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● PAGE 4 COL. 1 →

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Quite right, Mr. Brown.

## DESTROY

The working class is going to destroy its bureaucratic leadership and all it stands for—capitalism.

But it is by no means playing the fool. Millions of workers know that the only thing the Labour leaders have done for them is to press home a ruthless attack on their standard of living.

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Mr Brown's constituency is, of course, Belper, Derbyshire, a mining constituency.

## REPLY

There could be no better reply to Brown than the letter sent to the Workers Press by

a Castleford miner's wife, Mrs P. Bolderson, this week. Mrs Bolderson wrote:

'I agreed with my husband and his fellow-workers in the miners' strike and I would stand by him.

'After all, a husband isn't a robot, but a father who wants the best out of life for his children and his wife.

'But how can he do this when the cost of living is going UPI! UPI! UPI!

'Everything's going up except wages.

'After a man has worked on the surface or underground he expects a decent wage.

'The surface workers have been offered a rise of 27s. 6d., which makes his wage up to £15 before stoppages.

'Is this enough to make his wage decent?'

'CERTAINLY NOT!'

● PAGE 4 COL. 1 →

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'You can push a man so far but no further,' said one. 'All complained of the low wages paid in the power stations in comparison with those doing similar jobs in private industry.'

'My wages are £20 a week,' said one Fulham boiler hand, 'and my rent is £7 a week. How is a man with a family expected to live on this.'

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A correspondent writes: THE MANAGEMENT claims that as a result of the survey—believed to be the preliminary to a productivity deal—13 workers are surplus to requirements.

Other workers, recorded as being persistently absent due to illness, are also thought to come into this category.

Leading inspectors, who have an administrative function as well as a technical one, are in two instances to have their role eroded.

Their duties will be fragmented and a new grade will result.

This is being presented as an up-rating, and 16 people are quoted as being earmarked for this purpose.

## Little opposition

CAV has had many sectional surveys and the management has experienced little opposition in pushing them through so far, with the exception of those for the set of toolmakers and other skilled sections.

The quality control workers object to the idea that they should participate in selling their workmates' jobs and describe the attack on sick workers as 'particularly nauseating'.

The strike is 100 per cent solid.

Offers of sympathy action have come in from other sections of the factory.

This is the first strike in CAV's Acton plant to have been sparked off by the findings of a survey.

## Big factor

A big factor has been the strike of Lucas inspectors in the Birmingham area, which ended with an award of 35s.

Acton workers are pointing out that this was the result of a two-day strike, and that no survey was involved.

It was expected that new productivity proposals would be produced by the management after Thursday's discussions with convenors and shop stewards.

But, as one CAV worker commented on Thursday night: 'Once the principle of such

● PAGE 4 COL. 5 →

## Bernadette Devlin to address Young Tories

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She is joined on the speakers' bill by the leading right-wing Tory MP, Mr John Biggs-Davison.

Miss Devlin was not so long ago well-publicized for throwing stones at the Young Conservatives' and Mr Davison's counterparts in Ulster.

Opportunist politics has led her back, as it must, into the arms of the Tories.

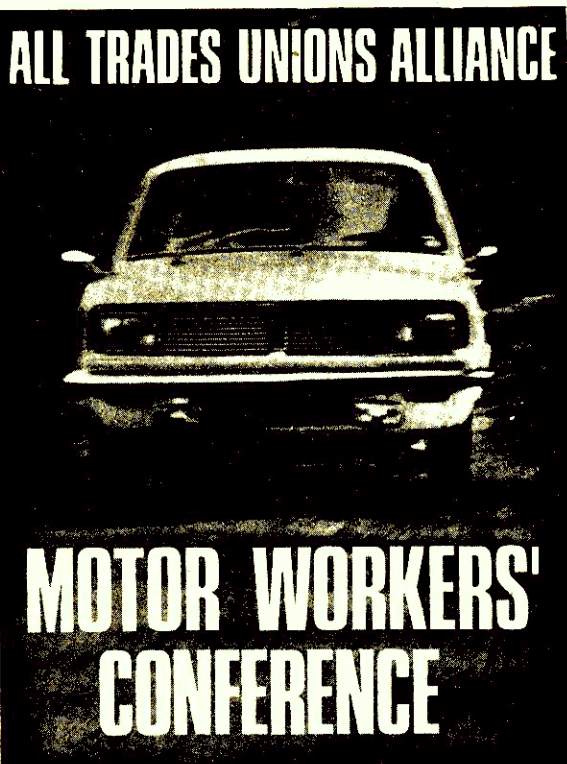
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This is inevitable because she starts not from a principled class position but one of begging reforms for a particular section of the Ulster working class from anyone who will give her a hearing—even the capitalist class itself.

Miss Devlin is closely linked with the 'International Socialism' group through the 'People's Democracy' movement.

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It was a speech every Tory banker and businessman could endorse.

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## 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

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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 'Maoist' groups, Reid's main concern is to discredit Trotskyism in general and the Socialist Labour League in particular.

The Workers Press publishes the last of five extracts from a larger work dealing with all the main principled differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

The extracts have dealt 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.

by Robert Black

**WHILE REID and the British Communist Party leaders are able and willing to build alliances with the revisionist groups she describes in her booklet, unity with the Socialist Labour League is excluded on principle: And why?**

'... there is no reason for putting demands which are the basis for genuine united effort and struggle, since the possibility of any positive result is already ruled out. What in Trotskyist language are called "transitional demands" [and also, as we saw in part one, the language of the Third Congress of the Communist International] are always demands which they make deliberately on the assumption that they cannot be realized within the capitalist system. These demands have the purpose of educating and mobilizing the more advanced cadres, and will ultimately "weld together the working class into a force capable of smashing the state machine". (Transitional Programme.)' (p. 19 of Reid's pamphlet.)

