 1972-74 usage has increased by 4%.

But so has the "deficit", which is expected to be £15.7 million in 1976, a deficit which the Labour government will refuse to meet, driving the local authority into bankruptcy.

Since the capitalists demand swingeing cuts in state spending, and the Labour government carries out their every wish, only the independent mobilisation of the working class movement has the power to take up the defence of the deteriorating public transport system. The demand must be for:

*A restoration of all cuts in services.

*Reversal of the fare increases over the last two years and the freezing of fares prior to.

*The working out of a plan to be constructed by elected trade union representatives and expert planners sympathetic to the workers cause for a free public transport system to meet social need. This must carry the power to control and regulate private car movement. Such a plan also requires the removal of control over freight movements from the hands of private haulage companies, the nationalisation of these firms, and their incorporation into an integrated road/rail distribution system.

*Massive injections of finance in accordance with the plan, protected by a sliding scale.

The fight for such a plan can only be taken up as a vital part of a fight for a programme of public works to defend working class living conditions and employment against the Labour government intent on reducing state spending and the capitalist system which demands such cuts.

TEACHERS AGAINST CUTS

A discussion on the transitional programme and the nature of the Labour Party dominated the first day of the Socialist Teachers' Conference held in London on 25/26th October.

About 80 teachers from all over Britain took part and discussed a fight against Healey's measures, which mean cuts and unemployment, an attitude to the Rank and File organisation, and resolutions for NUT conference.

The main resolution on action against the cuts as amended by the WSL was overwhelmingly passed. The Action Programme called for a fight in locally elected committees of workers, in the NUT, in other teachers' unions and in the Labour Party for

a) a firm commitment against any cuts being accepted at all, and all past cuts to be reversed, as part of a programme of public works under the control of the Trade Union movement. Such a programme must guarantee

- 1) jobs for all trained teachers
- 2) rescinding of the closures of all teacher training colleges closed or threatened with closure.

b) a trade union inquiry into the local and national extent of the cuts and proposed future cuts through the opening of the books of the LEAs to local committees of trade unionists. This must be done in conjunction with local conferences of trade unions and community organisations to obtain a clear estimate of the social need

for education in the localities as the basis for a workers' plan to defend and improve the educational facilities.

c) We should argue that all education expenditure should be linked to the rate of inflation (sliding scale of educational expenditure) so its real value is not eroded and that this should be the demand of the trade union movement.

d) That all unemployed, eg. teachers, ancillary workers, building workers, school leavers be recruited and organised by the trade unions with free membership and full trade union rights. On this basis unions must fight for full employment for all teachers and other workers, the reduction in class size in schools and a sliding scale of benefits for all unemployed workers as part of a programme of public works.

Trades Councils must set up unemployment sub-committees which must include unemployed workers. Unemployed workers must be supported in their struggle to organise and fight for these demands.

We call on the union leaderships, including the NUT to organise a contingent of unemployed workers on the 26th November

e) We should campaign for the nationalisation of educational supplies (this is already Labour Party policy) whose profiteering hinders every aspect of education in schools.

In particular we should campaign in the NUT for widespread support for the North West TUC demonstration against unemployment on November 26th

and try to organise a contingent of unemployed and employed teachers where possible supported by local associations."

Affiliation of the NUT to the Labour Party was considered to be important to extend the fight on programme.



Nursery teacher facing the sack

But when it came to deciding on resolutions for the NUT conference on the Sunday it was clear that the conference, and especially the IMG, had no intention of actually fighting for this programme. It remains for them just an interesting discussion

among "socialists".

IMG proposals for the NUT conference contained not one transitional demand and were full of the usual vague "to urge solidarity action". They also called for a further conference "in order to thoroughly work out a strategy".

denominator of political awareness on which to forge some sort of spurious "unity".

In practice the IMG tail-ends the IS by continuing its work within the IS Rank-and-File front organisation. It does not carry out a consistent fight on the demands of the transitional programme which would jeopardise unity in the IS inside Rank-and-File.

The resolutions for example from Birmingham Rank-and-File to the Birmingham Association of the NUT to go forward to the NUT conference contained not one single transitional demand.

An amendment to a salaries motion calling for a sliding scale of wages, based on a working-class cost of living index, drawn up by trade unionists' and housewives' committees came from the WSL. Although the IMG formally seconded it, no one from the IMG spoke in support of it.

The IS, who opposed it, lined up with the right wing openly on the grounds that it was "impractical".

