THE GOVERNMENT'S "boffer boys" are warming up for autumn. Lord Stokes, chairman of British Leyland, screams abuse at his workers. Martin Jukes, director general of the Engineering Employers' Federation, declared last week that prices should rise while wages were restrained to make industry "competitive".

Wages, they say, are rocketing as high as 15 per cent, outpacing prices which are increasing at 5-6 per cent and causing inflation. This is the cause of all our "economic" difficulties, they tell us.

No one should swallow this insult. In the real world, the situation is exactly the reverse.

The employers transfer their "inequities" into the workers' attempts to control their own lives.

For a start, high wages are not the problem. Out of all the large capitalist nations (including China's capitalist "socialism"), Britain now holds the second lowest real domestic income in the world. Nor is the US in the middle of an economic recession. Yet every country in the world has inflation. So it can't be the fault of wages Mr. Jukes.

The answer is in Table 1. While British companies are forced out of more effective competition, the profit rates of British industry are falling. Yet this is the whole slide lower and lower (column b).

And it was so before. Remember Wilson's devaluation speech? The devaluation was the first step to bringing industry to modernize and win new export markets. The result of this devaluation was to suffer the consequences of patriotism's sake.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Profit Rates</th>
<th>Wage Inflation</th>
<th>Domestic Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Estimate

The very people who could have gained, the employers, treated it all as a load of guff. Ever since devaluation, they have invested less and less in new plant and machinery (column c) but consumed more as shareholders and directors living on their own profits. They have become less productive.

What privileges our leaders are! To keep up their standard of living, they raise the price of the work they do. This is the cause of the crisis. Under the leadership of the people, capitalists, they are bad capitalists at that.

The state reacts by keeping the supply of money. This is the level of expansion of the economy, the hope that companies will make savings by modernizing their equipment.

Instead, the big monopolies, assured of a domestic market, raise their prices to increase their cash flow which is restricted by the Bank of England. And where the government becomes almost bankrupt, it must make payments to keep wages up.

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Remember Czechoslovakia

TWO YEARS AGO, Russian tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia and the people of Prague demonstrated and defied the invaders. Now Czechoslovakia is firmly under the Stalinist jackboot. In a world of continuous spud and revolt, it is easy to forget. But the events of two years ago should not be forgotten. Czechoslovakia is part of the world-wide struggle against the bully-boys of East and West.

Bombs — press hushes up truth

THE POLICE have now admitted that the Irish Republican Army was not connected with the bomb explosion on Sunday evening which seriously injured two young people. They believe the bomb was planted by a crack protest against the 'presumptive society'.

The police statement has been ignored by the militant press which brandish the 'IRA outrage' for several days. As ruling class hysteria mounts over the Irish issue, it is vitally important for the labour movement in Britain to stand firm and declare its total solidarity with those fighting British imperialism throughout the 22 counties.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Public meeting

Trotsky and Trotskyism

Speaker: Duncan Hallas

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

Friday 28 August 7.30pm
Anger and despair for the ‘forgotten men’ of the mines

by JOHN CHARLTON

Hours of work and a long, cold, bleak struggle. That is the description of their lives by the miners who are working in the mines of the North.
Thirty years ago Leon Trotsky was murdered in Mexico by an agent of the Russian dictator Stalin. Brilliant Marxist, a leader of the Russian Revolution and creator of the Red Army, Trotsky is one of the great figures of international socialism. In this special feature, DUNCAN HALLAS analyses his life and his achievements.
Trotsky - a life devoted to the struggle for world-wide socialism

IN MAY 1940 Leon Trotsky wrote an article entitled 'Stalin Seeks My Seat'. Such was an annihilating forecast. Three months later, on 20 August, Stalinist agent Ramon Mercader, alias Ural, attempted to assassinate Trotsky in the garden of his home. His gun jammed, an icepick drove into Trotsky's heart. The assassin was arrested. The assassination was the last of the wholesale murders by which the Stalinist bureaucracy destroyed the Bolshevik guard. Rykov, Lenin's successor as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, was shot. Zinoviev, President of the Communist International in Lenin's day, was exiled. Bukharin and Piatakov, 'the most active members of the Central Committee', according to Lenin's Testament, were shot. Rakovsky and Rudzutak were top. Tens of thousands of old party members disappeared for ever in 'arctic labour camps'. The militants who made the October Revolution were practically annihilated. Only one of the leading figures of the revolution, Trotsky, survived the war. Joseph Stalin, the successor to Lenin, had been imprisoned and then released. Stalin ordered Trotsky to be removed from office as General Secretary. He was arrested, exiled to Siberia. His著作 were burned, and the few who had read him were saying that he had been dead for years, before his death. Trotsky had first to prove his loyalty, then to prove his innocence, and finally to prove his guilt. The hopes of the October Revolution had been buried by the Stalinist regime. Trotsky had to prove his guilt.