(Reid quotes from the 'Transitional Programme of the Fourth International', available from New Park Publications, price 1s.)

Reid and all British Stalinists fight the Socialist Labour League precisely because they do not want to weld such a force capable of smashing the capitalist state machine. The British Communist Party programme, the 'British Road to Socialism', explicitly rejects such a Leninist, revolutionary perspective:

'In this way, by political action, using our democratic rights to transform traditional [i.e. capitalist] institutions, parliament can be made into the effective instrument of the people's will, able to carry through major legislation to challenge capitalist power, and replace [!] capitalism by socialism.' (1968 ed., p. 49.)

**Theoretical gulf**

Here we have the core of the theoretical gulf between Stalinism and Leninism. As we shall show in a moment, this reformist perspective of transforming, and not smashing, the existing state machine governs the entire political activity of the British Communist Party and has led to the mistreatment, political corruption and eventual total degeneration of several generations of Party members in the trade unions and the universities.

But first let us trace the origin of this reformist concept of the peaceful, parliamentary transition to socialism. Like all other revisions of Leninism within the British Party, it was inspired by the Soviet bureaucracy as it sought to adjust to the pressure of world imperialism.

The 'peaceful road' was an outright declaration by Stalinism that it renounced the goal of power in the capitalist countries.

Khrushchev's speech to the Sixth Congress of the East German Socialist Unity Party in Berlin on January 16, 1963, confirmed what has been generally known for years—Stalin had drafted the 'British Road':

'We must say this for the edification of these admirers of the cult of Stalin that it was none other than Stalin who, in an interview with British Communists after the Second World War, spoke of using the peaceful, parliamentary way to bring about socialism and this is recorded in the programme of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

'The leaders of the British Communist Party know that

this wording was proposed by Stalin' (Our emphasis—'Soviet News', Friday, January 18, 1963, No. 4797, p. 41.)

And sure enough, if we check back to the first draft of the programme, published in 1951, we find the identical Fabian formulation:

'... British Communists declare that the people of Britain can transform capitalist democracy into a real People's Democracy, transforming parliament, the product of Britain's historic struggle for democracy, into the democratic instrument of the will of the vast majority of her people.' (January 1951 ed, p. 14.)

The Socialist Labour League denounces this programme and theory as a reformist fraud. It is because we uphold the Leninist theory of the state, including parliament, as an instrument of class rule, that we also uphold the Leninist theory of the vanguard party, which fights for leadership within the class, throwing down its challenge to all other tendencies and parties within the workers' movement.

Stalinism, here in the person of Reid, rejects both these Leninist principles. Reid seeks to transform the capitalist state through 'left unity' with all those that share her reformist outlook; Lenin fought to smash the capitalist state machine, including its parliaments, through the independent action of the working class, led by the Bolshevik Party



Many rank-and-file party militants pressed for a change in the CP line after the war, but the Party leaders, following Stalin's lead in his alliance with Atlee and Truman (the post-war 'Big Three' seen above at Potsdam) insisted on continuing the wartime collaboration with the state.

and in conflict with all the tendencies that Stalinism now seeks to bring together.

Lenin defended and developed Marx's theory of violent revolution and the destruction of the capitalist state against all opportunists; his writings on that subject retain all their validity today:

'The petty-bourgeois democrats, those sham socialists who replaced the class struggle by dreams of class harmony, even pictured the socialist transformation in a dreamy fashion—not as the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class, but as the peaceful submission of the minority to the majority which has become aware of its aims... All his life, Marx fought against this petty-bourgeois socialism...' (Vol. 25, p. 403.)

'... all previous revolutions perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed...' (Vol 25, p. 406.)

Today it is the Stalinists who seek to 'perfect' the state machine.

Lenin was quite explicit that his theory applied to all capitalist states, not just Russia:

'Today, in Britain and America, too, "the precondition for every real people's revolution" is the smashing, the destruction of the "ready-made state machinery"...' (p. 416.)

Now we can see how the clash of these two utterly opposed perspectives works out in the fight for alternative leadership in the British labour movement.

Since the war, Stalinist practice in the trade unions has been to work within the existing bureaucracy for 'broad unity' on a series of minimum demands that consciously exclude the possibility of principled differences being



# 5 The fight for alternative leadership: The Stalinist record—and ours

brought out within the working class, a process that is essential for the training of leadership and the raising of working-class consciousness. Tied to the parliamentary road, and therefore sharing the same political conceptions as the Labour Party right wing as well as the trade unions, Communist Party militants in the factories are deliberately held back from striking out on a communist road of leadership.

Everything is subordinated to winning 'allies' in the machine, and in the last analysis, through the labour bureaucracy and its ruling-class masters, to Kremlin diplomacy.

assisting in the efforts to increase coal output... last winter the union appointed a national production officer and in the districts eight production officers whose salaries were paid out of the funds of the national union.

'A national production campaign was launched, posters and leaflets prepared and meetings organized to explain to the miners the need for doing everything possible to increase output... The National Union of Mine-workers spent approximately £20,000 in this campaign, which gives it the distinction [!] of being the only trade union in this country ever to have utilized its funds to advance production.'

Or, put still more bluntly, the only union bureaucracy ever to have used its members' contributions to heighten their exploitation.

This was written in 'Labour Monthly' for January 1947—two years after the Nazis had been cleared from Soviet soil.

**Strike-breaking**

The excuse given to Party members that strike-breaking and speed-up helped the Soviet Union must have been wearing a little thin by 1947.

The NUM was not the only union to be weakened in this way by the Stalinists.

