

Port employers present

A PLAN FOR NEW DOCKS ATTACK

BY DAVID MAUDE
FULL DETAILS of how London's port employers propose to implement the second phase of Lord Devlin's docks re-organization scheme have just been received by the Workers Press.

Manchester dustmen return

THERE were again angry clashes between dustmen and union officials after a mass meeting of striking Manchester dustmen narrowly voted to end their three-week-old strike last Saturday morning. Union officials told the strikers that the council management was not prepared to grant any concessions above the national Edinburgh agreement, however long the men remained on strike. They then called for a vote for a return to work and asked the men not to be pressurized, but to vote according to their consciences. A show of hands was indecisive, so the men were split into two groups—those for a return and those against. The vote was then declared in favour of a return. As the men dispersed sharp arguments broke out between many of the dustmen and their officials. Nottingham dustmen also voted at the weekend to return to work.

The Socialist Labour League has always campaigned for principled opposition to the recommendations of the Devlin Report.

In our view, 'modernization' plans which do not include socialist nationalization of the entire dock industry under the control of those who work in it can only be a blueprint for far-reaching attacks on jobs and conditions.

This view is completely borne out by the proposed London agreement. As one dockier commented at the weekend: 'It's almost a carbon-copy of the Measured-Day Work deals the car bosses want to push through. If this is accepted they'll have everything they want—even a strike-breaking clause!'

Although a postal ballot on the proposals is due to take place within the next few weeks, few of London's 12,500 dockers have yet had the opportunity to study them and union officials seem to be particularly anxious that they should not be 'leaked'.

Object

We reproduce key sections below which show why. Its stated object is the achievement of a balanced labour force which will eventually become 'an economic and viable labour force'.

Just so that there can be no confusion on this point, the employers want dockers to recognize that the objective of all agreements on manning arrangements must be to establish optimum efficiency in the manpower required for each particular operation.

'Manning arrangements within companies will therefore be decided in the light of the amount and nature of the work to be done and the number of men available. . . . The observance of the following work practices is a condition of this agreement:'

1 Complete acceptance of overnight instructions and orders.

2 Complete mobility and flexibility of labour as

● PAGE 4 COL. 4 →



2,000 march against Israeli occupation

Soviet govt. calls for Mid-East talks

By Robert Black

THE SOVIET government said on Friday that it favoured the resumption of four-power talks on the Middle East and blamed the Israeli government for its blocking of any settlement there.

A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry claimed: 'The intentions of the Israeli leaders lie not in the direction of peace, but of further complications in the area.'

The statement invited representatives of the USA, France and Britain to join with the Soviet government in making new moves to 'speedily contribute to the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression'.

This extremely mild tone is hardly likely to intimidate the Israeli Zionists, who, if anything, are thinking in terms of new acts of aggression.

B.P. site men demand union chiefs fight

SUPPORT is building up for the 500 boilermakers sacked from the £65 million B-P refinery site at Grangemouth on the Clyde.

The boilermakers have been promised backing by their union's Clyde district committee, which decided at last Saturday's meeting to meet all boilermakers' shop stewards on Thursday.

Members in the Grangemouth area—at Simon Carves; EJS; Boness; Motherwell Bridge and Tarmac, Alloa—have already begun to support the strike.

Last Thursday 200 of the sacked men picketed the site

● PAGE 4 COL. 4 →



Farmworkers march for £16 basic

By John Spencer

MORE THAN 2,000 farmworkers—the largest demonstration of farmworkers seen in London since the war—marched to Trafalgar Square (above) on Saturday in support of their claim for a £16 minimum wage and a 40-hour week.

The present minimum is £12 8s. for a working week of 44 hours.

Contingents from all over the country brought their elaborate and brightly painted

● PAGE 4 COL. 9 →

'DOWN with Zionism! 'Free Palestine! 'Long live Al Fatah! These were the slogans of Sunday's demonstration through London in support of the Arab liberation struggle. The 2,000-strong march—supported by Arab families and students from several parts of Britain, and by the rather sorry remnants of last year's October 27 demonstrators—ended at the Israeli Embassy in Kensington. The gates were locked and guarded by a large contingent of police.

Marchers rejected an offer to send a small delegation to the embassy itself. Along their route, they were jeered and provoked by a small crowd of Zionists—some of them supporters of Israel's extreme right-wing Gahal party. Scuffles took place as the march broke up. Police then moved in and arrested five of the demonstrators.

They have also withdrawn from the Joint Craft Negotiating Committee, which is still prepared to work the plan. Electricians and boiler-makers met on Friday to discuss their demand for an immediate 6 per cent wage increase and a strike action cannot be ruled out.

There has been growing dissatisfaction since the 'Green Book' was signed in May 1968.

Although the terms allow speed-up, sackings, tighter discipline and the ending of demarcations, the management wants more.

Last week the unions were told by top managers that the expected 6 per cent wage increase was not going to be paid.

The management now wants to rephrase the agreement. They are offering a 4 per cent increase in January 1970 backdated to May 1969, not including holidays.

In return they want: ● Complete work-study and no obstruction. ● Complete interlocking with BISATKA.

● Management's interim decisions to be binding on all procedural disputes until they are settled.

● What they claim as a £155,000 deficit to be taken from wage rises in future. This proposal was rejected by the negotiating committee.

Want action

For weeks the shop stewards have been pushing for action. Jim Bevan, Margam AEF branch chairman told me: 'Our branch has been sending resolutions to the district committee for weeks. Now at last they have called the aggregate meeting and the "Green Book" is out. The men are really fed up with being messed about.'

'The management now want to hold up our wages for 19 months and speed up redundancies. If they get their way 1,500 will be doing the work of 2,300 once the contractors have gone. I remember the six-week strike in 1965 when we were sold out by our union leaders. We got 5s an hour for losing our mates. That was the beginning of productivity and now we can see what it has led to.'

term and for a national conference next year to decide on any wage offers.

The teachers say that if an adequate offer were made and put into operation immediately the strikes could be called off.

Mr George Taylor, secretary of the Holloway branch, said: 'An education service which forces its teachers to take such action is in a crisis situation. The teaching profession is wholly, even dangerously, dispirited.'

The teachers have gained tremendous confidence from those lower-paid sections of

workers, particularly the miners and dustmen, who have now taken the offensive against the employers and the government. They know that the Tories plan to step up the attacks on education as proposed in their Black Papers. An all-out strike for the pay claim in unity with other sections of workers could be won rapidly. That is why more and more teachers are becoming aware that those in the NUT leadership who oppose such action must be replaced in order to defeat the Labour government's education cuts and win the claim.



From the Editor

A word with our readers

WE ARE now entering the sixth week of Workers Press. All the main problems, normal to the production of a newspaper such as ours, have been overcome.

The time has come to look ahead towards plans for even more improvements in the paper.

Firstly, we are discussing arrangements to improve our news coverage with the possibility of a late edition for the London area in view.

The problem here has been office accommodation—our present quarters are comfortable but cramped. We will be taking over a new block by the end of the year, so there will be facilities for more staff.

Secondly, plans for a week-end magazine devoted to more lengthy articles and analyses of the political situation are going ahead.

This would be inserted into the Saturday edition or sold separately. Our readers would be able to file the magazine section for study and future reference.

Network

On the editorial side we are still a long way from utilizing our network of reader-correspondents in the way that is required if our paper is to reflect what is going on in the areas.

We will shortly be making direct contact with those concerned in order to improve this side of our service. Every Workers Press reader should consider themselves a

local correspondent and phone us any news they think has some importance.

The circulation is steadily increasing, even before we launch our campaign for new readers.

The campaign will begin in Scotland towards the end of November and move southwards.

We plan two weeks of factory meetings and canvassing for new readers to be climaxed by an area meeting at which the new 22-minute 16 mm. sound film on the first issue of Workers Press will be shown.

Enthusiasm

The film has been completed and those who have been fortunate enough to have seen the preview are beside themselves with enthusiasm.

For the first time in the history of working-class newspapers, it will be possible for readers to see how their paper is prepared from the editorial to the final stage of coming off the press.

We are especially grateful to the Plough Press's National Graphical Association members who appear in a professional capacity.

A special loudspeaker van will be available for the campaign.

Finally a word about costs and finance.

Everyone knows that production costs are almost certain to rise in the New Year. Already the capitalist press is talking about an 8d. daily.

We want to keep the cost at 6d., but if we are to do it, we need to cover a deficit of £1,000 a month or £250 a week—approximately £50 an issue.

We started with £5,000 in our fund and our aim is to keep this sum behind us, less, of course, the £1,000 needed for October.

What it boils down to is that starting November 30, we need £1,000 on that date and thereafter £1,000 by the end of each month.

This is not a large sum and we have purposely kept it this way because the circulation of the paper is going up all the time.

Those who said we would run into insurmountable financial difficulties will be disappointed, because we know we can rely on our readers to provide us with what is needed.

In the past we have said it is up to you and you have never disappointed us. We are confident it will be the same this time.

● PAGE 4 COL. 6 →

STEEL-MEN FIGHT 'GREEN BOOK'

THE 'GREEN BOOK' productivity deal has been dealt another major blow by workers at the giant Port Talbot steelworks.

1,000 Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry-workers have voted overwhelmingly to submit 21 days' notice of termination of the Manpower Productivity Plan ('Green Book').

They want their present wages maintained with pre-agreement working practices until a new agreement is negotiated, within six months.

They have also withdrawn from the Joint Craft Negotiating Committee, which is still prepared to work the plan.

Electricians and boiler-makers met on Friday to discuss their demand for an immediate 6 per cent wage increase and a strike action cannot be ruled out.

Want more

There has been growing dissatisfaction since the 'Green Book' was signed in May 1968.

Although the terms allow speed-up, sackings, tighter discipline and the ending of demarcations, the management wants more.

Last week the unions were told by top managers that the expected 6 per cent wage increase was not going to be paid.

The management now wants to rephrase the agreement. They are offering a 4 per cent increase in January 1970 backdated to May 1969, not including holidays.

In return they want: ● Complete work-study and no obstruction. ● Complete interlocking with BISATKA.

● Management's interim decisions to be binding on all procedural disputes until they are settled.

● What they claim as a £155,000 deficit to be taken from wage rises in future. This proposal was rejected by the negotiating committee.

Want action

For weeks the shop stewards have been pushing for action.

Jim Bevan, Margam AEF branch chairman told me: 'Our branch has been sending resolutions to the district committee for weeks. Now at last they have called the aggregate meeting and the "Green Book" is out. The men are really fed up with being messed about.'

'The management now want to hold up our wages for 19 months and speed up redundancies. If they get their way 1,500 will be doing the work of 2,300 once the contractors have gone. I remember the six-week strike in 1965 when we were sold out by our union leaders. We got 5s an hour for losing our mates. That was the beginning of productivity and now we can see what it has led to.'

term and for a national conference next year to decide on any wage offers.

The teachers say that if an adequate offer were made and put into operation immediately the strikes could be called off.

Mr George Taylor, secretary of the Holloway branch, said: 'An education service which forces its teachers to take such action is in a crisis situation. The teaching profession is wholly, even dangerously, dispirited.'

The teachers have gained tremendous confidence from those lower-paid sections of

workers, particularly the miners and dustmen, who have now taken the offensive against the employers and the government. They know that the Tories plan to step up the attacks on education as proposed in their Black Papers. An all-out strike for the pay claim in unity with other sections of workers could be won rapidly. That is why more and more teachers are becoming aware that those in the NUT leadership who oppose such action must be replaced in order to defeat the Labour government's education cuts and win the claim.

Australian Tories split

FOLLOWING its very narrow victory over Labour in the recent Australian General Election, the ruling Liberal Party has split over the question of its future leadership.

Several leading members of Prime Minister Gorton's outgoing Cabinet have now either hinted or declared they will not serve under him again.

David Fairbairn, a senior Liberal Minister, sent a telegram to Gorton on Thursday.

During the election campaign, Gorton was criticised by the right wing of his party for lack of vigour and of departing from traditional Tory principles.

Young Socialists GRAND XMAS BAZAAR

Saturday, Nov. 29

Canning Town Public Hall doors open 12 noon

Can you sew? knit? paint? make something for our Bazaar? give something towards our bazaar? Have you a tin of grocery? jumble? Help us make this the best bazaar ever held! Help us raise the money for our daily paper—

THE WORKERS' PRESS

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

MOTOR WORKERS' CONFERENCE

All car, car delivery and components workers are invited to a motor workers' conference

Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth BIRMINGHAM

Saturday, November 8 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Write for credentials to R. Parsons, 21 Strawberry Path, Blackbird Leys, Oxford Conference fee 5s. a person

Workers Press

The daily organ of the
Central Committee of the
Socialist Labour League

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY • NUMBER 27 • TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1969

PRICE 6d.