The complete separation of theory from practice, of discussion from action which typifies the centrists of the IS and IMG thus emerged most clearly at this conference. Whether the programme adopted by the conference is ever taken into the teachers' unions' clearly depends on the fight of the WSL and those who begin to break from the sterile propagandism of IS and IMG. Far from the conference itself answering any questions it poses sharply the problem of principled leadership.

COWLEY: CP PUSH IN RYDER

By means of a carefully orchestrated conspiracy between the right wing and the Stalinists the Shop Stewards Committee at British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant voted by a majority of 128 to 72 to participate in the Ryder Report Joint Management Committees which are designed to force in speed up and break the power of the shop stewards movement.

During the two days of discussion the class nature of so-called workers participation had clearly emerged. Speaker after speaker demonstrated that Ryder is a device for substantially increasing the exploitation of Leyland workers, breaking agreements and taking away the conditions they have won over many years. Prior to the Stalinists' intervention, linked to an organisational carve up of the agenda by the right wing through the chairman, Cy Blake, there was an overwhelming majority against Ryder.

Everyone knew, from the start, the importance of the Cowley decision. The employers and the right wing knew that a decision to reject Ryder from the Cowley Assembly Plant would reverberate throughout the Corporation. The Stalinists knew that such a decision

would challenge their position in the Combine Committee where leading CP members have been steeped in Ryder from the beginning.

The carve up began from the start of the meeting. Having been forced off an initial position that Ryder was already accepted and no vote at all would be allowed, the chairman confined the next 1½ days discussion to individual clauses, saying that an overall discussion would take place at the end of the meeting, making it impossible for a coherent alternative to be put.

In the final session two motions were submitted: one for acceptance of Ryder and one for rejection. The acceptance motion was put first to the meeting. The result of this was that at the point where an alternative strategy could be put the mover of the acceptance motion had unlimited time to move and reply with everyone else restricted to 3 minutes.

DECISIVE

Under these conditions the Stalinist intervention was decisive. Having not spoken in the previous day and a half, they now moved in as the main supporter of the acceptance motion. It was the intervention from the 'left' which swung a section of the meeting. The right wing alone could not have done it.

The Stalinists fraudulently argued that Ryder was "the first step towards workers control" and that "we can build on it from within". They claimed that Ryder does not mean agreements will be broken, that the trade unions can maintain their independence and continuing that it can be thrown out after a years trial.

Because of the way the agenda was set up no reply was possible to these Stalinist positions which have been promoted through such people as Bob Wright - so-called left on the Executive Committee of the AUEW.

In swinging the vote the Stalinists did an important job for the employers and the Labour government. They did it under conditions where the majority of workers were against Ryder.

On the Princess track workers and shop stewards are resisting a joint ad hoc investigating committee sent in under Ryder and have voted at a mass meeting for an investigation to be carried out by the open the books committee.

This shows that despite the manoeuvres the struggle on Ryder is only just beginning. As workers come into action against speed up and in defence of jobs and agreements they will have to enter into conflict with all those who have supported participation and now sit with management organising the attacks.

This followed a meeting of the Party praesidium chaired by Tito earlier in the month and devoted to 'certain aspects of the hostile attempts on the Party and on Yugoslavia'.

MOTIVE

There is certainly one strong present motive for Tito to make his arrests and trials of those accused of pro-Moscow activity public - the fact that the Yugoslav CP is now in the leadership of a minority of European CPs who are opposed to Brezhnev's plans for a joint conference to set out a common political line. At the same time the Yugoslav leadership are cultivating much closer relations with China than in the past.

SHORT TIME AT INNOCENTI

The eleventh-hour decision by British Leyland to postpone the closure of their 4,500-man Innocenti car plant at Lambrate, near Milan, is a stay of execution, not a reprieve. Leyland management offered only a two-week delay in carrying out their plans to cut the labour force by one third or, failing this, to shut the plant entirely.

In this time government ministers will discuss with unions and officials of the state finance corporation for industry their plans to employ the 1,500 men Leyland have declared 'surplus to requirements in unused plants in the Milan area - possibly making spare parts for cars. But government proposals - so far not officially made public - undoubtedly accept Leyland's plans to sack one man in three.

The Stalinist-led metalworkers' and engineers' union for the Milan area has threatened - under mass pressure - to call an occupation of the Innocenti plant if management press ahead with their intention

to give formal notice of redundancies or closure.