Campbell, writing in the September 1945 number of 'Labour Monthly', singled out another Stalinist-influenced union for special praise in the sphere of production:

'A resolution on the agenda [of the 1945 Trades Union Congress] from the Electrical Trades Union calls for the continuation of the Joint Production Committees in time of peace. Quite a number of problems [!] are raised by this suggestion, but no one can doubt that the activity of production committees in building, mining and transport would be of the utmost value in the struggle for the strengthening of the new government. There is no need to wait for nationalization.' (Our emphasis.)

Here we have two powerful unions, then, coming out of the war under Stalinist-right-wing leadership, setting the pace for class compromise in the name of strengthening the Atlee government.

This is indeed a familiar strategy, and it is one that most Communist Party militants have been attempting to oppose, despite all the obstacles placed in their way by the Party leadership, since

the Labour government began its attacks on the trade unions through the Prices and Incomes Act and its now withdrawn penal clauses against strikers.

Who are the spearheads of this government policy today?

Two who must take pride of place are Leslie Cannon of the ETU and William Paynter, ex-secretary of the NUM and now a member of the Labour government's Commission on Industrial Relations on a salary of £6,500 a year.

Who initially gave political training to these spokesmen for the Wilson government?

In both cases, without a shadow of doubt, the Stalinist leadership of the British Communist Party.

It is not hard to see how they developed the positions they hold to-day.

Certainly Paynter, and with him many other CP miners' leaders and officials, learned his class-collaborationist, production-boosting outlook from his long training inside the industrial section of the British Communist Party.

From 1941 till 1947, leading Communist Party members such as Horner and Paynter worked in joint harness with the right-wing trade union bureaucracy.

While the Kremlin and British imperialism found their

boosting and Trotskyist-baiting became a way of life.

But when the alliance of the 'Big Three' finally broke up in 1947, torn assunder by the contradictions between the property relations of the two blocs, this unholy combination inside the trade unions was placed under tremendous strain.

While the Kremlin and the Atlee government remained on good terms, the Stalinists and right wingers in the unions were able to collaborate.

When the conditions that produced the alliance broke up, the CP militants were thrown into a state of more and more confusion.

If they remained loyal to the Party (and many, of course, did not—it had been a stepping stone to a soft union job) the anti-communist witch-hunt of the 'cold war', accelerated by the Korean war in 1950, forced the Stalinist trade union leaders to clash with the pro-Atlee right wing.

Millions of workers were now confronted by Communist Party trade unionists who for six years or more had seemed identical with the right wing, now taking up 'left' positions against the Labour government, and particularly its policy towards the Soviet Union.

They could no longer depend on retaining office through support from the right wing.

Anti-communist feeling was whipped up in the rank-and-file by the press, radio and right-wing groups active in the unions.

Previously appearing to be safely entrenched in the leadership, their position now became desperate.

Their Stalinist training became decisive. The CP leadership, and particularly its industrial department, had never trained its members to fight as Marxists in the trade unions.

They have never been encouraged to use Marxist theory and principles as weapons for fighting the right wing and raising the political level of the workers under their leadership.

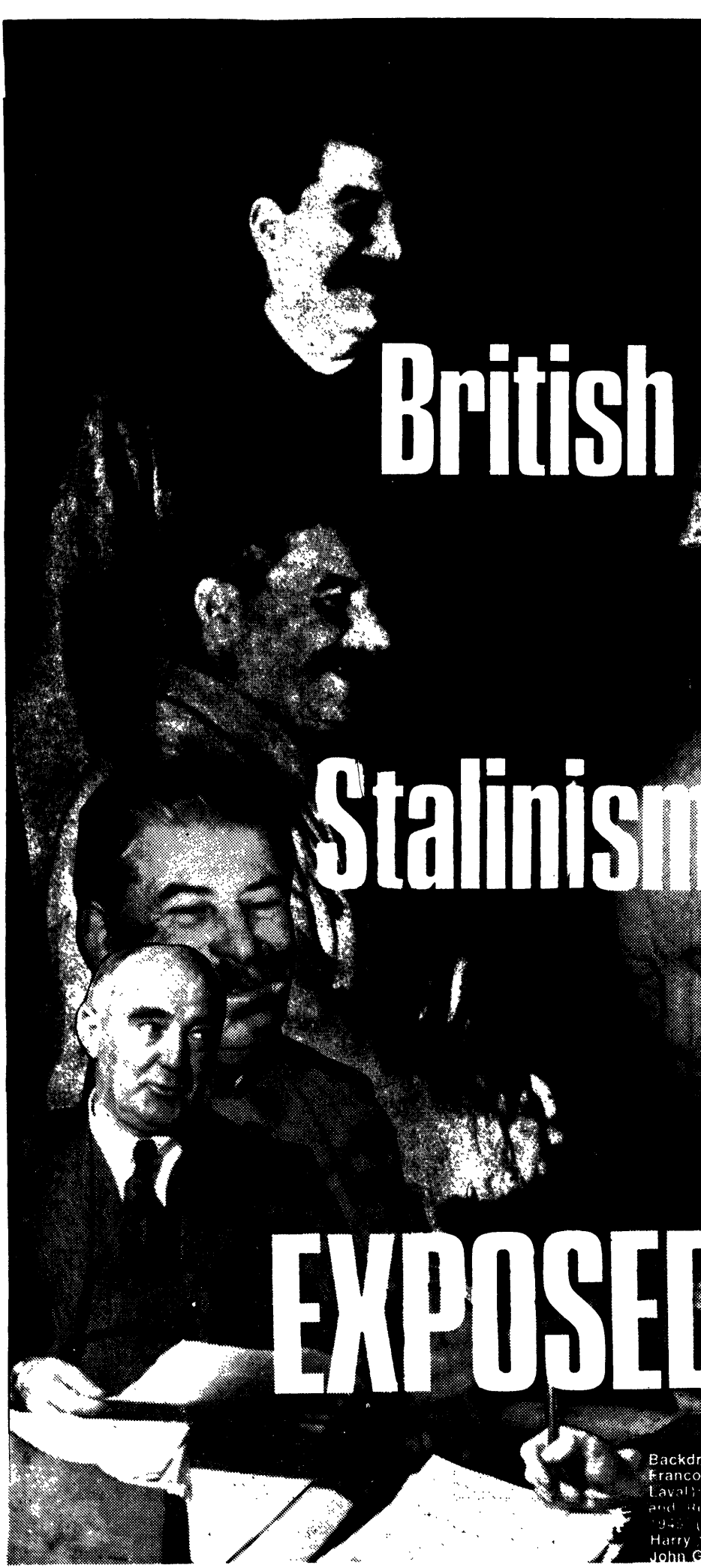
'Marxism' had been used, but only to justify the betrayals, crimes and zig-zag policies of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Instead, the CP leadership encouraged a series of adaptations to the bureaucracy (begun in 1926, but checked by the 'Third Period' and later by the Stalin-Hitler Pact) which became cruelly exposed once their 'allies' in the trade unions stood out for the special interests of British capitalism and its Labour servants.