Trotsky was born in the Ukraine in 1879, the son of a Jewish farmer. At that time in the Ukraine, the proletariat did not exist in the Tsarist empire. At that time, there was an industrial working class in the Ukraine. Trotsky had to prove his guilt.

There were a few great nobles, a score of numerous lesser nobility who offered the army and the modern machine, a middle class of merchants, lawyers, doctors and so on, and a vast mass of peasants. That was the Russian Empire of the time, and over it the Tsar ruled. As absolutely as Louis XIV had ruled France.

There was no parliament, no free press, no freedom of movement, no protection for the citizens before the law. Until 1917, the great mass of the Russian people, the peasants, had been legally immune, serene, unable to leave the estate they were born on, bought and sold by their masters along the land.

Russia was backward, medieval, so backward, in that way that in 1879 before the great revolution, a paper of capitalists in the west and central Europe.

But a great change was coming. In the years of Trotsky's boyhood and youth industry was developing fast in Russia, fuelled by foreign loans and foreign experts. New classes were developing, a class of capitalists, a class of workers, a class of intellectuals, a class of students.

Militancy

The growth of these classes meant, in the long run, that the Tsarist regime could not last. As late as 1905 the Tsarist minister of finance could write: 'Fortunately Russia does not possess a working class in the same sense as the West does; consequently we have no labour problem.' He was already out of date. By 1887 there were already 101,000 metal workers in Russia, by 1907, 642,000. By 1914 there were 5,000,000 workers out of a population of 160,000,000.

This young working class developed a militancy and record of mass struggle unparalleled since the heroic period of the British working class in the 1830s and 1840s. In the first decade of the century a wave of mass strikes and demonstrations swept the country. According to the explosion of 1905, about 900,000 people of working class and self-governmental character joined the workers' council, was invented by the Soviet of workers and workers' council. For a time there was a 'dual power', the power of the workers organised in Soviets confronting the tsarist government of the Tsar. The regime tottered. But in the end it was able to crush its power. The revolutionary workers confronted the peasant army and the peasants, still loyal to the Tsar. A murderous repression followed.

Trotsky grew up with the movement. While in his teens he joined a revolutionary group in Nikolaev, the South Russian Workers Union. In 1898 he was arrested and kept in various jails until 1900, when he was deported to Siberia.

In the summer of 1902 he escaped and by the autumn he had joined Lenin in London. By this time Trotsky had become a Marxist and a writer of some fame. Lenin welcomed him and proposed that he join the editorial board of Iskra (the Spark), the socialist party paper which was printed in London and smuggled into Russia.

The proposal was vetoed by the senior member of the board, Plekhanov, one of the founders of the party and a future Menshevik. For the split in the Russian socialist party was only a few months ahead and relations between Lenin and some of his co-editors were already tense. The party at that time consisted of a handful of emigrants in London, Zurich and other European cities and a number of Russian students and workers in some of the Russian industrial centres and in Siberian exile.

The split, which came at the second congress held in Brussels and then in London in 1903, was on the one hand a split, on the other hand a split on the basis of the Menshevik, sided with Lenin. Trotsky opposed Lenin. It was a decision he was later to call 'the greatest error of my life'.

Murder

In 1905 the revolutionary exiles were able to return. Trotsky, now a Menshevik, played a big part in the unsuccessful revolution. During the war he became President of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies, then the most important workers organisation in Russia.

Its liquidation by the Tsarist military and police machine marked the turning point in the revolution. Trotsky was imprisoned.

Overthrow

Lenin and his group (who became the Bolsheviks, or majority) stood for a tightly organised revolutionary party, able to survive legality and repression. They believed that their party was in alliance with the peasants, so they were in alliance with the European party. Trotsky, the leader of the Bolsheviks, proposed to elect a new party in the hands of a legislative assembly composed of the representatives of the people! Lenin's Draft Programme of the Social Democratic Party in 1905.

The minority (Mensheviks) were moving toward the idea that the Russian capitalists could lead this struggle and consequently needed to favour a loose organisational orientation towards semi-legal work. Neither side supposed that a socialist revolution was possible in a country as backward and underdeveloped as Russia. That would come later after a period of capitalist economic development under a democratic republic.