Port employers present

A PLAN FOR NEW DOCKS ATTACK

BY DAVID MAUDE
FULL DETAILS of how London's port employers propose to implement the second phase of Lord Devlin's docks re-organization scheme have just been received by the Workers Press.

Manchester dustmen return

THERE were again angry clashes between dustmen and union officials after a mass meeting of striking Manchester dustmen narrowly voted to end their three-week-old strike last Saturday morning. Union officials told the strikers that the council management was not prepared to grant any concessions above the national Edinburgh agreement, however long the men remained on strike. They then called for a vote for a return to work and asked the men not to be pressurized, but to vote according to their conscience. A show of hands was indecisive, so the men were split into two groups—those for a return and those against. The vote was then declared in favour of a return. As the men dispersed sharp arguments broke out between many of the dustmen and their officials. Nottingham dustmen also voted at the weekend to return to work.

Australian Tories split

FOLLOWING its very narrow victory over Labour in the recent Australian General Election, the ruling Liberal Party has split over the question of its future leadership. Several leading members of Prime Minister Gorton's outgoing Cabinet have now either hinted or declared they will not serve under him again. David Fairbairn, a senior Liberal Minister, sent a telegram to Gorton on Thursday. During the election campaign, Gorton was criticised by the right wing of his party for lack of vigour and of departing from traditional Tory principles.

The Socialist Labour League has always campaigned for principled opposition to the recommendations of the Devlin Report.

In our view, 'modernization' plans which do not include socialist nationalization of the entire dock industry under the control of those who work in it can only be a blueprint for far-reaching attacks on jobs and conditions.

This view is completely borne out by the proposed London agreement. As one docker commented at the weekend:

'It's almost a carbon-copy of the Measured-Day Work deals the car bosses want to push through. If this is accepted they'll have everything they want—even a strike-breaking clause!'

Although a postal ballot on the proposals is due to take place within the next few weeks, few of London's 12,500 dockers have yet had the opportunity to study them and union officials seem to be particularly anxious that they should not be 'leaked'.

Object

We reproduce key sections below which show why. Its stated object is the achievement of 'a balanced labour force' which will eventually become 'an economic and viable labour force'.

Just so that there can be no confusion on this point, the employers want dockers to 'recognize that the objective of all agreements on manning arrangements must be to establish optimum efficiency in the manpower required for each particular operation.'

'Manning arrangements within companies will therefore be decided in the light of the amount and nature of the work to be done and the number of men available. . . . The observance of the following work practices is a condition of this agreement:

- 1 Complete acceptance of overnight instructions and orders.
- 2 Complete mobility and flexibility of labour as

• PAGE 4 COL. 4 →



Soviet govt. calls for Mid-East talks

By Robert Black

THE SOVIET government said on Friday that it favoured the resumption of four-power talks on the Middle East and blamed the Israeli government for its blocking of any settlement there.

A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry claimed: 'The intentions of the Israeli leaders lie not in the direction of peace, but of further complications in the area.'

The statement invited representatives of the USA, France and Britain to join with the Soviet government in making new moves to 'speedily contribute to the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression.'

This extremely mild tone is hardly likely to intimidate the Israeli Zionists, who, if anything, are thinking in terms of new acts of aggression.

B-P. site men demand union chiefs fight

SUPPORT is building up for the 500 boilermakers sacked from the £65 million B-P refinery site at Grangemouth on the Clyde. The boilermakers have been promised backing by their union's Clyde district committee, which decided at last Saturday's meeting to meet all boilermakers' shop stewards on Thursday. Members in the Grangemouth area—at Simon Carves; EJS, Boness; Motherwell Bridge and Tarmac, Alloa—have already begun to support the strike. Last Thursday 200 of the sacked men picketed the site

• PAGE 4 COL. 4 →

Farmworkers march for £16 basic

By John Spencer

MORE THAN 2,000 farmworkers—the largest demonstration of farmworkers seen in London since the war—marched to Trafalgar Square (above) on Saturday in support of their claim for a £16 minimum wage and a 40-hour week.

The present minimum is £12 8s. for a working week of 44 hours.

Contingents from all over the country brought their elaborate and brightly painted

• PAGE 4 COL. 9 →

'DOWN with Zionism! Free Palestine! Long live Al Fatah! These were the slogans of Sunday's demonstration through London in support of the Arab liberation struggle. The 2,000-strong march—supported by Arab families and students from several parts of Britain, and by the rather sorry remnants of last year's October 27 demonstrators—ended at the Israeli Embassy in Kensington. The gates were locked and guarded by a large contingent of police.

Marchers rejected an offer to send a small delegation to the embassy itself. Along their route, they were jeered and provoked by a small crowd of Zionists—some of them supporters of Israel's extreme right-wing Gahal party. Scuffles took place as the march broke up. Police then moved in and arrested five of the demonstrators.

A.T.U.A. meetings

NORTH KENT
'Labour government and the trade unions'
Thursday, November 6 8 p.m.
Duchess of Wellington General Gordon Place Woolwich

WILLESDEN
'The Common Market'
Thursday, November 6 8 p.m.
Willesden Trades and Labour Hall High Road, N.W.10

LEYLAND
'Crisis in Motors'
Friday, November 7 8 p.m.
Broadfield Arms Leyland Lane

Holloway teachers for national strike

By an education reporter

TEACHERS at Holloway School, London, are calling for a one-day national strike early in December to support their claim for a £135-a-year pay rise. The NUT branch at the school insists that the strike should be agreed now so that there will be no delay in taking action should current wage negotiations break down. The strike proposal is the teachers' answer to the delaying tactics of the Burnham Committee which is considering their demand for an increase in the basic scale. Their action programme, which has been sent to the union's national executive, the Education Minister, the Inner London Education Authority and Sir Eric Fletcher, MP for East Islington, also calls for more strikes in the Easter

term and for a national conference next year to decide on any wage offers. The teachers say that if an adequate offer were made and put into operation immediately the strikes could be called off. Mr George Taylor, secretary of the Holloway branch, said: 'An education service which forces its teachers to take such action is in a crisis situation. The teaching profession is wholly, even dangerously, dispirited.' Mr Taylor is wrong. The teachers have gained tremendous confidence from those lower-paid sections of

workers, particularly the miners and dustmen, who have now taken the offensive against the employers and the government. They know that the Tories plan to step up the attacks on education, as proposed in their Black Papers. An all-out strike for the pay claim in unity with other sections of workers could be won rapidly. That is why more and more teachers are becoming aware that those in the NUT leadership who oppose such action must be replaced in order to defeat the Labour government's education cuts and win the claim.

From the Editor

A word with our readers

WE ARE now entering the sixth week of Workers Press. All the main problems, normal to the production of a newspaper such as ours, have been overcome.

The time has come to look ahead towards plans for even more improvements in the paper.

Firstly, we are discussing arrangements to improve our news coverage with the possibility of a late edition for the London area in view.

The problem here has been office accommodation—our present quarters are comfortable but cramped. We will be taking over a new block by the end of the year, so there will be facilities for more staff. Secondly, plans for a week-end magazine devoted to more lengthy articles and analyses of the political situation are going ahead. This would be inserted into the Saturday edition or sold separately. Our readers would be able to file the magazine section for study and future reference.

Network

On the editorial side we are still a long way from utilizing our network of reader-correspondents in the way that is required if our paper is to reflect what is going on in the areas.

We will shortly be making direct contact with those concerned in order to improve this side of our service.

Every Workers Press reader should consider themselves a

By Michael Banda

local correspondent and phone us any news they think has some importance. The circulation is steadily increasing, even before we launch our campaign for new readers.

The campaign will begin in Scotland towards the end of November and move southwards.

We plan two weeks of factory-gate meetings and canvassing for new readers to be climaxed by an area meeting at which the new 22-minute 16 mm. sound film on the first issue of Workers Press will be shown.

Enthusiasm

The film has been completed and those who have been fortunate enough to have seen the preview are beside themselves with enthusiasm.

For the first time in the history of working-class newspapers, it will be possible for readers to see how their paper is prepared from the editorial to the final stage of coming off the press.

We are especially grateful to the Plough Press's National Graphical Association members who appear in a professional capacity.

A special loudspeaker van will be available for the campaign.

Finally a word about costs and finance.

Everyone knows that production costs are almost certain to rise in the New Year. Already the capitalist press is talking about an 8d. daily. We want to keep the cost at 6d., but if we are to do it, we need to cover a deficit of £1,000 a month or £250 a week, approximately £50 an issue.

We started with £5,000 in our fund and our aim is to keep this sum behind us, less, of course, the £1,000 needed for October.

What it boils down to is that starting November 30, we need £1,000 on that date and thereafter £1,000 by the end of each month. This is not a large sum and we have purposely kept it this way because the circulation of the paper is going up all the time.

Those who said we would run into insurmountable financial difficulties will be disappointed, because we know we can rely on our readers to provide us with what is needed.

In the past we have said it is up to you and you have never disappointed us. We are confident it will be the same this time.

Heinz recognize unions

EUROPE'S largest food factory has at long last agreed to recognize shop stewards and trade unions.

The firm is H. J. Heinz Ltd., American-owned makers of beans and other canned foods, which has a giant plant at Kitt Green, Wigan, and a smaller one at nearby Standish, employing around 4,000 workers.

The new status for the unions and their officials is part of an agreement on industrial disputes and responsibilities of shop stewards which has been drawn up between Heinz management and local trade union officials.

Mr W. Broxton, Wigan and District AEF secretary, is reported to have said:

'It is along the lines of most modern agreements, but I

• PAGE 4 COL. 6 →

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

MOTOR WORKERS' CONFERENCE

All car, car delivery and components workers are invited to a motor workers' conference

Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth BIRMINGHAM

Saturday, November 8 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Write for credentials to R. Parsons, 21 Strawberry Path, Blackbird Leys, Oxford Conference fee 5s. a person

Young Socialists

GRAND XMAS BAZAAR

Saturday, Nov. 29

Canning Town Public Hall
doors open 12 noon

Can you sew? knit? paint?
make something for our Bazaar?
give something towards our bazaar?
Have you a tin of grocery? jumble?
Help us make this the best bazaar ever held!
Help us raise the money for our daily paper—

THE WORKERS' PRESS

IN AUGUST 1969, the British Communist Party published a 60-page booklet by Betty Reid entitled 'Ultra-Leftism in Britain'. Though she touches on the activities of anarchist and 'Marxist' groups, Reid's main concern is to discredit Trotskyism in general and the Socialist Labour League in particular.

Starting today, the Workers Press will publish five extracts from a larger work dealing with all the main principled differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

The extracts we are publishing here will deal with five specific issues raised by Reid's attack on the Fourth International:

1. The Popular Front and the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.
2. The Second World War: The Stalin-Hitler Pact.
3. The Second World War: 'The Big Three'.
4. British Trotskyism today: Stalinism and the Revisionists.
5. The fight for alternative leadership: The Stalinist record—and ours.

THE OPPORTUNISM of the 'Popular Front', like the ultra-leftism of the 'Third Period', cannot be understood except as a product of the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Reid presents the twists and turns of Stalinist policy as a series of 'mistakes' and corrections. A policy which condemned the largest section of the International outside the Soviet Union to the horrors of the Nazi terror cannot simply be explained away as a 'far-reaching sectarian error' (p. 9).

On whose authority does Reid judge the theory of 'social fascism' to be an error?

Like the earlier and later phases of right-wing opportunism, ultra-left 'social fascism' was a product of the overall Stalinist policy of 'socialism in one country'. In one situation, it could take a right-wing form, in another, that of extreme adventurism and ultra-leftism.

Stalin's entry into the League of Nations in 1934 heralded the 'popular front' so beloved of Mrs Reid and her Stalinist friends.

But what did the Leninist Communist International have to say about the body which Stalin considered a 'factor in retarding the outbreak of hostilities'?

Its founding conference of March 1919 spoke of 'those bourgeois elements who want to use the deceptive illusion of the so-called League of Nations to conjure away the proletarian revolution'.

In its 'Theses on the International Situation' the same congress spelled out its hostility to the League in a programmatic form:

... the League of Nations ... will only play the part of a Holy alliance of the capitalists to suppress the workers' revolution. Propaganda for the League of Nations is the best way of introducing confusion into the revolutionary consciousness of the working class...

... The revolutionary proletariat of all countries of all the world must wage an irreconcilable struggle ... against entry into this League of robbery, of exploitation, and of imperialist counter-revolution.'

Condemn

These statements are quite adequate to condemn the counter-revolutionary diplomacy of Stalin.

But the 1920 Congress returned to this theme once again, and we must quote Lenin's own estimation of the League in his Theses on the National and Colonial Question adopted by the Congress:

'The reunification of nations artificially torn apart is also in accordance with the interests of the proletariat; but the proletariat can attain genuine national freedom and unity only by means of revolutionary struggle and after the downfall of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the entire post-war policy of the imperialist States disclose this truth even more sharply and clearly, everywhere intensifying the revolutionary struggle ... accelerating the destruction of petty-bourgeois national illusions about the possibility of peaceful co-existence and the equality of nations under capitalism.'