It was precisely because the CP militants could not understand the historical process that had led to this new crisis that many were now driven to corrupt activities in certain unions where the Communist Party was under attack from the right wing.

In the ETU, the Stalinist leadership held out office by ballot-rigging, branch 'disqualification' and bureaucratic repression of union democracy.

As we have already noted, the ETU leadership had set



was later to play a vital part in the unseating of the Stalinist ETU leadership.

Then, in 1956, the Kremlin again took a hand in the affairs of the ETU Stalinists.

Its brutal repression of the Hungarian workers' revolution disintegrated the ranks of the ETU faction, many of them deserting the Party to go the right way.

This was the logical outcome of whole decades of political degeneration, in

The ETU was effectively broken as a fighting force in the class struggle.

The door had been opened for the right wing by the Stalinists.

The Socialist Labour League was in the forefront of the campaign against the ETU witch-hunt.

Our defence of the union was a principled one. We never condoned corrupt practices, we insisted that such activities were reactionary and played into the hands of any right-wing group looking for opportunities to begin a witch-hunt again militants within the union.

We insisted from the beginning that whatever the mistakes or even crimes of the ETU leadership, and whatever the profound political differences that existed between ourselves and the Stalinists, in the face of this attack by the right wing and the capitalist state (the same state which Reid and her friends seek to 'transform'), we would stand united with those under attack, all the time making it clear where we stood on the role of the Stalinist leadership in the ETU.

But the Communist Party leaders did not want unity in defence of the ETU.

**Joint work**  
Despite (or rather because of) the fact that many rank-and-file CP militants in the ETU had worked closely with our comrades in the campaign against the witch-hunt, the CP leadership banned such joint work and denounced the SLL for mobilizing such a campaign. And why? Because the Stalinists wanted to wash their hands of the havoc they had created in the ETU. They feared that a joint campaign between SLL and CP trade unionists would expose the political roots of the policies that had reduced the ETU to a shambles under the leadership of the Communist Party's Industrial Department, headed at that time by Peter Kerrigan.

We charge the leadership of the Communist Party with preparing the opportunist political line and revisionist theory that made this degeneration not only possible but inevitable.

Foulkes, Haxell and the rest were drummed out of the ETU, but the political architects of the whole affair went unpunished.



Reid decries the SLL's position on making the 'left' MPs fight against the Wilson government's attacks on the unions. Instead of taking the working class through valuable experience of these 'lefts' actions, the CP covered up for their right along from 1966 to the TUC Cabinet agreement to discipline the unions, made in June this year.