But they put forward no sort of fighting policy. The provincial secretary of the union, Rino Cavaglioli, complained last week he had not been invited to the last minute talks between management and 'left' Christian Democratic labour minister Donat Cattin, and repeated the demand that the possibility of turning the plant to quite different sorts of production - such as office furniture - should be more seriously studied.

At no point, though, have union leaders raised the question of nationalisation. What makes government and management hesitate is not the union leaders, but the considerable support in the north of Italy for the Innocenti workers.

The three hundred thousand engineers in the Milan area have already pledged 2-3 hours pay a month to support an occupation against the sackings. With Fiat also cutting 12-24 days work in the immediate future for tens of thousands of workers in truck, coach and industrial vehicle plants, the struggle at Innocenti is seen as a test case.

YUGOSLAVIA

At least twenty-five people have been arrested in a number of Yugoslav towns in the last few weeks for 'Cominformist' activities - they include arrests in Belgrade (the capital), Croatia and Montenegro.

The charge of 'cominformism' means - in the mouths of the Yugoslav bureaucracy - support for closer ties to the Soviet Union; after Stalin's denunciation of Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership in 1948 the Cominform (successor to the Third International, dissolved in 1943) became mainly a vehicle for slander and witch-hunting against 'Titoists' by

the Moscow Stalinists and their supporters.

According to semi-official sources in Belgrade at least eight people will shortly be tried in secret - though the verdicts and sentences will be made public. One of the main figures of this group will very probably be Dusan Brkic, former vice-president of the Croatian Republic, whose arrest, along with seven other members of a secret network, was announced in August this year.

Police investigations to track down political opponents of the regime are continuing. At the end of October, during a tour of Serbia, Tito declared publicly that he 'would stop at nothing to neutralise the opposition, made up of a handful of cominformists, liberals and nationalists.

LABOUR HIDES INFLATION

With the official rise in the Retail Price Index still over 25% and government borrowing steadily increasing, the Labour government is preparing for a major confrontation on wages next year.

The government's £6 state wage laws have held so far only because of the support of the TUC who claim the laws are "voluntary" and represent the only way to control inflation.

To cement their alliance with the TUC, Mrs. Williams, Prices Minister, has now dreamed up a policy of selective price controls. She is asking manufacturers to limit price rises on selected goods

included in the price index to 5% between February and July 1976.

Firms who have to cut profit margins on some products are to be allowed compensatory rises on other goods. This proposal has only one purpose - to fiddle the Retail Price Index so as to give the union leaders an argument for their acceptance of state legislated wage cuts.

It shows the importance of fighting for a sliding scale of wages administered by committees of trade unionists and housewives which can guarantee that wages keep up with the cost of living.

It is vital that this index be worked out by independent working class bodies and not by government departments.

CHRYSLER: OPEN THE BOOKS TO FORCE NATIONALISATION

Chrysler's threat to close down its British subsidiary is part of the international crisis in the auto industry. The world market for cars has slumped by 25% in the last year, leaving most plants working at half capacity and slashing profit margins.

As a result a savage war for markets between major car companies has erupted with tactics of 'dumping' becoming prevalent.

The only way the stronger capitalists can deal with this crisis is by bankrupting their weaker rivals, "rationalising" their own plants - forcing through massive speed-up, and driving down workers' living standards.

Already this crisis has forced Chrysler workers on to a three-day week, cutting take-home pay as the lay-off fund dries up. Now faced with massive losses of its UK subsidiary, Chrysler has issued an ultimatum to the Labour government - demanding £100 million to prevent closure.

Wilson is wheeling and dealing with Riccardo behind closed doors. What they are discussing is not how jobs are to be preserved, but what is commercially best for British capitalism.

If state aid is used to bail out Chrysler it will only be on condition that the industry becomes "viable". As the Ryder proposals in British Leyland show, any government aid will be tied to forcing through speed-up at the expense of jobs.

Bob Morris, T&GWU convenor at Chrysler Stoke has lined up with Jack Jones' reactionary argument that

workers must accept part responsibility for the crisis.

This same argument is now used with every group of workers - working conditions, manning levels etc. should be sacrificed to preserve a "viable" industry and protect jobs. What it means is working each other out of a job to preserve the employer's profits.

This sort of 'solution' proposed by the trade union leaders completely jettisons trade union principles and ties workers' jobs to the fate of capitalist industry. Instead of mobilising the strength of the trade unions to defend jobs and fight for nationalisation, the union leaders, joined by the 'left' MPs, are queuing up to see Varley to plead for funds to keep Chrysler open.