(Emphasis added.)

That is what Lenin thought of the Stalinist theory of 'peaceful co-existence'—a 'petty-bourgeois illusion'.

And this is the theory that has guided the activity of what the Stalinists call the 'World Communist movement' since 1924!

The Popular Front, the deliberate restriction of the working class to the level of Reid's minimum demands (anything else was slandered as 'ultra-leftism', as it is today) led to the following statements in the Young Communist League discussion magazine, 'Our Youth':

'Can there be democratic participation of youth in "Keep Fit" schemes? ... In Sheffield a youth keep fit conference has already been held, attended by the Boy's Brigade, Scouts, Ramblers Association, Bible class, Girl Guides, Trade Union Youth Advisory Committee, Young Communist League and many other youth organizations.' (October 1938, p. 12.)

Unity with the Bible class and Girl Guides—but not Trotskyists.

Stalinists like Reid would argue that unlike the bulk of the organizations we have just quoted, the Trotskyists represented an alien influence in workers' movement.

The article makes the following revealing admission:

'A group of League members visited the Rover Scouts. They were very well received, spent an enjoyable evening discussing matters with them, being agreeably surprised to find we had so much in common with them. ... one of the League members declared that she had learned more about the YCL and its policy from the discussion with the scouts than she had learned during the whole time she had been a member of the League.' (p. 13.)

This is the real essence of the Popular Front. The Communist Party concentrated on winning progressive Tories and leading churchmen, while the YCL rounded up the Scouts, the Guides and Bible-study groups.

No wonder Reid finds Trotsky's call for transitional demands 'ultra left'—with Lord Baden-Powell as your ally, even a modest wage claim becomes adventurist.

If Communist Party members want to know where their Party's present opportunistic policy of 'broad unity' comes from, they must go back to this period.

Here they will find all the rotten compromises with the 'left' and not so 'left' trade union bureaucrats, the boosting of 'progressive' clergymen, the revolting practice of publicising jingoist Tories when they make anti-German remarks that tie in with CP policy—it was all prepared in the popular front, the period when, Reid claims, 'earlier sectarian errors were corrected.' (p. 9.)

This was the logic of Stalinism internationally.

The more it purged the



A 'Popular Front' demonstration in France during 1936. Both workers and middle-class were mobilized by the Stalinists behind the tricolour—the symbol of French capitalism.

The Popular Front and the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International

by Robert Black

Leninist opposition in the Soviet Union and smashed the last relics of all working-class class independence from the bureaucracy, the more it had to lean on forces totally hostile to the working class.

The Moscow Trials and the alliance with the Boy Scouts where all of a piece. They cannot be treated as separate questions, as Reid and Monty Johnstone would like to do.

In the section on the Trials Reid rounds off with the following words:

'The knowledge of these

crimes and the fate of many innocent men [all once denounced by Reid and company as guilty] should not prevent us from examining soberly Trotskyists' policies'.

If these 'innocent Trotskyists' were murdered by Stalin, it was surely because of their policies. Reid now says they were innocent.

Is Reid arguing that though the Trotskyists were innocent of the charges brought against them and that Stalin was therefore guilty of the world's greatest ever frame-up, Stalin all the time (bar the 'Third Period') fought for the correct political line and the Trotskyists the wrong one?

According to this logic, Marxism leads to the murder of at least three-quarters of the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

A wonderful advertisement for Communism, Mrs Reid. The US State Department could not do better!

The Popular Front was grounded on the bones of the old Bolsheviks. Stalin courted and embraced the most reactionary capitalist politicians at the same time as his courts sentenced and executed Lenin's comrades for the same (fictitious) crime.

Even during his flirtation with the 'Western Democracies' (during the pact with Hitler, Stalin was to use the Nazi term 'Western Plutocracies'), Stalin never gave up his quest for a deal with the Nazis.

The Red Army purges, like the Moscow Trials, had a double edge.

Stalin not only feared the Soviet General Staff as a possible source of opposition to his rule.

The army leaders also opposed his pro-Hitler policies, favouring instead closer relations with France. They rightly saw the Nazis as the main threat to the Soviet Union.

Before the Hitler Pact could be signed, all traces of opposition to Stalin's pro-German policy had to be removed.

Stalin, like Hitler, preferred to deal with regimes that were not subject to the hazards of democratic elections and workers' revolutions.

Stalin, by ensuring that Hitler swept away both, believed he had built up a perfect foil to play off against France and Britain.

Even during the height of fascism, Stalin was willing to drop hints through the International that Italian fascism was really not so bad as the German variety.

The August 1936 number of the Italian CP journal, 'Lo Stato Operaio' issued the following appeal, made in the month that the first batch of

old Bolsheviks were being shot as fascist agents: 'Italian people; Fascists of the old guard [not Bolsheviks of the old guard—they were being shot as ... fascists!] Young fascists! We communists adopt as our own the fascist programme of 1919, which is a programme of peace, of freedom, of defence of the interests of the workers ...'

This incredible document went hand in hand with hysterical appeals to not only ex-'social fascists' and liberals, but even Tories, to fight fascism.

Harry Pollitt, the British CP Secretary, went to ridiculous lengths to boost 'progressive' Tories as allies in the fight against fascism.

'They [left-wing critics of Stalinist policy] try to frighten us with talk about Winston Churchill, Eden and Duff Cooper. Surely it is a matter of political interest that inside the rank of this great powerful Tory Party cracks are appearing; powerful leaders of conservatism in this country openly declare that Chamberlain is sacrificing the interests of Britain.'

'This is not something to cry about. It is something for us to welcome, to encourage, to stimulate, whatever their motives may be ... if now a Conservative or a Liberal is prepared to take a stand against Hitler and Mussolini ... we believe our class is strong enough to handle them ...' (Defence of the People', CP pamphlet, February 1939, pp. 11-12.)

In the later stages of the Popular Front it was not even a question of a fight for workers' minimum demands.

If Churchill and company were to be the new allies, all struggle for working-class rights and conditions had to be sacrificed to these powerful leaders of Conservatism.

Trotsky was completely correct when he denounced the Popular Front as a joint attempt by Stalinism, social-democracy and capitalism to stifle the working class in the name of 'broad unity' in the fight against fascism.

The Stalinists themselves were to admit the fatuous nature of their 'People's Fronts' against fascism when many of their most sought-after capitalist allies became once again politicians on the road to fascism.

This was the fate not only of Churchill, but of many other would-be or actual members of the 'People's Front'.

In its heyday, they were billed as leading 'anti-fascists'; during the Nazi-Soviet

crimes and the fate of many innocent men [all once denounced by Reid and company as guilty] should not prevent us from examining soberly Trotskyists' policies'.

If these 'innocent Trotskyists' were murdered by Stalin, it was surely because of their policies. Reid now says they were innocent.

Is Reid arguing that though the Trotskyists were innocent of the charges brought against them and that Stalin was therefore guilty of the world's greatest ever frame-up, Stalin all the time (bar the 'Third Period') fought for the correct political line and the Trotskyists the wrong one?

According to this logic, Marxism leads to the murder of at least three-quarters of the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

A wonderful advertisement for Communism, Mrs Reid. The US State Department could not do better!

The Popular Front was grounded on the bones of the old Bolsheviks. Stalin courted and embraced the most reactionary capitalist politicians at the same time as his courts sentenced and executed Lenin's comrades for the same (fictitious) crime.

Even during his flirtation with the 'Western Democracies' (during the pact with Hitler, Stalin was to use the Nazi term 'Western Plutocracies'), Stalin never gave up his quest for a deal with the Nazis.

The Red Army purges, like the Moscow Trials, had a double edge.

Stalin not only feared the Soviet General Staff as a possible source of opposition to his rule.

The army leaders also opposed his pro-Hitler policies, favouring instead closer relations with France. They rightly saw the Nazis as the main threat to the Soviet Union.

Before the Hitler Pact could be signed, all traces of opposition to Stalin's pro-German policy had to be removed.

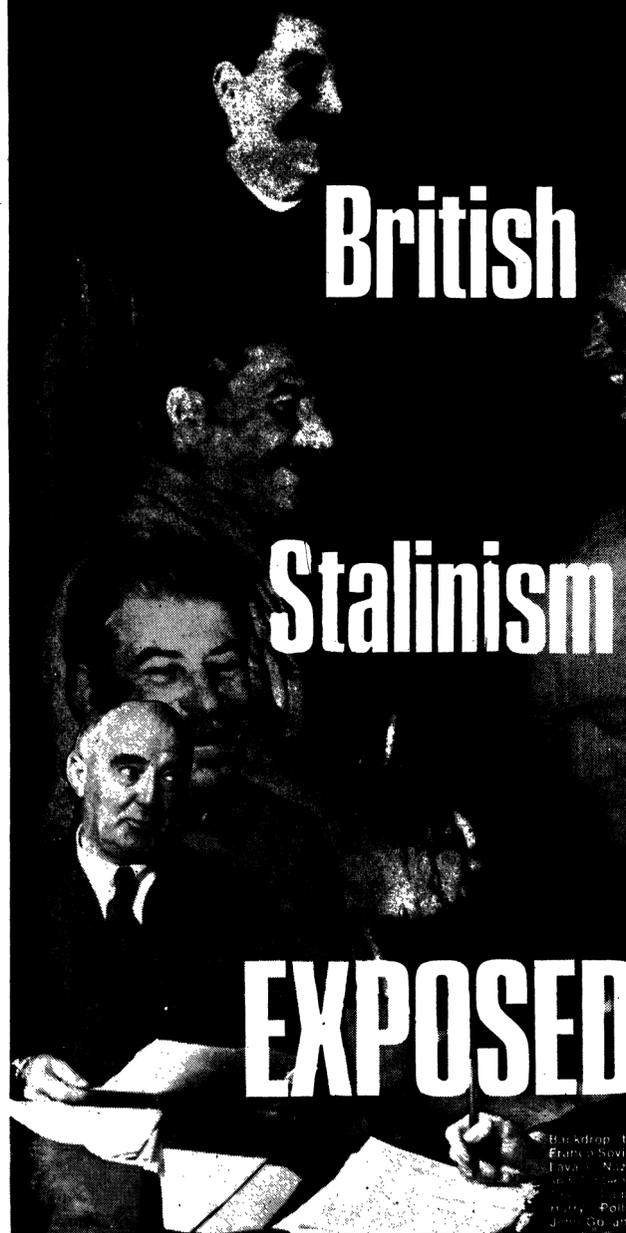
Stalin, like Hitler, preferred to deal with regimes that were not subject to the hazards of democratic elections and workers' revolutions.

Stalin, by ensuring that Hitler swept away both, believed he had built up a perfect foil to play off against France and Britain.

Even during the height of fascism, Stalin was willing to drop hints through the International that Italian fascism was really not so bad as the German variety.

The August 1936 number of the Italian CP journal, 'Lo Stato Operaio' issued the following appeal, made in the month that the first batch of

New allies



British

Stalinism

EXPOSED

Pact they were relegated to the depths of reaction (they now) opposed Stalin's new ally, Hitler) and were promoted just as suddenly to anti-fascist status after the invasion of the Soviet Union

by Hitler. Like Churchill's, Roosevelt's political relations with the Stalinists went through the cycle not once, but twice. In the 'Third Period', the US Communist Party des-

tv column

THE TITLE of Chris Menges' film shown on commercial television last week, 'Wild and Free—Twice Daily', exactly expressed his understanding of the life of the circus workers portrayed.

It was a compassionate and poetic account of some of the realities which lie behind the tinsel and sawdust.

Where Hollywood has shown us the sad man behind the clown's grease paint, this film unsentimentally revealed the punishing dedication, skill and hard work which is the truth.

We watched the clowns warm-up and then staunchly run into the ring. The next shot showed them returning, tired professional entertainers after what is merely the public side of their labour.

The tents and cages, seating and far from push trailers are packed. A long drive to the next field, muddy like the last. Everything now has to be rigged again.

Rehearsals, care of the animals, education of the children, all has to be done too. Then the few exhausting hours of performances.

Expected divisions within the circus 'community' also emerged. The owner's daughter is forbidden (and has completely internalized the command) to go out with the tent riggers.

They are derided as dirty, footloose and ignorant.

But the film shows them to be mostly young, highly-exploited and uneducated casual labourers.

A midget, in his twenties, talked of the choices he faced after leaving school. Like all other wage workers he had only his labour power to sell, his body.

In the circus there were buyers for his shortness, so that was what he sold.

Clowns, culture and killers

It seemed better than being in a factory, he said, because at least he has a unique place in this community.

Beautifully photographed, the circus was seen moving through the dismal industrial landscape. Playgrounds and factories hard next to each other, old men, used up after a lifetime's exploitations, hobbling with their grandchildren to the show.