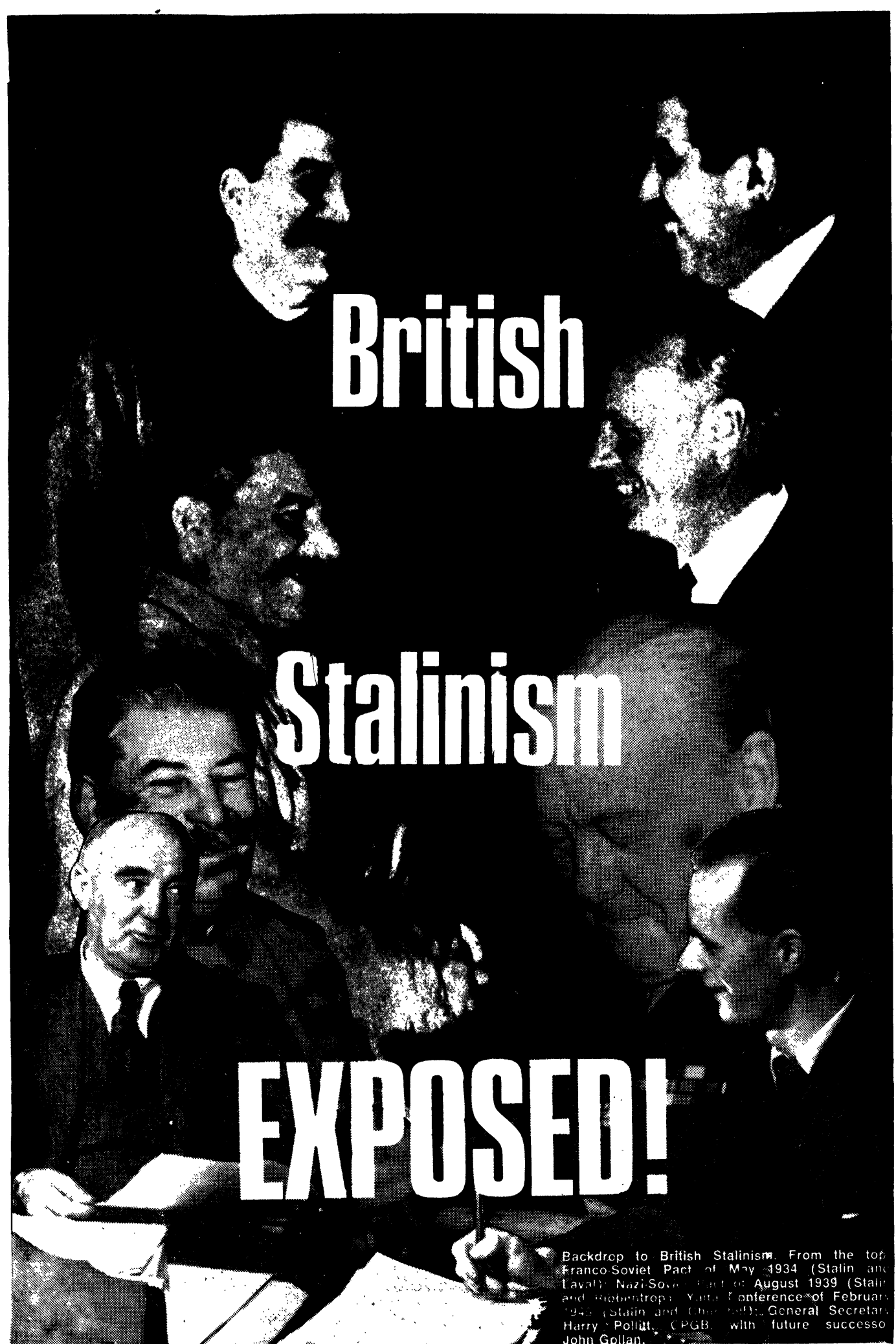


YEARS SINCE FOUNDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL DISKUSM IS TIXISM TODAY

# Alternative Stalinist Hours

The Labour government began its attacks on the trade unions through the Prices and Incomes Act and its now withdrawn penal clauses against strikers. Who are the spearheads of this government policy today? Two who must take pride of place are Leslie Cannon of the ETU and William Paynter, ex-secretary of the NUM and now a member of the Labour government's Commission on Industrial Relations on a salary of £6,500 a year. Who initially gave political training to these spokesmen for the Wilson government? In both cases, without a shadow of doubt, the Stalinist leadership of the British Communist Party. It is not hard to see how they developed the positions they hold to-day. Certainly Paynter, and with him many other CP miners' leaders and officials, learned his class-collaborationist, production-boosting outlook from his long training inside the industrial section of the British Communist Party. From 1941 till 1947, leading Communist Party members such as Horner and Paynter worked in joint harness with the right-wing trade union bureaucracy. While the Kremlin and British imperialism found their

boosting and Trotskyist-baiting became a way of life. But when the alliance of the 'Big Three' finally broke up in 1947, torn assunder by the contradictions between the property relations of the two blocs, this unholy combination inside the trade unions was placed under tremendous strain. While the Kremlin and the Attlee government remained on good terms, the Stalinists and right wingers in the unions were able to collaborate. When the conditions that produced the alliance broke up, the CP militants were thrown into a state of more and more confusion. If they remained loyal to the Party (and many, of course, did not—it had been a stepping stone to a soft union job) the anti-communist witch-hunt of the 'cold war', accelerated by the Korean war in 1950, forced the Stalinist trade union leaders to clash with the pro-Attlee right wing. Millions of workers were now confronted by Communist Party trade unionists who for six years or more had seemed identical with the right wing, now taking up 'left' positions against the Labour government, and particularly its policy towards the Soviet Union. They could no longer depend on retaining office through support from the right wing. Anti-communist feeling was whipped up in the rank-and-file by the press, radio and right-wing groups active in the unions. Previously appearing to be safely entrenched in the leadership, their position now became desperate. Their Stalinist training became decisive. The CP leadership, and particularly its industrial department, had never trained its members to fight as Marxists in the trade unions. They have never been encouraged to use Marxist theory and principles as weapons for fighting the right wing and raising the political level of the workers under their leadership. 'Marxism' had been used, but only to justify the betrayals, crimes and zig-zag policies of the Soviet bureaucracy. Instead, the CP leadership encouraged a series of adaptations to the bureaucracy (begun in 1926, but checked by the 'Third Period' and later by the Stalin-Hitler Pact) which became cruelly exposed once their 'allies' in the trade unions stood out for the special interests of British capitalism and its Labour servants. It was precisely because the CP militants could not understand the historical process that had led to this new crisis that many were now driven to corrupt activities in certain unions where the Communist Party was under attack from the right wing. In the ETU, the Stalinist leadership held out office by ballot-rigging, branch 'disqualification' and bureaucratic repression of union democracy. As we have already noted, the ETU leadership had set



Backdrop to British Stalinism. From the top: Franco Soviet Pact of May 1934 (Stalin and Laval); Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 1939 (Stalin and Ribbentrop); Yalta Conference of February 1945 (Stalin and Churchill); General Secretary Harry Pollitt, CPGB, with future successors John Gollan.

was later to play a vital part in the unseating of the Stalinist ETU leadership. Then, in 1956, the Kremlin again took a hand in the affairs of the ETU Stalinists. Its brutal repression of the Hungarian workers' revolution disintegrated the ranks of the ETU faction, many of them deserting the Party to go the right way. This was the logical outcome of whole decades of political degeneration, in

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Stalinism trained them both. With this background of Stalinist degeneration and rampant opportunism in mind, we must now finally answer the