In 1935 the differences were not as clear cut as they became later. Not everyone fully understood the implication of the choice they were making. Plekhanov, leader of the extreme right wing of the Mensheviks, sided with Lenin. Trotsky opposed Lenin. It was a decision he was later to call 'the greatest error of my life'.

Second only to Lenin as the moving force on the road to victory.
Commissar for War: Trotsky at the height of his fame

to Lenin as the moving spirit of the revolution.

The last of the Romanovs: the Tsar after the Bolshevik Revolution

Spirit of the revolution...

Military Revolutionary Committee announcement of overthrow of the Provisional government.

Again put on trial for his life, he defied the Tsar from the dock. 'The government has long since broken with the nation . . . We have no more a national government but an instrument for mass murder.'

The still smouldering revolutionary movement had reached its climax, The main charge - insurrection - was dismissed. But Trotsky and 14 others were sentenced to deportation to Siberia for life with loss of all civil rights.

In the years of reaction after 1905, the revolutionary organisations, harassed by police spies and outnumbered by reactionaries, withered and decayed. The Menshevik organisations in Russia virtually disappeared. Even Lenin's Bolshevik group, now split into two, a left and a right (with Lenin on the left), shrank into a shadow of its former strength.

The emigre circles bitterly factional disputes developed. Trotsky escaped again from Siberia in 1907, and soon found himself nearly isolated. He issued the Menshevik drift to the right and unable to overcome the hostility to the Bolsheviks, he became a lone wolf.

His one positive achievement in these years was the elaboration of his theory of 'permanent revolution.'

The prosperity of the Russian working class was growing in all the working areas. But it was the Tsar's class, the military class, who profited most of all in Russia, but in all the world. The working class was exploited and suppressed. The Russian workers were the most important factor in the world revolution.

The Provisional government.

'Stead, Land and Bread,' were the slogans. At first a minority in his own party, Lenin won first the party and then the majority of the Soviets for his revolutionary position. It was a tragic fate, he said, during Trotsky's 'permanent revolution' and in July Trotsky's Provisional government was formed, with Lenin as left-wing Menshevik, entered the Bolshevik Party.

Russia's industrial victory over Austria, the majority of the workers being successful in agitating for the idea of a 'socialist' Europe, the Provisional Government was overthrown. In Petrograd, a march by the workers was lifted to support it.

The Bolsheviks.'

The last story of the Tsar was the beginning of the end.
Fighting against lies and terror

structed to operate on commercial principles.

The result was a slow but substantial economic recovery, together with mass unemployment - greater than a fifth of the slowly reviving workers - and the development of a class of capitalist farmers, the kulaks, out of the ranks of the peasantry.

By the middle 1920s the economic situation had been rectified and in some cases passed beyond the point where adequate food supplies could be ensured for the population. The state, as a result, could afford to pay increased wages to workers and peasants. The general level of wages and prices rose perceptibly.

Since then the bureaucratic distortion has grown rapidly and the ruling party itself has become bureaucratised. In the absence of mass struggle, the need for strength, cohesion and will to rule, the task of 'bureaucratisation' for the class and the party apparatus was increasingly substituting for the party membership.

Alarmed

A new group of 'apparatchiks' had grown up, allured by the 'glitter' and the 'new' party capitalists, who, with their striking phrases, described politics as 'the struggle for the soul of the party'. This was a perverted twist of the original meaning of the phrase. The struggle was for the soul of the party, especially among its leaders. Trotsky, by now thoroughly alarmed by the bureaucratic trend, became the chief spokesman of a movement which, in 1924, took up the fight, started by Lenin in the last months of his life, for the preservation of the inner life and the revival of the Soviets as real organs of the workers' struggle.

An essential part of the programme of the Left Opposition (as Trotsky's group was called) was the more rapid and planned development of the RSFSR industry. For Marxists it was out of the question for the party to stand still when there was room for a further increase in the number of the workers, itself an index of the absolute significance of the working class.

Ambition

Opposed to the left was a right wing Trotskyism, for which Bukharin became the spokesman. This argued for stability, for a 'natural accumulation' at a 'satisfactory pace', and for giving priority to the needs of the peasantry, happy, including the kulaks.

There was a third tendency, the 'centre', representing the apparatus, who, being an opposition, was then allied to the right. In 1923, its chief spokesmen were I. I. Stalin, a capable organiser and a man of unbounded energy, and Leon Trotsky, who was welding the bureaucracy into an army of its own interests and with its own ideals - 'Socialism in a single country'.