Girls dressed in lace and garlands prancing behind the ponies into the lights; and the training of young children into the routines and bodily accomplishments needed for them to become the next generation of performers.

A film of fine sensitivity it touched its subject lightly, but with great insight and warmth. It was a rare event on television where the norms are banality and stridency.

A POET, a painter, a filmmaker and a Marxist who appreciates the full richness of theory, knows that he is not simply faced with the world.

He is part of it—all of it.

What distinguishes a work of the creative imagination is not its abstractness, but the very way in which a complex, uneven, difficult and unpredictable process has taken place in the artist.

This is the process by which the artist experiences his subject, allows it to invade him, becomes full of it, is changed and renders it sensible again.

This is not a passive process; it often involves great struggles between the experience and the artist, between the artist's attempt to understand and to make sense of it consciously, and the sense that he is actually making of it unconsciously—often against his

will or 'better judgement'. Picasso says that painting is dangerous because the canvas talks back.

That means the artist can never be sure what it will say—that he cannot be sure he will want to hear what it is saying about himself or that he will want to be guided by it.

But if he doesn't let it speak he will never hear.

The artist chooses his subject to some extent; in another sense he is chosen by it.

☆

The exercise of his conscious understanding, his knowledge of his wishes and desires, fantasies and fears, will only take him so far.

At some point he will have to trust the experience on which he is embarked, trust his reaction to it, take part in it with the best understanding he has got.

Indeed if he does not, the experience will elude him; he will return with a half-formed thing and present us with an incomplete work.

Then he will have to recognize that fact, recognize what his work or practise reveals about himself as well as about the subject.

That is often painful and can be indeed be experienced as dangerous.

The struggle between consciousness and unconsciousness is never over.

It ebbs and flows for sure, but in order to progress or develop one must give full (although not necessarily free) rein to all the great forces flowing from areas of oneself that are not readily amenable to reason and caution, rectitude or reticence.

ordered; proletarian culture cannot be demanded from above.

Revolutionary consciousness cannot be prescribed. Nor can the art and culture coming down to us from the past be dismissed as merely 'bourgeois'.

In the same way that Marxism is the greatest philosophical distillation of human experience, so the best art and culture are the finest distillations of human beings experiencing that experience called life or history.

A narrow, neurotic, 'normal' life is the one prescribed for the working class under capitalism and by the hideous distortions of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Winning some freedom in both situations is difficult and full of danger.

None of us is immune to our crippling system; progress towards a full revolutionary consciousness will proceed in fits and starts, contradictorily.

☆

Often we will have to go backwards to go forwards.

Any certainty we think we have has been wrested from the uncertainties, difficulties and contradictions of the past.

Our task, armed with theory, but not rendered immune by it, is to take on the contemporary world in all the complexity of its horror, exploitation, greed and envy and of its delicacy, warmth, brightness and possibility.

In that sense we are all artists.

After all, what do we want to save from barbarism to develop under socialism?

It is the very glimpses we have of human possibilities now and the stultifying effects of capitalism upon those possibilities that make us determined to become revolutionary fighters.

History does not repeat itself mechanically; but without understanding repetitions will occur.

The first time round, as Marx said, will be tragic and the next time farcical. Equally, a man who does not understand his own history is doomed to wander in its reruns.

Indeed it can be dangerous. Works of art cannot be

By Frank Cartwright

The task is indeed not merely to understand history but to change it.

Change, however, is as complex as history itself.

Without making a fetish of complexity, the least we can demand is for that complexity to be present in all our understanding.

'WORLD IN ACTION' on October 27 contained some excellent reporting on the Green Berets, the group involved in so many of the most brutal murders in Vietnam.

Part of the US Army's Special Forces, this body of soldiers is conditioned to be rabid killers and ruthless anti-communists.

Their training ground is Fort Bragg, in the rugged country of northern California.

The men are carefully picked, but during the months of ferocious conditioning which follow, a further one in three are rejected as either physically unsuitable or because they do not have the 'proper mental attitude'.

By the time this period is completed the men remaining are ready for their special duties.

No one should underestimate their dedication or skill. Acquainted with the works of Mao, Tito, books on the Cuban Revolution and probably more fundamental studies too, they have been used in 112 imperialist operations around the world since their formation.

In 1961, after the events in Cuba, President Kennedy saw the possibilities of such a force.

Although 'counter-insurgency' is seen as a mission of the whole US Army, according to the commander at Fort Bragg, Colonel Edward Flanagan, it is most especially the task of the Green Berets.

The recent scandal surrounding the assassination of a South Vietnamese double-agent, where charges against Robert Rheault, the officer commanding the Green Berets in Vietnam, and seven of his men, were dropped, is ob-

viously only the tip of a very dirty heap of carnage.

Lyman Kirkpatrick, a former executive director of the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), explained on the programme that the Green Berets are under the control of the CIA.

Although technically this is so only in 'non-combat areas', admissions that both forces are involved out of uniform as spies and soldiers in Laos and that there is constant lending of men between them made it clear that US imperialism is not inhibited in its actions by any constitutional restraints.

An ex-sergeant in the Green Berets who had seen active service with them in Vietnam gave a picture of their operations.

'We took suspects. The number of suspects seemed to increase as the troops got more tired.

☆

The 'suspects' were regularly tortured, sometimes murdered. These troops thought nothing of cutting off their victims' ears and hanging them on their belts.

The suspects, of course, were usually peasants; old and young, women or children.

This same witness reminded us that these special forces were the first US forces into Vietnam. In 1965 they were employed in the Dominican Republic where they posed as Spanish revolutionaries to take over the national radio station.

In the late 1950s they were used to overthrow the reformist government in Guatemala.

In 1967 the 8th Special Forces Group, normally based in Panama, sent 12 men to Bolivia.

They trained a force of 600 hand-picked peasants in three months; three weeks after this detachment took to the hills it had captured and killed Che Guevara and his companions.

Taught foreign languages they are already in Ethiopia and Pakistan. In January they go to help the Shah in Persia.

Although they are not supermen, we would do well to take serious note of the extent, viciousness and determination of these killers for capitalism.

crimes and the fate of many innocent men [all once denounced by Reid and company as guilty] should not prevent us from examining soberly Trotskyists' policies' (p. 17.)

If these 'innocent Trotskyists' were murdered by Stalin, it was surely because of their policies. Reid now says they were innocent.

Is Reid arguing that though the Trotskyists were innocent of the charges brought against them, and that Stalin was therefore guilty of the world's greatest ever frame-up, Stalin all the time (bar the 'Third Period') fought for the correct political line and the Trotskyists the wrong one?

According to this logic, Marxism leads to the murder of at least three-quarters of the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

A wonderful advertisement for Communism, Mrs Reid. The US State Department could not do better!

The Popular Front was grounded on the bones of the old Bolsheviks. Stalin courted and embraced the most reactionary capitalist politicians at the same time as his courts sentenced and executed Lenin's comrades for the same (fictitious) crime.

Even during his flirtation with the 'Western Democracies' (during the pact with Hitler, Stalin was to use the Nazi term 'Western Plutocracies'), Stalin never gave up his quest for a deal with the Nazis.

The Red Army purges, like the Moscow Trials, had a double edge.

Stalin not only feared the Soviet General Staff as a possible source of opposition to his rule.

The army leaders also opposed his pro-Hitler policies, favouring instead closer relations with France. They rightly saw the Nazis as the main threat to the Soviet Union.

Before the Hitler Pact could be signed, all traces of opposition to Stalin's pro-German policy had to be removed.

Stalin, like Hitler, preferred to deal with regimes that were not subject to the hazards of democratic elections and workers' revolutions.

Stalin, by ensuring that Hitler swept away both, believed he had built up a perfect foil to play off against France and Britain.

Even during the height of fascism, Stalin was willing to drop hints through the International that Italian fascism was really not so bad as the German variety.

The August 1936 number of the Italian CP journal, 'Lo Stato Operaio' issued the following appeal, made in the month that the first batch of

old Bolsheviks were being shot as fascist agents:

'Italian people; Fascists of the old guard [not Bolsheviks of the old guard—they were being shot as . . . fascists!] Young fascists! We communists adopt as our own the fascist programme of 1919, which is a programme of peace, of freedom, of defence of the interests of the workers. . . .'

This incredible document went hand in hand with hysterical appeals to not only 'social fascists' and liberals, but even Tories, to fight fascism.

Harry Pollitt, the British CP Secretary, went to ridiculous lengths to boost 'progressive' Tories as allies of the working class in the fight against fascism.

'They [left-wing critics of Stalinist policy] try to frighten us with talk about Winston Churchill, Eden and Duff Cooper. Surely it is a matter of political interest that inside the rank of this great powerful Tory Party cracks are appearing; powerful leaders of conservatism in this country openly declare that Chamberlain is sacrificing the interests of Britain.

'This is not something to cry about. It is something for us to welcome, to encourage, to stimulate, whatever their motives may be . . . if now a Conservative or a Liberal is prepared to take a stand against Hitler and Mussolini . . . we believe our class is strong enough to handle them. . . .' ('Defence of the People', CP pamphlet, February 1939, pp. 11-12.)

New allies

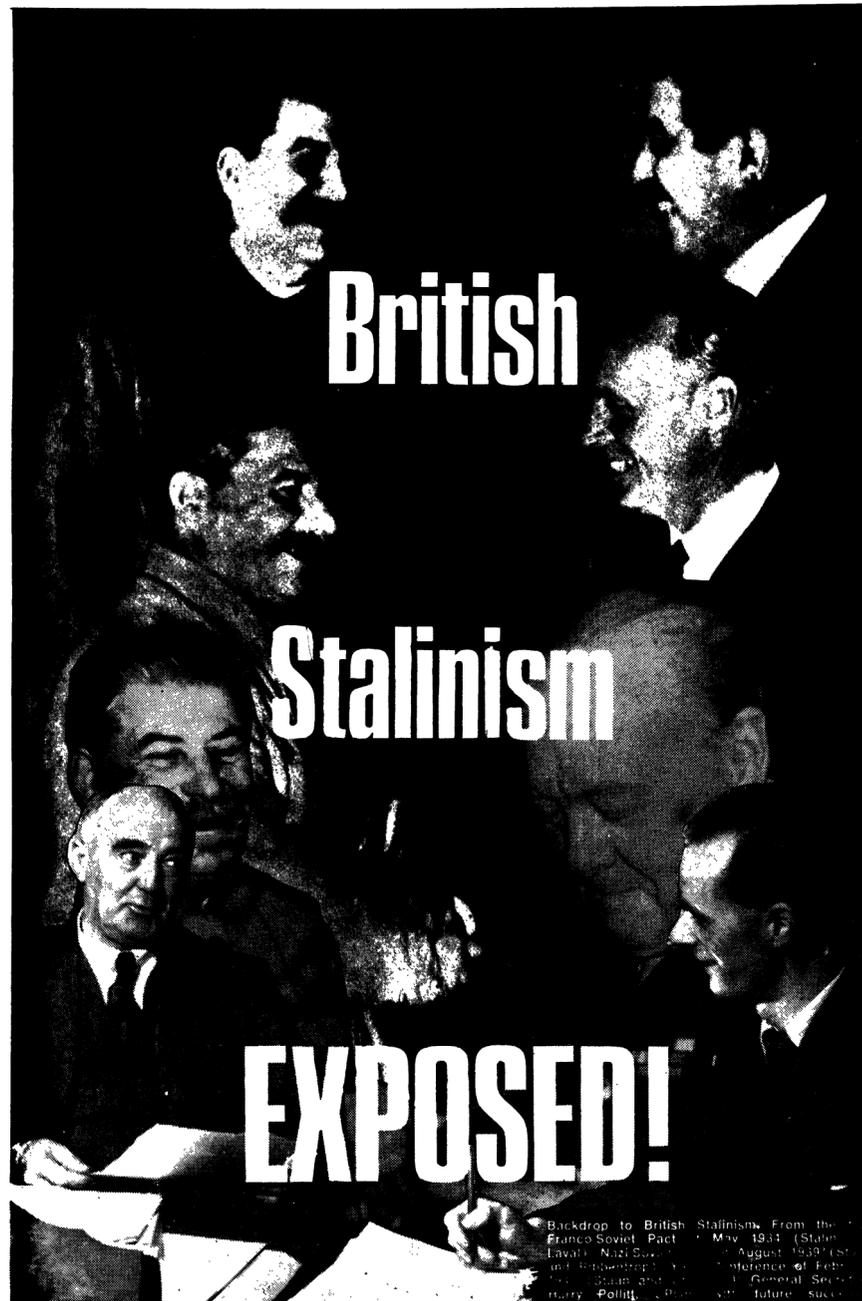
In the later stages of the Popular Front it was not even a question of a fight for workers' minimum demands.