Paynter's political degeneration, though masked for many years by a right-wing-dominated executive, has been just as profound as that of the Stalinist faction in the ETU. In that union, every single one of its 20-odd full-time union organizers left the CP when Cannon secured a ruling that Communist Party members could not hold office in the ETU. Every single one. Reid can talk of 'the casualty rate' being high in the SLL. In the ETU, nearly all the CP's faction opted for the bureaucracy rather than fight it out with Cannon from the ranks. And, like Paynter, they were only applying Party policy. Paynter entered the state apparatus to 'transform it' into an instrument of the people's will, while the CP ETU group applied the same principle when they merged with the union bureaucracy. In each case, the course was charted by 'The British Road to Socialism'. In truth, the 'Road' leads not to socialism at all but, through Cannon, to the Industrial Re-organization Corporation, on which body Cannon sits as a representative of the trade unions. Stalinism trained them both. With this background of Stalinist degeneration and rampant opportunism in mind, we must now finally answer the

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attacks made by Reid on the record of the SLL in its fight against the Labour government. We can best do this by concentrating on the most important single issue that has faced the working class since Wilson came to power in 1964: the defence of its trade unions. Here the Marxist, as opposed to the Stalinist theory of the state becomes all-important. If the capitalist state decides to take on the unions, working-class strategy must be guided above all by a clear conception of the nature of the state and its role in the class struggle. If workers proceed, as does the Communist Party, from the reformist premise that the state can be 'transformed', then they are due for certain defeat. In our fight to defend the trade unions, we began from the Leninist position on the state; if the working class fought to defend its organizations from attacks by the state, then the issue could not be resolved by 'pressure'. The conflict between the trade unions and the capitalist state is the reflection of the conflict between the two hostile classes—these organizations are based on and in the last analysis represent. Therefore the fight to defend the unions raises for revolutionaries the question of power, of which class is to rule. Fundamental Just as the struggle between the classes is fundamental, so is their projection onto the political plane in the conflict between the workers' organizations and the capitalist state, including parliament. It is this Marxist perspective that we took into the fight to defend the trade unions. It is also the target for Reid's attacks on the SLL in her booklet: 'At the end of 1966 a large and representative conference of trade unionists agreed upon a number of demands against wage-freeze, unemployment and in defence of the trade unions... Present at the conference was a tiny group of SLL members calling for "the mobilization of the working class" by demanding that the left MPs should put down a resolution in the Parliamentary Labour Party for the removal of Wilson and his cabinet, and their replacement by "people who would repeal the Prices and Incomes Act, end the wage freeze, and introduce a policy of nationalization of the major industries under workers' control".' (p. 20.) Let us look at Reid's reactions to these demands. We did not call for 'socialism now', but for action against Wilson on the part of all those who claimed to be opposed to his policies. In other words, we angered the Stalinists by threatening to expose the 'left' MPs as left talkers and nothing else. The job of the Reids is to supply the excuses for the lefts when they fail to act on their left talk. 'We could all, of course, warmly endorse the objective of obtaining the resignation of Wilson and his cabinet if it came as a result of an irresistible surging movement insisting on a turn to the left in policies. The SLL however sees no obstacle in the fact that such a level has not been reached.' (p. 20.) The inactivity (to put things in their most favourable light) of the left MPs is explained as the fault of the working class, which has yet to insist in its millions on a change of policy. Here we have an utterly hostile attitude to Leninist principles of leadership. Reid presents the role of leadership as waiting for the masses to advance their own demands and then to jump on the bandwagon. And from bitter experience, we know that the Stalinists and the social democrats are highly accomplished in the art of destroying even the most powerful of 'irresistible surging movements'. This was the lesson of the General Strike of 1926, of

Germany, of Spain and France both in 1936 and 1968. Unless the working class and its vanguard passes through long and bitter struggles against every form of opportunism within the workers' movement, then the greatest of revolutionary opportunities will pass by. We began that preparation with the demand for Labour to take the power on the basis of a socialist programme. The next stage in the fight to educate the working class in the dangers of opportunism was to raise the demand 'make the "left" MPs fight'. That demand not only put the 'lefts' on the spot, but the Stalinists, as their form of adaptation to the Labour government was precisely through these people and their co-thinkers in the trade unions—the Scanlons and the Joneses. We must also point out that the meeting referred to by Reid did not take a single vote on action. How could it? The same principles held true for the 'left' trade union bureaucrats as for the left MPs—they only talk because the working class will not act. Reid's sneer at a 'tiny group' (46 delegates) does not concern us at all, except insofar as it reflects the same opportunist concern for numbers before principles that always lays at the bottom of every attack on Bolshevism. When Reid says 'we could all, of course, endorse the objective of obtaining the resignation of Wilson (our emphasis), she means just that. She could, but she will not. And when the time does come, she will not initiate such a campaign, but endorse it. Lenin wrote a whole book attacking this theory of tail-riding the working class, the book that founded Bolshevism, 'What is to be Done?'. When Reid attacks the Socialist Labour League, all her blows have to be directed against Lenin, proving that Stalinism and Leninism stand at opposite poles. And what happened when the chance came to lead a real movement of the working class against Wilson—a movement that developed this year into a May Day strike by around 250,000 workers against the government's proposed penal clauses? Far from this now bringing the left MPs and their allies in the trade unions out of hiding, as Reid promises in her booklet, it drove them over further to the right. And what was the role of the Stalinists in this shameful retreat? They provided them with all the cover and excuses for doing so! Where did the left MPs stand on the May Day strike? Not one of them supported it. Where did Scanlon and Jones stand on the May Day strike? They opposed it as well!



Les Cannon (ETU president) and W... have joined respectively the Industrial R... (far right) sits as a fully paid member.