The left opposed the centre. The question was one of peaceful reform. The pressure of events, and of the opposition could reform the party and the country, it thought.

Toward a New Policy

The first five year plan did succeed, included some of the most distin-

guished members of the party and was joined, after 1926, by the group around Zinoviev and, Lenin's closest collaborator in exile, and Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, as well as by the 'ultra-left' democratic centralist group, which was overwhelm-
ingly voted down in party meetings pressed by Stalin's yensites.

In October 1927 Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the party. Their thousand and thousands of the other oppositionists began the journey into the exile. The opposition had been smashed and from their places of exile its leaders predicted a dire danger from the right.

The Soviet left, then, with the overthrow of the party by the representatives of the kulaks and peasants, was reduced. And indeed the regime did face a danger from industrial society. It did so on the basis of the moral brutality exploitation of the workers and peasants.

Real wages fell drastically. The economically regimented 'free' workers were supplemented by an army of slave labourers, mostly ex-peasants, employed on large scale construction jobs under appalling conditions. All vestiges of democratic rights disappeared.

These events disintegrated the exiled opposition. Many of its most prominent members made their peace with Stalin.

At the other extreme, many rank and file workers, especially those who agreed with the 'democratic centralists', did not agree with the 'party', wrote Victor Shishov, a democratic centralist leader, 'is a stinking corpse.'

Abandon

The workers' state had been destroyed years earlier: its opinion, and its influence restored. Trotsky could accept neither of these positions. Against the capitalist line, he insisted on the need for Soviet democracy. Against the left, he insisted on the possibilities of peacefully cornering the right.

It was an urgent and accepted view at the time. The impetus for the change came from events in Germany. The Left had then been concerned at least as much with the International as with Russian affairs.

The Third International in its early years had been far from being the tool of Moscow. But with the regrading of the revolutionary mood in Europe the parties became more attached to the one surviving 'Soviet' regime and more dependent on it.

Advice from Moscow became the most important source of their political ideas. Increasingly the Russian dominated executive of the International seemed to interfere with the internal life of the parties.

The myth of the 'Soviet Fatherland' was no longer important to European and Asian leftists. The effect was, gradually the more independent spirits and the more genuine revolutionaries left the leadership. It took 10 years to reduce the world movement of Moscow's foreign legion. By 1927 the pro-

Towed

It enabled Stalin to strangle another revolution - Spain. Trotsky called the Spanish workers 'the last warning'. All his energies in the last years of his life, in France, Belgium and Mexico, were spent in trying to create the nucleus of a new international. Its founding conference took place in Paris in August. There were multiple defeats for the working class. Trotsky had only 10 years to live.

It was an imperative achievement. Contrary to the tradition of revolutionary Marxism in the 19th century, the international had been dominated by its pretended supporters. Trotsky was right. In 1928, for instance, Lenin had written in his testament of Trotsky's 'too far reaching self-confidence' and of his misfortune, in his last years, that few among the new generation had any sense of independent thinking.

Trotsky's power and the way his associates were at once his strength and his tragically limited power and a wasteful isolation and attack as he did. His contribution to revolutionary socialism and to the working class movement was unsurpassed. He was one of the handful of truly great leaders to whom the movement has produced.

The opposition sharply criticised the Commissars policies and sought to develop contacts with dissident members of the foreign parties. But after Stalin had eliminated his former 'rightist' allies in Russia, the Commissars were swung violently to the 'left', to the lunatic left in fact. A period of 'general revolutionary offensive', the 'third period' was proclaimed.

The theory of 'social fascism' was invented. The social capital and labour parties were 'social fascists', groups to the left of them like the I.P. were 'left social fascists'.

In Germany, where the danger of fascism was very real, this led to the rejection of any joint fascist resistance with the Social democrats and the trade unions under their influence. For these, themselves were fascists! In fact everyone who was not a loyal Stalinist was a fascist. 'Germany is already living under fascist rule', said the German Communist daily. 'Hitler cannot make matters worse than they already are.'

Against this insane policy, Trotsky, in 1939 an exile in Turkey, wrote some of his most brilliant polemics. If real socialism had moved the Stalinised leaders of the German Communist Party, Hitler would have been beaten from the opportunity there was. A vic-

Dauntless

Trotsky was nearly alone, testifying to the great gorges opened in Russian politics by the mass murder of the former capitalists, the former army and of most of his own early supporters.