If Churchill and company were to be the new allies, all struggle for working-class rights and conditions had to be sacrificed to these 'powerful leaders of Conservatism'. Trotsky was completely correct when he denounced the Popular Front as a joint attempt by Stalinism, social-democracy and capitalism to stifle the working class in the name of 'broad unity' in the fight against fascism.

The Stalinists themselves were to admit the fatuous nature of their 'People's Fronts' against fascism when many of their most sought-after capitalist allies became once again politicians on the road to fascism.

This was the fate not only of Churchill, but of many other would-be or actual members of the 'People's Front'.

In its heyday, they were billed as leading 'anti-fascists'; during the Nazi-Soviet



British

Stalinism

EXPOSED!

Backdrop to British Stalinism. From the Franco Soviet Pact, May 1936 (Stalin-Laval), Nazi-Soviet Pact, August 1939 (Stalin-Hitler), and the Conference of February 1945 (Stalin, Truman, Churchill, Harry Pollitt, and other future successors).

Pact they were relegated to the depths of reaction (they now opposed Stalin's new ally, Hitler) and were promoted just as suddenly to anti-fascist status after the invasion of the Soviet Union

by Hitler. Like Churchill's, Roosevelt's political relations with the Stalinists went through the cycle not once, but twice. In the 'Third Period', the US Communist Party des-

cribed his 'New Deal' as 'the fascist direction in which the Roosevelt policies are carrying the US.' (Earl Browder, speech printed in 'Communist International', January 15, 1934.)

With the advent of the Popular Front, Roosevelt, from being a fascist, became a leading anti-fascist.

'These pronouncements of Roosevelt, when taken together with the more concrete proposals of the CIO . . . provide a rounded-out People's Front programme of an advanced type.' ('The Communist', December, 1937.)

But the Stalinists had not finished with Roosevelt yet.

The Nazi-Soviet Pact found the US ranged against Stalin's new friends.

Once again, a 'reevaluation' was called for.

'In the face of a popular will to keep out of the war, . . . the Roosevelt administration, backed by the economic royalists and their agents, is taking the country step by step into the war with a speed unexampled in all history and with a boldness and cynicism that are quite breathtaking, worthy of Hitler himself.' (Browder, speech, June 1940.)

Somersaults

The cycle was completed for the second time after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. The main point that arises from this catalogue of Stalinist somersaults is the total lack of principle in all the policies of the bureaucracy.

'Marxist' phrases are at one moment used to present a reformist or capitalist politician as an enemy of the working class, as a fascist. The next day, purely in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy as it shifts its international stance away from one group of imperialist powers and towards another, the same people become leading 'anti-fascists'—and then back to fascist again if the Kremlin once more veers in its course.

This subordination of the working class to the manoeuvres of the bureaucracy is well illustrated by Stalin's policy towards the Italian war against Abyssinia.

Reid makes the following allegation:

' . . . some Trotskyists of a previous generation attacked the attempts to impose sanctions on Mussolini when he invaded Abyssinia, because the latter was a feudal and reactionary regime.' (p. 29.)

Who are these 'some Trotskyists'? In the whole of this series, we have named names, places, dates and publications.

It is significant that Reid cannot

Let Trotsky answer this slander:

'Maxton and others opine that the Italo-Ethiopian war is a "conflict between two rival dictators" . . . They thus define the character of the war by the political form of the state. . . . If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere.

'The victory of the Negus, however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulse to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples. One must be really blind not to see this.' ('On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo', April 22, 1935.)

But Stalin at this time did not want the defeat of Italian imperialism!

That is why he supplied oil to the fascist war machine, hoping to break Mussolini from his alliance with Hitler by taking advantage of Italy's and Germany's lack of oil.

The Soviet Comintern leader Manuilsky justified this policy in his report to the Leningrad and Moscow Party Organizations following the Seventh Congress of the International in 1935:

'Who would gain from this? [Soviet sanctions against Italy.]

'The capitalist states. Who would lose from this? Not Italy, but the USSR. In actual fact, the boycott would be turned not against Italy, but the USSR.'

Reid charges 'some Trotskyists' with opposing sanctions against Mussolini.

This was not Trotsky's policy. It was Stalin's, Pollitt's and Gollan's.

It is not just a question of Mrs Reid being profoundly ignorant of the writings of Trotsky. This she undoubtedly is.

Reid charges the Fourth International with the very crime of which Stalinism is guilty.

It was the Soviet bureaucracy, supported by all the world's Stalinists, which subordinated the struggle of the colonial people for freedom to the big power and secret diplomacy of the Kremlin.

Stalin's ever-changing diplomatic tactics even influenced the script prepared for the Moscow Trials.

Mussolini's special regard for Stalin was reflected in the failure of any one of the 'defendants' to confess to being an agent of Italian fascism.

The Trotskyists were always in league with Hitler, but never Mussolini.

As Reid admits, all these charges were concocted by Stalin; can she explain the favours shown to Italy in any way other than being due to the secret diplomatic links between the Kremlin and the fascist regime in Italy, which operated even throughout its intervention on the side of Franco in the Spanish Civil War?

Abyssinia was not the only country sacrificed on the altar of Stalinist diplomacy.

During the Popular Front period, the Soviet bureaucracy allied itself with the rulers of two vast empires, the British and the French.

The end of the Third Period faced the Stalinists with a new problem; what was to be the line of the international on the struggle of the colonial people oppressed by governments now officially elevated to 'anti-fascist' status, such as the Blum Popular Front government in France from 1936, or the similar government in Spain throughout the civil war?

Again Manuilsky, speaking at the 18th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1939, gives us the answer:

'The Communists concentrate their main fire in the specific historical situation on the fraudulent fascist "self-determination of nations". [Within six months British and French colonies were to be the only target.] . . . Communists lay prime emphasis on the struggle for self-determination by the nations enslaved by the fascist states. . . . ('The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow', p. 82.)

The millions of colonial slaves in Africa and Asia had to wait on Stalin's diplomacy for their freedom. When Stalin turned back to Hitler in August 1939, they were given permission to struggle until June 22, 1941.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union once more found British and French imperialism as 'progressive forces', their colonial slaves yet again were told to wait for their freedom.

Stalin never saw the oppressed masses of the empires as allies of the Soviet Union and their rousing to revolutionary struggle as the greatest blow that could be struck against the enemies of the Soviet Union.

Stalin subordinated everything to the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Millions of workers and peasants all over the world were picked up,

bargained with and dropped like so many counters on a gambling table.

The greatest crime of all was that this policy was carried through in the name of Communism and the Russian Revolution.

The Fourth International, in fighting against the counter-revolutionary policies and actions of Stalinism, was the best, the only genuine defender of the Soviet Union, because it fought to give a revolutionary leadership to the struggle of the working class and peasantry in the capitalist and colonial countries.

Trotsky fought for a Leninist defence of the Soviet Union, against the reactionary policies that flowed from the theory of 'socialism in one country'.

By his military purges, his disruption of the economy, his alienation of the peasantry and crushing of the working class, his decapitation of the Leninist leadership of the Bolshevik party and International, his discrediting of the Soviet Union and Communism by all the cynical manoeuvres which reached their climax in Germany and Spain, and finally the Hitler Pact; Stalin more than any other single person weakened the Soviet Union and exposed it to all the horrors of the Nazi invasion.

Reid's attack on Trotskyism begins in earnest when she reaches 1938, the year of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International.

Her main target is the Transitional Programme, adopted at that conference and condemned by Reid as being a weapon of disruption in the struggle against fascism and war.

Unable to explain how the 'ultra-left' Trotsky attacked Stalinism 'from the right' during its 'social fascist' phase, Reid feels she is on firmer ground in the period of the Popular Front from 1935 to 1939.



Mass working-class demonstrations reached a climax in 1936 on 'Red' Th consciously betrayed by the leaders of French Stalinism.

For while Stalinists such as Reid and Johnstone make verbal criticisms of the ultra-left line followed by the International in the early 1930s, they endorse to the hilt everything carried through by Stalinism in the period of the Popular Front.

British Stalinists defend the Popular Front with a double tenacity. Apart from a natural desire to uphold the line followed by their own leadership, the Reids uphold the opportunist policies of that period as the historical forerunner of 'The British Road to Socialism' with its pleas for 'left unity' with the trade union and Labour Party bureaucracies.

The Transitional Programme bristles with hatred for such unprincipled alliances:

'Under the banner of the October Revolution, the conciliatory politics practised by the People's Front dooms the working class to impotence and clears the road for fascism.' (Transitional Programme, pp. 9-10.)

Within a year, the Popular Fronts of Spain and France had crashed, to be replaced in both cases with fascist regimes under Franco and Petain.

Faced with these stark historical facts, Reid pathetically claims that 'what the Trotskyists were proposing in France was a mad adventure which would have split the Popular Front and led to fascism coming early to power, instead of being imposed later by the actions of the invading German armies.' (p. 11.)

What were the policies advocated by Trotsky which Reid decries as leading to a 'mad adventure'?

'Instead of a Popular Front which Trotsky said "succeeded in canalising and damming, at least temporarily, the revolutionary stream" . . . the slogan of the French Trotskyists was "A Workers' Government".' (p. 9.)

Reid also seeks to prove that Trotsky's call for the United Front in the French struggles of 1936 was a maximum demand out of line with the level of the struggle.

Trotsky called, as Reid says, for a Front based 'On a system of measures with which a workers' and peasants' government can ensure the transition from capitalism to socialism'.

This, Reid claims, is not a 'transitional demand' at all, but a slogan 'based on the most advanced programme—the dictatorship of the proletariat.' (p. 9.)

Reid's attacks on Trotskyism involve a direct revision of all the basic work of the Leninist-Bolshevik Party and the first four Congresses of the Communist International, all of whose decisions and policies are generalized in the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

Precedent

There is a very good communist precedent for Trotsky's call for the united front to prepare the road for a workers' and peasants' government. The slogan was first concretized at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, in the 'Theses on Tactics':

'The slogan of a workers' government (or a workers' and peasants' government) can be used practically everywhere as a general propaganda slogan.

'But as a 'topical political slogan it is of the greatest importance in those countries where bourgeois society is particularly unstable, where the relation of forces between the workers' parties and the bourgeoisie is such that the decision of the question, who shall form the government, becomes one of immediate practical necessity.

'In these countries the slogan of a workers' government follows inevitably from the entire united front tactic. . . .'

By Frank Cartwright

ordered; proletarian culture cannot be demanded from above.

Revolutionary consciousness cannot be prescribed. Nor can the art and culture coming down to us from the past be dismissed as merely 'bourgeois'.

In the same way that Marxism is the greatest philosophical distillation of human experience, so the best art and culture are the finest distillations of human beings experiencing that experience called life or history.

A narrow, neurotic, 'normal' life is the one prescribed for the working class under capitalism and by the hideous distortions of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Winning some freedom in both situations is difficult and full of danger.

None of us is immune to our crippling system; progress towards a full revolutionary consciousness will proceed in fits and starts, contradictorily.



Often we will have to go backwards to go forwards.

Any certainty we think we have has been wrested from the uncertainties, difficulties and contradictions of the past.

Our task, armed with theory, but not rendered immune by it, is to take on the contemporary world in all the complexity of its horror, exploitation, greed and envy and of its delicacy, warmth, brightness and possibility.

In that sense we are all artists.

After all, what do we want to save from barbarism to develop under socialism?

It is the very glimpses we have of human possibilities now and the stultifying effects of capitalism upon those possibilities that make us determined to become revolutionary fighters.

History does not repeat itself mechanically; but without understanding repetitions will occur.

The first time round, as Marx said, will be tragic and the next time farcical. Equally, a man who does not understand his own history is doomed to wander in its reruns.

The task is indeed not merely to understand history but to change it.

Change, however, is as complex as history itself.

Without making a fetish of complexity, the least we can demand is for that complexity to be present in all our understanding.

'WORLD IN ACTION' on October 27 contained some excellent reporting on the Green Berets, the group involved in so many of the most brutal murders in Vietnam.

Part of the US Army's Special Forces, this body of soldiers is conditioned to be rabid killers and ruthless anti-communists.

Their training ground is Fort Bragg, in the rugged country of northern California.

The men are carefully picked, but during the months of ferocious conditioning which follow, a further one in three are rejected as either physically unsuitable or because they do not have the 'proper mental attitude'.

By the time this period is completed the men remaining are ready for their special duties.

No one should underestimate their dedication or skill. Acquainted with the works of Mao, Tito, books on the Cuban Revolution and probably more fundamental studies too, they have been used in 112 imperialist operations around the world since their formation.

In 1961, after the events in Cuba, President Kennedy saw the possibilities of such a force.

Although 'counter-insurgency' is seen as a mission of the whole US Army, according to the commander at Fort Bragg, Colonel Edward Flanagan, it is most especially the task of the Green Berets.