Yet all this went uncriticized in the columns of the Stalinist press. Though on record for 'supporting' the strike, the Stalinists provided a cover for those who feared and worked against it. As the working class moved towards a bitter clash with Wilson and the capitalist state, the lefts began a campaign to fix a deal between the government and the TUC. The Feather plan was sold to the AEF and the T&WGU by Scanlon and Jones, having first been opposed by their leaderships. Meanwhile the Stalinists quietly dropped the call for a stoppage on June 5, the day of the TUC meeting at Croydton, and instead swung their members behind Scanlon and Jones, who in turn proceeded to vote for the Feather plan to discipline strikers. The clash with Wilson was averted, the lefts were temporarily pulled out of the firing line, and, worst of all, the working class was given the illusion that a big victory had been won. The Stalinists played a key role in providing the link between the workers brought into the campaign by the threat to their unions, and the Wilson leadership in the Labour Party. They were the essential link in the chain that stretched from Wilson, under pressure from big business and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to act against the unions, through Feather, Scanlon and the 'lefts', on to the Stalinists, and through their roots in the factories, directly into the working class. That was the chain of command, and the Stalinists carried out their mission to the letter. Our intervention was designed to break up this unholy alliance and to expose the role of each of its component parts to workers coming into struggle on basic political questions. That is why the Stalinists lashed out at us so violently outside the Croydton meeting, attempting, unsuccessfully, to overturn the loudspeaker van of the All Trades Unions Alliance.

## The Transitional Programme

This is the basic programmatic document of the world movement founded by Leon Trotsky and his comrades. By 1938 the revolutionary Marxists had found it necessary to lay the foundations of the Fourth International in order to restore working-class leadership after the defeats prepared by the Stalinist bureaucracy in control of the Third (Communist) International. The defeat of the German Revolution in 1923, of the Chinese Revolution in 1927, followed by Hitler's victory over the German working class in 1933, finally ruled out the perspective of transforming the Communist International by internal opposition. 60 pages. 1s.

short-term interests merging, the right-wing-Stalinist alliance in the trade unions, particularly the NUM and the ETU, prospered. The Stalinists were of tremendous value to the right wing in these years, providing a left, or even 'Marxist' cover, for the crudest anti-working class policies. These six years saw profound political degeneration inside the Communist Party. Strike-breaking, production

the pace for the post-war production drive under the Attlee government. The Stalinists did not win their positions on a programme of class struggle at all. Now, when forced to the left by the dramatic change in the international situation, their previous grip on the union was rapidly undermined. Anti-communist factions, such as Catholic Action, capitalizing on the cold war and the crimes of Stalinism, began to build a group that

which the crisis and crimes of Soviet bureaucracy played a central part. As thousands of trade unionists now know, Cannon, Chapple, and company, backed up by the capitalist law courts and the mass media of the ruling class, took advantage of this deep political degeneration to isolate and eventually drive out those still loyal to the Party, and replace them with a leadership completely subservient to the right-wing Labour leaders.

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## WEEKEND TELEVISION SATURDAY

- B.B.C.-1
7.30 Please Sir!
8.05 No Time For Sergeants
10.00 a.m. Repondez S'il Vous Plait
10.30-11.00 Wie Bitte?
11.10 Saturday Night Theatre
12.25 a.m. Miscellaneous
Yorkshire
12.55 p.m. News
Westward
12.55 p.m. News
Anglia
12.55 p.m. News
Grampian
12.55 p.m. News

The Newsletter
ETU: CLOSE THE RANKS!
Defend the Union Against the Right Wing

The Wilson government's attacks on the unions. Instead of taking the working class through valuable... from 1966 to the TUC. Cabinet agreement to discipline the unions, made in June this year.



Background to British Stalinism: From the top: Franco-Soviet Pact at May 1934 (Stalin and Lavent); Nazi-Soviet Pact at August 1939 (Stalin and Ribbentrop); Party Conference of February 1964 (Stalin and others); General Secretary Harry Pollitt, CPGB, with future successor John Gollan.

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### Fundamental

Just as the struggle between the classes is fundamental, so is their projection onto the political plane in the conflict between the workers' organizations and the capitalist state, including parliament.

It is this Marxist perspective that we took into the fight to defend the trade unions. It is also the target for Reid's attacks on the SLL in her booklet:

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Les Cannon (ETU president) and WH Paynter (ex-NUM secretary) both well grounded in the CP's programme 'British Road to Socialism' have joined respectively the Industrial Reorganization Corporation and the Commission for Industrial Relations (above) on which Paynter (far right) sits as a fully paid member.

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It is to this sell-out of the 'lefts' at Croydun that Reid is presumably referring when she claims:

"From small beginnings the trade unionists at that first 1966 conference have seen the great movement of defence of trade union rights surge forward, and embrace vast new sections of the organized workers . . ." (p. 21.)

Reid describes here her mass movement that makes possible the demand for a change of leadership.

Yet does the Communist Party call on the 'left' MPs to remove Wilson even now? The answer is, of course, no.

The 'lefts' are too busy lining up the entire movement behind Wilson for the next general election to concern themselves with a struggle over principles.

So Wilson has to stay. The degeneration within the trade unions has now reached an even more acute stage where some Communist Party members are concerned.

The recent miners' strike found the same line-up of forces: The 'left', in the person

of Daly, opposed the strike and told the strikers to return to work. The Communist Party claimed to support the strike—yet it failed to even draw attention to Daly's position.

Instead it referred darkly to the comforting fact that 'many of its (the NUM executive's) members are privately supporting the men on this issue.' ('Morning Star', October 17.)

That was good enough for the Stalinists, but not for miners, who promptly demanded the removal of not only Ford, but Daly from the leadership of the miners' union.

Further facts came to light in this strike.

The new militancy of the miners, aroused by the lead of the other groups of lower-paid workers, harshly exposed all the rottenness of Stalinist leadership in the miners' union over the last 20 or more years.

In South Wales, one CP member, Dai Francis, secretary of the South Wales miners' union, called for a return to work.