It is dauntless, along with Trotsky, as agents of Hitler's counter-revolution, and as targets of grotesque 'show trials', at which prominent trade unionists and leaders of the Militant French dockers, Polish communists, and countless others were the targets. Moscow the most effective judges of its question and reliable coun-

A RACIALIST POLICE HOUND IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY

BLACK CURFEW IN LONDON

Ginny West, nipsy lies about "black violence" in Notting Hill

IT'S AN 11pm curfew for black people in the Notting Hill area of London.
This curfew is self-imposed by Metropolitan Police in Notting Hill, which is the largest black community in Europe, according to the police for far too long. The Met has also announced that it is seeking to define the terms under which the curfew would apply.

The police's announcement came in the wake of reactions from the National Executive Committee of the Notting Hill Movement against the establishment of a "black curfew" in the area.

"We are not satisfied that the police have communicated with the community in a transparent manner. They have not consulted us about the proposed curfew," said Mr Crawford, a local councillor. "We are concerned that the police are trying to impose a solution without the full involvement of the community."
New Ottery battle over jobs

OTTERY ST MARY - The Ottery St Mary, Teignmouth and Teignmouth Workers Union was refused legal aid in a case after 15 weeks of bitter struggle. The strikers clocked in on 13 August. Many echoed strike committee chairman Jim Moore's comment that punching their cards was the most difficult thing they had to do for 20 years.

Ken Baker, national industrial officer of the General and Municipal Workers Union, went to settle the dispute, did not make much progress with his appeal, some 20-30 men including a GWU shop steward planned to strike break after a mass meeting on 19 August had overwhelmingly rejected a recommendation to return to work. The strikers were demanding a 46% rise in the basic rate and a full return to work. But full time officials of the GWU, the Steel Metal Workers and the Electricians and Allied Technicians, who supported the strike committee's proposals of a 15-month strike, had the best deal they could.

They were prepared to surrender to the management, even though they know that the blocking of Ottery St. Mary was about to cause the lay-off of thousands of Ford workers. Shareholders, worried by last orders of £200 million, were to be informed at the company's annual meeting, forced to cut prices, were歇. If the strike, the committee had no alternative but to call another mass meeting last week and recommended a return to work. But they forced the management to agree a 20% wage rise for four years and for the first time skilled on a working week reduced from 42 to 40 hours.

Bonus with strings

After the three of four months bonus, a new and better scheme will come into operation. It will be a continuation of the old system of 'strings'. These have not yet been defined but they are aimed at preventing the continuation of the strike committee. They are meeting to consider ways to stop the loopholes opened by the new scheme. This is known to be involved in determining leadership methods.

The 150 strikers from a lowly-wage demand agreed the request and admiration of trade unionism everywhere. They have fought brave, organized and applied a mere three years price-fixing, South African connections and stop. The strike committee - 'as a matter of course', Jim Moore this week asked that blocking the Ottery St Mary scheme should continued.

STRIKE ON AGAIN

OTTERY MILL workers were back on strike again on Monday. Tuesday, the四项 demanded the submission of strike committee, plus more funds for strike committee. This would have been a sensible way of meeting the GWU. A mass meeting voted to walk out.

Guard dogs to pocket thieves

THIORKS AUTOMATION, part of the giant electronics group, has brought in a pocket theft to protect its premises. The group has blacked any work getting out.

Security guards have been brought in to protect the property and the pocket itself. This will prevent any legal action against their property, and the GWU. This covers the theft of tapes and records.

On Wednesday, a Glassworkers Union spokesman told Socialist Worker that 7,000 strikers had lifted their blocking instruction for the first time. The GSWU, which had been encouraged by the5600 strikers had lifted their blocking instruction for the first time. The GSWU, which had been encouraged by the

Strike as TGWU militant is sacked by car parts firm

by Dave Spencer

better wages and conditions. They are on strike at the Transport Worker's Union convenor David Edwards. The reason for his dismissal was given as "inattentiveness to colleagues." What really happened was that during some skylarking Edwards charged up a workmate's account. The man concerned has joined the strike. The management were looking for an excuse to sack Edwards.

NOTICES

LIVERPOOL: demonstrations in solidarity with the strike of workers who have been blackballed by the GWU. Contact: Centre Contact (CWU) 11, Unite Rd, Liverpool (051) 629 8256. 

SWANSEA: 10, 19, 21, 23, 27. All Car owners: please support the TGWU at Gwynedd and District, pay in low and on the day of the strike.

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