The recent scandal surrounding the assassination of a South Vietnamese double-agent, where charges against Robert Rheault, the officer commanding the Green Berets in Vietnam, and seven of his men, were dropped, is ob-

viously only the tip of a very dirty heap of carnage.

Lyman Kirkpatrick, a former executive director of the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), explained on the programme that the Green Berets are under the control of the CIA.

Although technically this is so only in 'non-combat areas', admissions that both forces are involved out of uniform as spies and soldiers in Laos and that there is constant lending of men between them made it clear that US imperialism is not inhibited in its actions by any constitutional restraints.

An ex-sergeant in the Green Berets who had seen active service with them in Vietnam gave a picture of their operations.

'We took suspects. The number of suspects seemed to increase as the troops got more tired.



The 'suspects' were regularly tortured, sometimes murdered. These troops thought nothing of cutting off their victims' ears and hanging them on their belts.

The suspects, of course, were usually peasants; old and young, women or children.

This same witness reminded us that these special forces were the first US forces into Vietnam. In 1965 they were employed in the Dominican Republic where they posed as Spanish revolutionaries to take over the national radio station.

In the late 1950s they were used to overthrow the reformist government in Guatemala.

In 1967 the 8th Special Forces Group, normally based in Panama, sent 12 men to Bolivia.

They trained a force of 600 hand-picked peasants in three months; three weeks after this detachment took to the hills it had captured and killed Che Guevara and his companions.

Taught foreign languages they are already in Ethiopia and Pakistan. In January they go to help the Shah in Persia.

Although they are not supermen, we would do well to take serious note of the extent, viciousness and determination of these killers for capitalism.

Culture killers

It has been said that a neurotic is someone who has found ways of cutting off from his unconscious; ways that mean more or less severe losses of the person.

A psychotic, on the other hand, is someone who feels in constant danger of or is actually experiencing an overwhelming invasion by unconscious forces.

A 'normal' person then should be someone actually engaged in the whole self, someone in whom conscious and unconscious understandings are constantly in motion, interpenetrating each other, conflicting as opposites, changing.

In fact, under conditions of modern capitalist society, the 'normal' person is quite the reverse.

He or she is someone 'pathologically normal', rigidly in control of themselves, determined that only what he or she thinks or consciously wants shall be acknowledged; determined above all to impose his view.

The very opposite of a fully-developed Marxist in other words.

One does not become conscious merely by wishing to be so, or by willing it.

These may be beginnings. The full depth and breadth of theory however, can only be appreciated by those who have sufficiently broad and deep experience in the world of which theory is making sense.

A system of self-imposed narrowness of experience and mere intellectual understanding separated from existential understanding can never be a substitute.

Indeed it can be dangerous. Works of art cannot be

B.B.C.-1

- 9.15 a.m.-12.15 p.m. Schools. 1.00 Bob Yn Dri. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weatherman. 2.05-2.35 Schools. 3.45 Malcolm Muggeridge Asks The Question Why. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Wacky Races and Space Kidettes. 5.15 Monster Music Mash. 5.44 Babar. 5.50 National News and Weather.

- 6.00 London-Nationwide.
- 6.45 Z Cars.
- 7.05 Tomorrow's World.
- 7.30 Bobbie Gentry.
- 8.00 Theatre Date: 'Dames At Sea'.
- 9.10 Engines Must Not Enter The Potato Siding: Tuesday's Documentary.
- 10.00 He and She.
- 10.25 Points Of View.
- 11.05 The Sky At Night.
- 11.20 Weatherman.
- 11.22 Postscript.

All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times:
Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East.



It is significant that Reid cannot! Let Trotsky answer this slander:

'Maxton and others opine that the Italo-Ethiopian war is a "conflict between two rival dictators" . . . They thus define the character of the war by the political form of the state. . . If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere.

'The victory of the Negus, however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulse to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples. One must be really blind not to see this.' ('On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo', April 22, 1935)

But Stalin at this time did not want the defeat of Italian imperialism!

That is why he supplied oil to the fascist war machine, hoping to break Mussolini from his alliance with Hitler by taking advantage of Italy's and Germany's lack of oil.

The Soviet Comintern leader, Manuilsky justified this policy in his reports to the Leningrad and Moscow Party Organizations following the Seventh Congress of the International in 1935:

'Who would gain from this? [Soviet sanctions against Italy.]

'The capitalist states, who would lose from this? Not Italy, but the USSR. In actual fact, the boycott would be turned not against Italy, but the USSR.'

Reid charges 'some Trotskyists' with opposing sanctions against Mussolini.

This was not Trotsky's policy. It was Stalin's, Pollitt's and Gollan's.

It is not just a question of Mrs Reid being profoundly ignorant of the writings of Trotsky. This she undoubtedly is.

Reid charges the Fourth International with the very crime of which Stalinism is guilty.

It was the Soviet bureaucracy, supported by all the world's Stalinists, which subordinated the struggle of the colonial people for freedom to the big power and secret diplomacy of the Kremlin.

Stalin's ever-changing diplomatic tactics even influenced the script prepared for the Moscow Trials.

Stalin's special regard for Mussolini was reflected in the failure of any one of the 'defendants' to confess to being an agent of Italian fascism.

The Trotskyists were always in league with Hitler, but never Mussolini.

As Reid admits, all these charges were concocted by Stalin; can she explain the favours shown to Italy in any way other than being due to the secret diplomatic links between the Kremlin and the fascist regime in Italy, which operated even throughout its intervention on the side of Franco in the Spanish Civil War?

Abyssinia was not the only country sacrificed on the altar of Stalinist diplomacy.

During the Popular Front period, the Soviet bureaucracy allied itself with the rulers of two vast empires, the British and the French.

The end of the Third Period faced the Stalinists with a new problem; what was to be the line of the International on the struggle of the colonial people oppressed by governments now officially elevated to 'anti-fascist' status, such as the Blum Popular Front government in France from 1936, or the similar government in Spain throughout the civil war?

Again Manuilsky, speaking at the 18th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1939, gives us the answer:

'The Communists concentrate their main fire in the specific historical situation on the fraudulent fascist "self-determination of nations". Within six months British and French colonies were to be the only target. . . Communists lay prime emphasis on the struggle for self-determination by the nations enslaved by the fascist states. . . ('The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow', p. 82.)

The millions of colonial slaves in Africa and Asia had to wait on Stalin's diplomacy for their freedom. When Stalin turned back to Hitler in August 1939, they were given permission to struggle again—until June 22, 1941.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union once more found British and French imperialism as 'progressive forces', their colonial slaves yet again were told to wait for their freedom.

Stalin never saw the oppressed masses of the empires as allies of the Soviet Union and their rousing to revolutionary struggle as the greatest blow that could be struck against the enemies of the Soviet Union.

Stalin subordinated everything to the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Millions of workers and peasants all over the world were picked up,

bargained with and dropped like so many counters on a gambling table.

The greatest crime of all was that this policy was carried through in the name of Communism and the Russian Revolution.

The Fourth International, in fighting against the counter-revolutionary policies and actions of Stalinism, was the best, the only genuine defender of the Soviet Union, because it fought to give a revolutionary leadership to the struggle of the working class and peasantry in the capitalist and colonial countries.

Trotsky fought for a Leninist defence of the Soviet Union, against the reactionary policies that flowed from the theory of 'socialism in one country'.

By his military purges, his disruption of the economy, his alienation of the peasantry and crushing of the working class, his decapitation of the Leninist leadership of the Bolshevik party and International, his discrediting of the Soviet Union and Communism by all the cynical manoeuvres which reached their climax in Germany and Spain, and finally the Hitler Pact; Stalin more than any other single person weakened the Soviet Union and exposed it to all the horrors of the Nazi invasion.

Reid's attack on Trotskyism begins in earnest when she reaches 1938, the year of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International.

Her main target is the Transitional Programme, adopted at that conference and condemned by Reid as being a weapon of disruption in the struggle against fascism and war.

Unable to explain how the 'ultra-left' Trotsky attacked Stalinism 'from the right' during its 'social fascist' phase, Reid feels she is on firmer ground in the period of the Popular Front from 1935 to 1939.

Reid also seeks to prove that Trotsky's call for the United Front in the French struggles of 1936 was a maximum demand out of line with the level of the struggle.

Trotsky called, as Reid says, for a Front based 'On a system of measures with which a workers' and peasants' government can ensure the transition from capitalism to socialism'.

This, Reid claims, is not a 'transitional demand' at all, but a slogan 'based on the most advanced programme—the dictatorship of the proletariat' (p. 9.)

Reid's attacks on Trotskyism involve a direct revision of all the basic work of the Leninist-Bolshevik Party and the first four Congresses of the Communist International, all of whose decisions and policies are generalized in the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

Precedent

There is a very good communist precedent for Trotsky's call for the united front to prepare the road for a workers' and peasants' government. The slogan was first concretized at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, in the 'Theses on Tactics':

'The slogan of a workers' government (or a workers' and peasants' government) can be used practically everywhere as a general propaganda slogan.

'But as a 'typical political slogan it is of the greatest importance in those countries where bourgeois society is particularly unstable, where the relation of forces between the workers' parties and the bourgeoisie is such that the decision of the question, who shall form the government, becomes one of immediate practical necessity.

'In these countries the slogan of a workers' government follows inevitably from the entire united front tactic . . .



Mussolini's troops sail for Abyssinia in ships fuelled with Stalin's oil.

power, expressed at a certain preparatory stage through the existing workers' parties, then there can be only unity against a struggle for power.

Like all reformists, Reid attempts to justify the political line of Stalinism with voting figures.

She reproduces the results of the French general election of 1936 as crushing proof that there had been no revolutionary situation and therefore, no betrayal.

The Stalinists do the same thing when covering-up for the role of the French Communist Party in the great sit-in strike of May-June 1968.

Steeped in the methods of the 'British Road to Socialism', with its programme of parliamentary transition to socialism, Reid evades completely

which were only a pale and distorted reflection of the real class forces in conflict in the factories.

Yes, the workers voted for parties standing on a Popular Front programme,

But that was not their choice. Even the leader of the French Stalinists at that time, Thorez, admitted that things were boiling over and only checked by the intervention of his party:

'In the midst of a city at fever heat and shaken with preposterous rumours [i.e., such as the Stalinists preparing to call for revolution] we held a meeting to instruct all the Communists in the Paris district. . . . Among the metal workers who had been the first to fill the breach and had been fighting for two weeks, were there not some ardent youngsters who believed that the hour of revolution had struck? But we who lead the Communist Party are the general staff of the working-class army, not political adventurers. . . . The Popular Front stands for order, for steady and organized progress. . . .

'Straightforwardly, and weighing all my words, I declared in the name of the Central Committee: "Though it is important to press our claims thoroughly, it is equally important to know when to stop. At the moment, there is no question of taking power". . . . Our political wisdom was soon to bear fruit. Many collective agreements were carried through and the evacuation of the factories and workshops was begun in an orderly and cheerful spirit.' (Thorez, 'Son of the People', 1938 ed., pp 129-132.)

Betrayal

It is clear from this extract that the Stalinists' intervention was decisive in ending the great sit-in strike of June 1936. Reid, aware of the great betrayal, carried through by Thorez, diverts the argument to a question of votes.

But even here, Leninism has a sound precedent for dealing with Reid's parliamentary cretinism. The Russian workers took power, as is well known, in a country numerically dominated by peasants.

The voting figures for the elections to the Constituent Assembly reflect the numerical ratio of workers to peasants in Russia at the time of the October Revolution. But Lenin looked at the question qualitatively, not in terms of numbers alone.

Had he not done so, the Bolshevik Party would have followed Reid's advice and renounced power when they found themselves outvoted in the elections to the Assembly.

While the workers voted solidly for the Bolsheviks, the peasants in the overwhelming

majority plumed for the Social Revolutionaries (SRs):

Table with 2 columns: Party, SRs, and Votes. SRs: 9,000,000; Bolsheviks: 21,000,000; Others: 4,500,000

If anything, measured in terms of votes, there was a more favourable situation for the working class before the revolution in France than there had been in Russia after it.

As Thorez admits, France in 1936 was no 'normal bourgeois country'.

The ruling class was only able to hold on to power by creating, through its Radical Party, a bloc with the Socialists and the Stalinists, and through them, to the Soviet bureaucracy.

These international aspects of Stalinist policy will be dealt with in more detail in the next section. Here it is only necessary to point out that the line of the French Communist Party was determined by Kremlin diplomacy, which after 1934 turned to French imperialism as a counter-weight to the rise of Nazi Germany in central Europe.

The slogan of a workers' and peasants' government was designed for precisely the situation that developed in France after 1935.

When there had been no revolutionary situation in the previous five years, the French Stalinists had proclaimed revolution from the roof-tops.

Now, when it stared them in the face, they embraced not only the 'social fascists' but even the capitalist Radical Party, the organization of the most conscious sections of the French ruling class.