They are claiming there is no other way to keep the jobs. In fact they are saying that they will not fight for any policy which brings them into conflict with the Labour government which is defending capitalism.

At the Chrysler Stoke mass meeting the AUEW convenor made it clear that the shop stewards' committee saw defending Chrysler as the only way to defend jobs.

APPEAL

'If Chrysler brought out a new model with the help of the Labour government we would be able to sell cars again. We appeal to the government to help Chrysler in its hour of need'

The consequences of this were brought out by Bob Morris - he felt it "would be hypocritical to offer

any great hope for what the future would bring".

Certainly there is no hope while the leadership pursues this policy. Only with an independent and determined policy can the future of Chrysler workers be defended.

SUBSIDIARIES

First, workers must demand to see all of the books of the Chrysler Corporation in Detroit and its national subsidiaries. The claim that the British factories are losing money is meaningless until the books are opened. How can workers accept ultimatums from management based on completely unsubstantiated figures?

Next the books of all Chrysler suppliers must be made available to workers committees to reveal the financial connections and arrangements between the suppliers and the Chrysler Corporation. It is only in this way that the real position can be established.

The open the books committee established in Cowley in major struggles has already revealed facts which give lie to British Leyland's charge of shoddy work and laziness.

A thorough investigation of Chrysler's books by elected trade union committees would demonstrate conclusively the need for nationalisation under workers management and for a system of state contracts to be provided to guarantee production. This must be a step towards the nationalisation of the whole car and component industry.

The "right" of management to impose short time working due to the world crisis of capitalism which is completely out of the control of the working class, must be ended.

All redundancies must be rejected. All available work should be shared on full pay. If this is refused all Chrysler factories should be occupied until management concedes these demands.

This is the only policy which can defend jobs, but it cannot be carried through without a sharp struggle. Stewards at Linwood have correctly announced that they intend to occupy if Chrysler tries to close down.

But preparations have to be made now to occupy not only in the event of direct closure, but over lay-offs and redundancies.

TEST

The outcome at Chrysler will be a severe test of the Labour government. Jones at the T&GWU Conference said "voluntary" pay laws were necessary to save jobs. Now thousands of jobs are at stake. Jones must be called on to mobilise the industrial strength of the T&G to force nationalisation.

The left MPs who have spoken of nationalisation in the past must now put forward this policy in practice. If their words are serious they must fight for the removal of the Wilson leadership and their replacement by one which will carry out policies in the interests of the working class or else stand exposed as no more than 'left' talkers.



Chrysler chief Riccardo

COVENTRY CONFED

The Coventry District of the Confed. of Ship building and Engineering Unions have still to decide whether or not to support the November 26th lobby of Parliament.

At a meeting of shop stewards and representatives called by the Confed held two weeks ago and attended by over 350 stewards and white collar representatives (despite the short notice at which it was called) District Secretary Frank Chater argued against support for the lobby. Chater's recommendation from the platform was voted down by the meeting and a decision taken to recommend support back to the Confed.

The Confed was meeting on Tuesday of this week to decide its position and as we go to press the right wing are preparing to ride roughshod over the recommendation of support for the lobby.

The feeling in the meeting clearly reflects the mood of thousands of Coventry workers living under the threat of the dole.

PROPOSALS

Other proposals from the stewards meeting include "opposition" to both voluntary and compulsory redundancy, a policy of working to contract, replacement of retiring workers and putting pressure on managements to take on more school leavers. Demands for a full overtime ban throughout the area were rejected.

Angry reaction to the platform from stewards at the meeting reflects the frustration many are experiencing with the District leadership.

The WSL has been campaigning for the widest possible support for the lobby and if the trade union leadership in Coventry refuse to arrange transport then we will organise a coach. Telephone Cov 711135 for details.

CAR WORKERS DEFENDED

The "Second Report" of the Open the Books Committee in the British Leyland Cowley Assembly Plant has like the preceding Interim Report, become the centre of a struggle.

Based on the defence of the workers on the Princess track against management charges of "shoddy work" and "skivers paradise" the report shows that they can only be effectively defended through the open the books demand:

"Last Wednesday the Sun published an attack on ADO 71 track workers accusing them of "skivers paradise" and "shoddy work". The same evening an even more vicious attack was presented on television based on Derek Whitakers management statement which claimed that only 4 OK jobs are produced per hour. . . .

. . . The purpose of the attacks was to discredit the ADO 71 workers and to undermine their resistance to speed up which management hope to force onto the tracks in 3 weeks time when the IEs have completed the sheets. . . . 99% of all rejects have nothing to do with the assembly worker.