The Transitional Programme itself, with its emphasis on transitional demands, counterposed itself against sectarianism as it did against the opportunistic line of the Stalinists after 1934.

The ultra-lefts who scorned the struggle of the working class for minimal reforms were as much an enemy of the Fourth International as those who set out to serve capitalism by confining the struggle of the working class to this level alone:

'The Fourth International does not discard the programme of the old "minimal" demands to the degree which these have preserved at least part of their vital forcefulness. . . . Insofar as the old, partial, "minimal" demands of the masses clash with the destructive and degrading tendencies of decadent capitalism—and this occurs at each step—the Fourth International advances a system of transitional demands, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very bases of the bourgeois regime.

'The old "minimum programme" is superseded by the transitional programme, the task of which lies in system-

atic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution.' ('Transitional Programme', p. 11-12.)

In the name of a struggle against ultra-leftism, Reid upheld the old 'minimum programme' of social democracy.

Again, Trotsky drew on the rich store of experience of the early Communist International in developing this perspective.

The Third Congress adopted its 'Theses on Tactics' which contained all the basic policies outlined by Trotsky 17 years later:

'The Communist parties do not put forward any minimum programme to strengthen and improve the tottering structure of capitalism. . . . In the place of the minimum programme of the reformists and the centrists [and by 1935 the Stalinists] the Communist International puts the struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat, for a system of demands which in their totality disintegrate in the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, represent stages in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, and each of which expresses in itself the need of the broadest masses, even if the masses themselves are not yet consciously in favour of the proletarian dictatorship! . . . The revolutionary character of the present epoch consists precisely in this, that the most modest conditions of life for the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society, and that therefore the fight for even the most modest demands grows into the fight for communism.'

'It is just the strategy condemned by Reid in her attack on Trotsky for his advocacy of the workers' government during the French sit-in strike of 1936:

'Only a minority of French workers understood this however, and therefore the immediate aim of the fight against fascism could not be working-class power.' (p. 10.)

Reformism

Would Reid claim, against Lenin and all leading Marxists, that the working class takes power as a class with full consciousness of what it is doing?

What were the slogans of the Russian Revolution — 'socialism in one country' or bread, peace and land?

What the Comintern 'Theses' underline is that given revolutionary leadership, the logic of the struggle for certain demands of a transitional character drives the working class forward, even its more backward sections, towards the fight for power.

By consciously adapting the vanguard to the rear-guard, and the middle class, as did Thorez in the French general strike, the Stalinists guaranteed the stabilization of the capitalist regime under the guise of a People's Government.

Property relations, the basic Marxist criteria of the class nature of any government, remained as before—capitalist.

Not a single one of Reid's attacks on the Transitional Programme, and Trotsky's application of its strategy to the class struggle in France and Spain, stands up to a moment's analysis. All her attacks are shot through with the philosophy of reformism, of fighting for what seems possible.

By containing the working class to a minimum programme in the interests of maximum unity, the Stalinists drained the working class of its energies so effectively that even the minimum programme was smashed by fascist counter-revolution.

That is the ruthless logic of the class struggle: either a struggle for Power or, eventually, the loss of everything the working class has won in its century-long struggle for conditions and organization.

Or as Marx himself stated, either socialism or barbarism.



Mass working-class demonstrations reached a climax in 1936 on 'Red Thursday', but the movement was consciously betrayed by the leaders of French Stalinism.

For while Stalinists such as Reid and Johnstone make verbal criticisms of the ultra-left line followed by the International in the early 1930s, they endorse to the hilt everything carried through by Stalinism in the period of the Popular Front.

British Stalinists defend the Popular Front with a double tenacity. Apart from a natural desire to uphold the line followed by their own leadership, the Reids uphold the opportunist policies of that period as the historical forerunner of 'The British Road to Socialism' with its pleas for 'left unity' with the trade union and Labour Party bureaucracies.

The Transitional Programme bristles with hatred for such unprincipled alliances:

'Under the banner of the October Revolution, the conciliatory politics practised by the People's Front dooms the working class to impotence and clears the road for fascism.' ('Transitional Programme', pp. 9-10.)

Within a year, the Popular Fronts of Spain and France had crashed, to be replaced in both cases with fascist regimes under Franco and Petain.

Faced with these stark historical facts, Reid pathetically claims that 'what the Trotskyists were proposing in France was a mad adventure which would have split the Popular Front and led to fascism coming early to power, instead of being imposed later by the actions of the invading German armies.' (p. 11.)

What were the policies advocated by Trotsky which Reid decries as leading to a 'mad adventure'?

'Instead of a Popular Front which Trotsky said "succeeded in canalising and damming, at least temporarily, the revolutionary stream" . . . the slogan of the French Trotskyists was "A Workers' Government".' (p. 9.)

It was precisely in this context that Trotsky put forward the demand for a workers' and peasants' government in France in the great strikes of 1936.

As the 'Theses' state, the slogan of class power, in a pre-revolutionary or revolutionary situation, flows inevitably from the period of preparation in the fight for the united front.

The French Stalinists in rejecting the Leninist united front and the call for the workers' government in a period of profound capitalist crisis came to the aid of the ruling class.

If there is to be no call for

the class context of the situation in France in 1936. She can see only the ballot box and combinations within parliament:

' . . . in the first ballot . . . the Communist and the official Socialist parties combined had polled 3,341,132 votes out of a total of 9,838,943, and these were votes cast not on a programme of immediate seizure of power but on the basis of a popular front government.' (p. 10.)

Not a word from Reid about the mass strikes and sit-ins in progress in the weeks before the elections, the results of

B.B.C.-1

- 9.15 a.m.-12.15 p.m. Schools. 1.00 Bob Yn Dri. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weatherman. 2.05-2.35 Schools. 3.45 Malcolm Muggeridge Asks The Question Why. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Wacky Races and Space Kidettes. 5.15 Monster Music Mash. 5.44 Babar. 5.50 National News and Weather.

6.00 London-Nationwide. 6.45 Z Cars.

7.05 Tomorrow's World.

7.30 Bobbie Gentry.

8.00 Theatre Date: 'Dames At Sea'.

9.10 Engines Must Not Enter The Potato Siding: Tuesday's Documentary.

10.00 He and She.

10.25 Points Of View.

11.05 The Sky At Night.

11.20 Weatherman.

11.22 Postscript.

All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times: Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East.

B.B.C.-2

- 11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.00 p.m. This Question of Pressures. 7.30 Newsroom, Weather. 8.00 Floodlit Rugby League. 8.45 Jazz Scene. 9.10 Premiere: 'Fame is the Name of the Game'. 10.45 Europa: A look at TSS Moscow.

11.20 News Summary, Weather. 11.25 Line-Up.

I.T.V.

- 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.45 p.m. Schools 3.40 Snip and Snap. 3.55 Face Of The Earth. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News From ITN.

6.03 Today.

6.30 The Rifleman.

7.00 The Tuesday Film: 'Watch It, Sailor!' starring Dennis Price, Liz Fraser, Irene Handl and Graham Stark.

8.30 In Loving Memory.

9.00 Who-Dun-It.

10.00 News At Ten.

10.30 The Jumpers.

11.15 How About You? 11.45 Miscellaneous.

Yorkshire

- 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.45-2.30 p.m. Schools. 4.11 News Headlines. 4.13 The Tingles and Tucker Club. 4.25 Katie Stewart Cooks. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Castle Haven. 6.55 'Ladies Who Do' starring Peggy Mount, Robert Morley, Harry H. Corbett and Miriam Karlin. 8.30 In Loving Memory. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.00 News At Ten, Weather. 10.30 The Jumpers. 11.20 Half Hour Story. 11.50 Late Weather.

Anglia

- 10.58 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.43-2.53 p.m. Schools. 4.10 Castle Haven. 4.35 Anglia Newsroom. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.55 Crossroads. 7.00 'Cast A Long Shadow' starring Angela and Terry Moore. 8.30 In Loving Memory. 9.00 Who-Dun-It. 10.00 News At Ten, Weather. 10.30 The Jumpers. 11.15 All Our Yesterdays. 11.45 The Living Word.

Westward

- 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.43-2.53 p.m. Schools. 4.13 Westward News Headlines. 4.15 Castle Haven. 4.41 The Gas Honeycomb Show. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 National News. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.55 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Movie: 'The Gun Runners' starring Audie Murphy, Eddie Albert, Patricia Owens and Everett Sloane. 8.30 In Loving Memory. 9.00 Who-Dun-It? 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 The Jumpers. 11.15 How About You? 11.45 Faith For Life. 11.51 Weather.

Scottish

- 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.43-2.53 p.m. Schools. 4.20 Scotland Early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 National News. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 Row Deal? 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'Shoot Out At Medicine Bend' starring Randolph Scott, James Craig, Angie Dickinson, James Garner. 8.30 In Loving Memory. 9.00 Who-Dun-It? 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 The Jumpers. 11.15 Late Call. 11.20 The Privileged?

Tyne Tees

- 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.43-2.53 p.m. Schools. 4.09 North East Newsroom. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Where The Jobs Are. 6.35 Castle Haven. 7.00 The Tuesday Film 'Undercover' starring John Clements and Michael Wilding. 8.30 In Loving Memory. 9.00 Who-Dun-It? 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 The Jumpers. 11.15 Late News Extra. 11.32 'Doubling Your Doubts'.

Grampian

- 10.58 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.43-2.53 p.m. Schools. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Seat The Leprechaun. 4.30 Skippity. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 National News and Weather. 6.00 Grampian News and Weather. 6.30 Row Deal? 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'Shoot Out At Medicine Bend' starring Randolph Scott, James Craig, Angie Dickinson, James Garner. 8.30 In Loving Memory. 9.00 Who-Dun-It? 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 The Jumpers. 11.15 Play With A Purpose.

Scottish

- 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.43-2.53 p.m. Schools. 4.20 Scotland Early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 National News. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 Row Deal? 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'Shoot Out At Medicine Bend' starring Randolph Scott, James Craig, Angie Dickinson, James Garner. 8.30 In Loving Memory. 9.00 Who-Dun-It? 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 The Jumpers. 11.15 Late Call. 11.20 The Privileged?

Rootes, Linwood Procedure deal must be rejected

THREE questions were left unsettled by last September's Linwood agreement.

By our Industrial reporter

Q.E.-2 stuck as dockers strike

Workers' Press reporter

A LIGHTNING one-day strike by 30 Southampton dock workers delayed the dry docking of the liner 'Queen Elizabeth 2' on Thursday.

Other ships were trapped inside the docks.

The liner 'United States', arriving from New York, was forced to anchor in Cowes Roads and unload by tender.

The strikers, members of the National Union of Railwaymen, control the pumps and the berthing of ships in Southampton's dry docks.

The dispute is over working conditions and overtime rates.

Bristol paper works stoppage

Workers' Press correspondent

FIVE E. S. and A. Robinson paper factories in the Bristol area will be hit today by a 24-hour strike.

The 3,000 members of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades employed at the factories decided on the strike at a mass meeting last Thursday.

Today's stoppage follows the fortnight-old strike by 200 workers at the company's Bedminster plant over a pay claim.

The Bedminster men hope their stoppage will be made official today.

L.T.B. maintenance men stay out

Union chiefs asked to extend strike

MAINTENANCE men at the London Transport Board's Acton railway workshops have voted to continue their strike into its seventh week.

At the moment, the strike is causing cancellation of about two dozen trains daily.

Some 20 lifts and escalators are also believed to be out of order as a result of sympathy action by 100 other maintenance men.

Members of the Electrical Trades Union and the National Union of Vehicle Builders have declared all work normally done by the strikers 'black'.

But the board is still refusing to settle the men's grievance and there is increasing support for the view that their union—the Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers—should bring out all LTB maintenance men in support.

A resolution to this effect was placed before the executive recently by the union's Wandsworth district committee.

Since the Department of Employment and Productivity's intervention earlier this month, attempts have been made to turn the men's dispute with the board into an inter-union wrangle with the National Union of Railwaymen.

Insisted
But the strike committee has insisted that its dispute is with the board, and the board alone.

A leaflet issued by the board has refused to honour a recruitment procedure agreed with the engineering union which allows the taking-on of non-indentured craftsmen under a proper training scheme.

In September last year, it

Under what was cynically described in that deal as the 'high', or more accurately, 'controlled day-rate' system, Rootes obtained almost unlimited speed-up possibilities in return for very definitely limited wage improvements.

The basis for 'real savings in manpower' was firmly laid by the acceptance of work-study, a new grading system and the principle of three-shift working.

Rootes' worsening financial position and falling market share means that company attempts to reap the full benefits of that agreement cannot be long delayed.

One of the questions left outstanding in September—lateness and timekeeping—was dealt with in a new disciplinary procedure introduced within two months of the pay deal.

That left two loopholes, the need to break the relative independence of shop stewards and to establish a cast-iron framework for pay negotiations following the expiry of the present three-year deal.

NOT SEEN

In its 'proposed recognition and procedure agreement', drawn up in September this year, Rootes attempts to close these loopholes.

Although the agreement is due to come into force in January, we believe that few stewards have as yet had the opportunity to study its proposed terms.

One of the few who has told the Workers Press last week that Linwood workers 'should have nothing to do with it'.

The key clauses reproduced here, we believe, prove him absolutely right.

Section one—'general principles'—begins with a statement that:

'The management... believes that the efficiency and prosperity of the company can best be assisted by the closest co-operation between the management and the unions.'

This, on the face of it, is simply nonsense. Rootes' present economic difficulties are not determined by whether or organized workers co-operate with it or not, but by the deepening crisis of the capitalist system on a world scale.

But it would be a mistake

to regard such statements, as many trade union militants do, as mere 'waffle'.

Rootes carefully writes them in at the beginning of each of its deals as part of its preparation to tie trade unionists behind the fortunes of the company—an aim which is then worked out in detail in the following text.

Once such a perspective is accepted, of course, it can be a positive advantage for the employer to introduce 'closed-shop' trade union organization into its plants—in order to discipline the labour force.

'Union membership will be a condition of employment for all employees who join the company on or after the effective date of this agreement. In the event of a union member being expelled from his union and wishing to appeal against his expulsion he will be retained in employment pending the outcome of the appeal.'

Let the unions deal with their own members! 'The union will consult with management with regard to the system of shop steward representation.'

Were the Linwood procedure accepted, Rootes would have virtual carte-blanche to act against militants.

Covered over by the phrase that this will only be done 'in exceptional circumstances', the draft states:

'If a shop steward... is transferred to work permanently in another constituency, his appointment as shop steward automatically terminates and a by-election will be held during the following two weeks.'

Linwood's management has recently been giving them time off on Wednesday afternoons to watch BBC-1's 'Representing the Union' series.

Workers also say that Moral Re-Armament is active in the factory and allege that stewards were recently handed tickets for an MRA evening by a member of the management.

JOINT TRAINING

Attempts are, of course, always being made to bring stewards into the management's orbit. Rootes' proposal to step up these attempts: 'Management and unions will jointly provide suitable training for shop stewards in the skills and knowledge required to enable them to carry out their duties.'

'Newly-elected shop stewards will attend an induction course conducted by the management and the unions which will cover such matters as the collective agreements, other conditions of employment, union policy and management organization.'

'Shop stewards', insists the final clause in this section, 'will abide by all existing and future agreements—of which they will be given copies—between the management and the unions and accept that they have a special responsibility to ensure that such agreements are honoured.'

Following up its basic propositions, the deal then moves on to lay the framework for further class-collaboration.

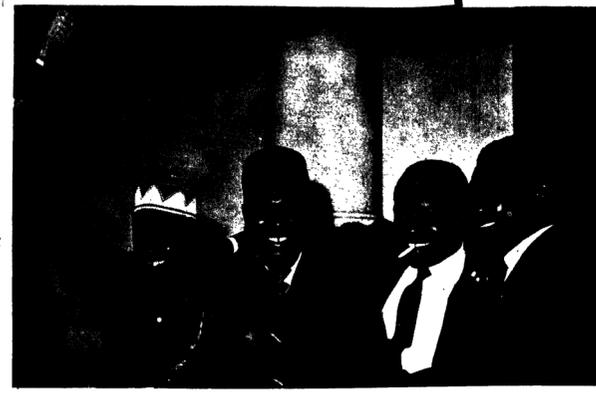
It proposes a system of councils and committees, whose function would be discussion of management and union proposals affecting the efficient operation of the company and 'communication to the trade union representatives of manufacturing and other performance, current market demands and future prospects'.

NEGOTIATIONS

It is within this framework that the management hopes to place 'negotiations on matters affecting wages and conditions of employment':

'Future benefits in wages and conditions of service consequent upon efficiency improvements and the company's profitability will be negotiated annually at the Location Joint Representative Councils on a plant-wide basis beginning at the expiration of the current productivity agreements.'

There will be established within each company location employing more than 500 em-



Better times for Odinga, seen left, at an Independence Day celebration in 1963 with (l to r) Kenyatta, James Gichuru and Tom Mboya.

Dictatorship threat grows in Kenya

OGINGA ODINGA, the leader of the Kenyan opposition party, the Kenya People's Union, has been removed from house arrest at his home to a detention camp, Kenyan police stated on Friday.

The left-wing leader's arrest follows Kenyatta's ban on the KPU the previous day.

Everything points to the development of a highly repressive, pro-imperialist dictatorship.

Without a leadership able to unite all Kenyan workers and peasants, they could easily become prey to tribal conflicts and remain divided in the face of these new attacks.

Strikes hit Milan, Turin and Naples

IN MILAN, hundreds of workers surrounded the office buildings of Montecatini-Edison in an attempt to bring out clerical workers in solidarity with their strike.

There was also more fighting in Turin, where lightning strikes hit the Fiat plants at Mirafiori and Revalta.

Following last week's clashes inside the works, the Fiat management filed charges against those alleged to be responsible for acts of 'vandalism' and 'violence'.

Municipal workers in Naples also struck against the delay in their wage negotiations with the local authority.

ATUA MEETING

BIRMINGHAM

'The future for the motor industry'

Tuesday, November 4 8 p.m.

Three Hours Shoes Coventry Road, Sheldon

Springboks: Sporting envoys for apartheid

By our own correspondent

THE SPRINGBOKS, the South African rugby touring team, arrived in London on Thursday at the start of their 25-match tour of Britain.

These sporting emissaries of Vorster's racist regime flew into Heathrow airport, contemptuously dismissed an anti-apartheid demonstration, and remarked:

'We have come to play rugby and not worry about politics.'

These sentiments will no doubt be endorsed by every sports lover from the Tory backwoodsmen to the Labour leadership.

After all, why should the brutal repression of millions of coloured workers in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia be allowed to interfere with a chap's sport (or his profits)?

Basque workers fight Franco regime

SHIPYARD workers in the Spanish city of Bilbao struck on Thursday when it became known that the worker shot by police in Wednesday's demonstration had died.

Police now occupy the Bilbao suburb of Erandio, which is only one of many Basque industrial areas affected by this latest wave of unrest.

The movement is given added impetus because of the persecution of those fighting for Basque autonomy.

The Basques have their own dialect and culture, which have been brutally repressed by the fascists.

DOCKS ATTACK

FROM PAGE ONE

deems this impractical, in which case men will be redeployed.

Work-study and method-study would be accepted onto the docks under the deal.

Both supervisors and dockers themselves would be sent to work-measurement courses, paid at their basic rate.

No objection
At a press conference at their London hotel, the team's manager, C. A. J. Borman, reassured all concerned that they had not the slightest objection to playing against teams containing coloured players, nor to mixing with coloured people, 'provided that they are Rugby players'.

Such arrogant and openly racist assurances 'only serve to emphasise the real relationship between both Labourites and Tories and the governments of Vorster and Smith.'

While Wilson and company reassure the Tories and Smith that the force of sanctions will continue, the Tories reassure the racists that it will be 'business as usual' as soon as they return to power in Britain.

Stoges

The working class can assure the capitalists and their political stooges of one thing.

It is now on the offensive in every part of the world and will develop revolutionary parties in every country to defeat the rule of capital.

The blows being struck by the British working class against the employers and the Labour government strengthens the struggle of the African masses.

Keep the Tory racists out by building the socialist alternative in Britain!
Arm the African workers—for the overthrow of the Smith and Vorster regimes.

Heinz

FROM PAGE ONE

wouldn't like to give any details as it has not been ratified by the workers at the factories.

While welcoming the union's achievement in winning recognition from a firm with such a long anti-union record, Heinz workers must beware of possible strings attached to the agreement and not commit themselves before carefully studying the details.

Brandt is ready for direct talks to Ulbricht

IN AN interview with 'Stern', the West German magazine, the new Chancellor Willy Brandt stated that he was ready to discuss directly with East German leaders.

Asked if he would meet Ulbricht, or Willie Stoph, the East German Prime Minister, Brandt replied:

'But why not? Yet it doesn't always have to start with the so-called summit.'

'They [Ulbricht and Stoph] know that political experience shows that such a meeting must be prepared. The former [Kiesinger] government had already offered them talks with the senior official in the Federal government, the head of the Chancellery.'

Brandt then made an interesting observation on the slowness of the Ulbricht government's response to these approaches.



New Chancellor Willy Brandt

FACTION

He claimed that between 1967 and 1968, a faction gained control of the party which thought 'at this stage we will get nothing from contacts.'

Under Brandt, who is prepared to make concessions to unfreeze relations, contact could be established very soon.

One such gesture was made on Thursday, when the West German government agreed to pay \$25,700 to Czechoslovak victims of Nazi 'experiments' with human beings.

Victims of Nazi rule who live in East European countries have not been compensated by previous West German governments.

SCANDAL
That such payment should have been delayed for at least 20 years is only part of the scandal.

Why should the West German working class, which forms the bulk of the country's tax-payers, have to pay for the barbarities of the Nazis?

It is the Krupp and the other big-business backers of the Nazis who should be made to foot the bill.

Farmworkers

FROM PAGE ONE

banners on the march, which made a colourful display as the demonstration made its way up Whitehall.

But the obvious militancy of the demonstrators was in sharp contrast to the platform speeches at the rally which followed.

National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers' president Bert Hazell, MP, laid great stress on the fact that the claim was in the interests of the 'national economy'.

Farmworkers, he claimed, had a much more effective 'method of protest' than strike action—they were leaving the land in droves to go into industry.

But he failed to point out that this has gone hand in hand with a massive increase in productivity, so that fewer and fewer men were now required to do the work.

Optimism

Hazell claimed a feeling of 'qualified optimism' about the outcome of tomorrow's meeting of the agricultural wages board which is to consider the claim.

But where is the optimism when similar claims have been treated with contempt year after year in the past?

After listening to Hazell, and to Post Office Workers' general secretary Tom Jackson, who spoke in support of the claim, the marchers reassembled to deliver a petition to the Ministry of Agriculture.

Petitions will not solve the wages question on the farms.

Farmworkers must unite with all other sections of workers in struggle for higher wages to press their claims not 'in the national interest', but in the interest of a decent living wage.

Grigorenko in 'psychiatric institution'

MAJOR-GENERAL PYOTR GRIGORENKO, one of the leaders of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union, has just been confined to a Moscow 'psychiatric institution'.

Friday's news follows Grigorenko's arrest in May on charges of 'anti-Soviet' activity.

His 'crime' was to attend a trial of Crimean Tatars in Tashkent, who had been demanding the right to return to their homeland after their deportation by Stalin during Hitler's reign of terror.

This 'right' is guaranteed under the Soviet Constitution.

Dismissed

This is not the Major's first clash with the Soviet bureaucracy.

In 1961 he was dismissed from his post as lecturer at the Frunze Military Academy, the Soviet Union's top military school, and since then has been outspoken in his defence of all those arrested and 'tried' by Stalinist courts.

He took part in many public demonstrations outside Moscow courts and became a certain target for arrest.

In 1964 he was arrested on the charge of making anti-Soviet speeches and spent two years in an 'institution'.

Grigorenko's case is an important one because the General has consistently fought for the application of Lenin's policy towards national minorities and has presented his case against the bureaucracy in purely Leninist terms.

Release

We must insist that Grigorenko and his comrades are released at once.

He is fighting for the programme of the Bolshevik Revolution, one of whose demands was the right to self-determination for all national minorities.

Like all other principles of Bolshevism it has been betrayed by Stalinism.

We extend our solidarity to all those in the Soviet Union who fight to return to those principles today.

Registered with the GPO as a newspaper. Published by Workers' Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

Printed by News Ltd. (TU), 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

By a foreign correspondent

WORKERS PRESS
WORKERS PRESS
WORKERS PRESS
WORKERS PRESS
WORKERS PRESS

ORDER THE DAILY NOW

Full subscription (Posted daily) £10 a year OR £2 10s. for three months

Two editions (For any two days you select) £4 a year OR £1 for three months

I would like to subscribe to Workers' Press for

Name
Address

Post to: Circulation Organizer, Workers' Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000)

Docks talks on non-registered labour

TALKS on non-registered labour doing London dockers' work begin this week between the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Department of Employment and Productivity.

The talks are being held in response to pressure from the rank and file dockers committee on the No. 1 group of docks.

The committee last week blocked all cargo of employers believed to be using non-dock labour.

This dispute has been sharpened by the week-old strike of 450 dockers against the closure of Hay's wharves between London and Tower bridges, which is due at the end of the month.

Hays has opened warehouse operations away from the docks and is believed to be employing non-dock labour.

The No. 1 group committee will meet again this week to consider further action in support of the Hay's men if the talks between the union and the Department of Employment and Productivity are not satisfactory.