They are due to faulty components and shortages. Therefore when management begin to hand out suspensions right, left and centre for "bad workmanship" the full facts must be revealed . . .

A great deal of faulty material is at present being fitted on all tracks. This is material which is not recognised as reject by the company but makes the job of the assembly worker that much harder. We have obtained a list which is an example of such material (which is printed in the report) . . .

. . . Why does so much faulty material come in? It would be wrong to blame workers in the component factories who face exactly the same problems as ourselves.

. . . The component industry as a whole is extremely large in comparison with the motor industry. The total share value of the top 13 component firms is £220m compared with British Leyland's value of £53m before Ryder.

This raises some interesting questions as to the links between motor manufacturers and the component suppliers. For example - has capital recently moved out of Leyland into

components? Have some of those same people who have argued that Leyland is not profitable been making a rake off in components and subsidiaries?

What is raised here is the integrated nature of the whole automotive industry. When we say it is basic that before workers are made redundant, put on short time, speeded up or attacked for "bad workmanship" that the books be opened and the real position revealed - this must apply to the whole industry and the call for full nationalisation must include components and suppliers. . . .

The report was endorsed by a full meeting of the plant's 200 shop stewards and circulated last week. Like the open the books committee first report it was carried in the local and national press and attacked by management who banned its circulation under the threat of disciplinary action.

*A mass meeting of workers from the Princess track voted overwhelmingly to reject a joint management inquiry into company allegation of shoddy work and for an inquiry to be conducted by the open the books committee.

SWINDON STRIKE

The strike at Deloro-Stelite in Swindon is now in its 3rd week. Originally the dispute started over the working of a system of flexi-time.

Then the management stepped in and sacked a senior steward Steve Price from the foundry. It is this victimisation, for countermanding a management instruction, which is the reason these workers are on strike and mounting a 24 hour picket.

It is quite plain that the management (the firm is part of the BOC group) is carrying out this attack on the union organisation as a preparation for speed-up and attacks on the conditions and wages which the strong union organisation in the plant has established.

PRENTICE RIGHT OUT

The three man inquiry team, set up by the Labour Party's organisation committee to report on the appeal of right-winger Reg Prentice against his removal as parliamentary candidate for Newham North East, has reported that there is no constitutional grounds for his re-instatement.

The move follows the vote of no confidence in another right winger Frank Tomney passed by the Hammersmith North Labour Party.

Such developments are in sharp contrast to the 'left' talk of Heffer and others inside the Parliamentary Labour Party who make no moves for the removal of Wilson. The non-activity of the 'lefts'

strengthens the right wing who in the form of arch witch hunter Reg Underhill, who was the architect of the expulsion of the *Keep Left* Young Socialist supporters in the early sixties.

"PROOF"

Underhill has now presented "documented proof" against the *Militant* group. This attack on the 'left' is in order to cover the fast moves to the right of the Wilson government.

The WSL supports the moves against right winger MPs and is for the defence of the rights of the *Militant* group. But this must be combined with the bringing of the working class into conflict with the attacks of the Labour Government and through this the exposure of the 'left' talkers in Wilson's cabinet and government.

N.W. TUC LOBBY

The North West Area TUC has called for a lobby of Parliament against unemployment on November 26th. The TUC nationally has since set out to sabotage this lobby.

The Workers Socialist League calls on all members and supporters to campaign for this demonstration as part of the fight to mobilise the trade union movement against unemployment.

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT!

March called by Banbury Trades Council, Starting 10.00am. Meeting at Banbury Town Hall, 11.30. SATURDAY, 22nd NOVEMBER. (Supported by Oxford Trades Council).

DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS!

WRP DEMONSTRATION

Saturday, November 16th Assemble 2pm Hyde Park. March 3pm via Oxford St, Regent St and Piccadilly to Meeting 4pm Trafalgar Square. As we stated in our last edition the WSL will support this demonstration in defence of democratic rights, and will bring its banners on the march.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETINGS:

WOLVERHAMPTON

Tuesday 18th November, 7.30
Rose & Crown, Penn Rd.
"Attack on the Trade Unions"

LONDON

"Our programme to defend wages and jobs"
Wednesday, 19th November, 7.30
Newington Small Hall,
Manor Place, off Walworth Rd
(Elephant & Castle 2 mins)

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

W.S.L. Marxist Society
Classes every Wednesday, 8.00pm,
'The Blue Room', Wadham College.