Other Party members in the pits worked to develop the

strike and carry it to other pits.

These were truly the fruits of Stalinism.

The miners have found them very bitter.

The 'Morning Star' is able to report all these events as if nothing out of the ordinary was happening. Some comrades are striking, others call for scabbing—yet the contradiction is not even acknowledged, let alone a position adopted.

In big struggles like these, Stalinism comes out in the open as an anti-working-class, counter-revolutionary force.

In the first section of this series we quoted from pre-war Stalinist publications which proudly related how the YCL had built a 'people's front' from the Boy Scouts to Bible-study groups.

In that sense, Stalinism has forgotten nothing in the intervening 30 years.

Reid concludes her booklet with a call for a 'genuine forum of the left in which all trends find expression'.

In 'Comment' (the CP weekly) for November 16,

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1968, we can read about the type of person we can expect to meet at such gatherings:

... for some time now we have had a steady stream of invitations and these are still going on. The variety and range is considerable: church youth groups, Young Socialists (Labour Party, of course), Young Liberals, 18 Plus Group, Round Table Societies, Humanist Society and topping the list in number, Young Conservatives . . . our speaker at a Young Tories' meeting dealt with a series of questions on USSR freedom, democracy, etc., and from this discussion developed over a wide range of issues and on our Party and policy in Britain.

After this visit the Programme Secretary sent letter to speaker (sic) and I quote: "On behalf of Dene Young Conservatives I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for coming to our branch last night. We all enjoyed your talk very much." One letter from a Young Conservative ended: "I look forward to hearing from you, and hope that you will co-operate as regards sending a speaker for I realize that it is a strange request for a Communist (!) to address a bunch of YCers." We accepted of course, and for our District it is not a strange request for they are one of several Young Conservative groups asking for speakers. . . . (Horace Green, 'Invitations to Communists', 'Comment', November 16, 1968.)

Workers do not join the Communist Party to 'transform' Tories into socialists and supporters of the Soviet Union.

They join, many of them, to follow the road taken by the Russian working class 52 years ago under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party.

Reid, Gollan, Mathews, Klugman and the rest will betray all those admirable aspirations, as they and their predecessors have done in the past.

To fight for the British October, as the continuation of the world revolution begun in 1917, we have to build a party based on the principles of revolutionary Marxism, which today can only be Trotskyism.

With the launching of the Workers Press, we threw down our challenge, not only to the Stalinists, but to all the revisionist grouplets who hang over to the Stalinists' coat-tails, hoping to draw some strength from what is in fact a deeply-rotted party.

Given the type of leadership we intend to build through our press, the working class will brush aside these revisionist and Stalinist enemies of Trotskyism, and with us, take the road of revolutionary Marxism.

1970, the year of Lenin and Trotsky, will also be the year when we begin to settle our account with Stalinism.

It has been a long and often terrible wait, but it has been worth every minute.

## WEEKEND TELEVISION

### SATURDAY

#### B.B.C.-1

10.00 a.m. Repondez S'il Vous Plait. 10.30-11.00 Wie Bitte? 12.00 noon Weatherman. 12.05 p.m. Casey Jones. 12.25 Charlie Chaplin: 'The Cure'. 12.45 Grandstand. 3.15 Star Trek. 6.05 News, Weather. 6.15 Dixon of Dock Green. 7.00 British Legion Festival Of Remembrance. 9.00 News, Weather. 9.15 The Harry Secombe. 10.05 Match Of The Day. 11.05 Braden's Week. 11.45 Weatherman.

All regions as B.B.C.-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 11.47 p.m. Weather for Midlands and East Anglia. 12.05 p.m. Northern News Summary. 12.47 p.m. Northern News. 1.05-1.15 p.m. Sports. 1.15-1.30 p.m. Sports. 1.30-1.45 p.m. Sports. 1.45-2.00 p.m. Sports. 2.00-2.15 p.m. Sports. 2.15-2.30 p.m. Sports. 2.30-2.45 p.m. Sports. 2.45-3.00 p.m. Sports. 3.00-3.15 p.m. Sports. 3.15-3.30 p.m. Sports. 3.30-3.45 p.m. Sports. 3.45-4.00 p.m. Sports. 4.00-4.15 p.m. Sports. 4.15-4.30 p.m. Sports. 4.30-4.45 p.m. Sports. 4.45-5.00 p.m. Sports. 5.00-5.15 p.m. Sports. 5.15-5.30 p.m. Sports. 5.30-5.45 p.m. Sports. 5.45-6.00 p.m. Sports. 6.00-6.15 p.m. Sports. 6.15-6.30 p.m. Sports. 6.30-6.45 p.m. Sports. 6.45-7.00 p.m. Sports. 7.00-7.15 p.m. Sports. 7.15-7.30 p.m. Sports. 7.30-7.45 p.m. Sports. 7.45-8.00 p.m. Sports. 8.00-8.15 p.m. Sports. 8.15-8.30 p.m. Sports. 8.30-8.45 p.m. Sports. 8.45-9.00 p.m. Sports. 9.00-9.15 p.m. Sports. 9.15-9.30 p.m. Sports. 9.30-9.45 p.m. Sports. 9.45-10.00 p.m. Sports. 10.00-10.15 p.m. Sports. 10.15-10.30 p.m. Sports. 10.30-10.45 p.m. Sports. 10.45-11.00 p.m. Sports. 11.00-11.15 p.m. Sports. 11.15-11.30 p.m. Sports. 11.30-11.45 p.m. Sports. 11.45-12.00 p.m. Sports.

#### Yorkshire

12.55 p.m. News. 1.00 World Of Sport. 1.05 Results Roundup. 1.15 Cowboy In Africa. 6.10 News. 6.15 The Saturday Crowd. 7.00 Please Sir! 7.30 Edgar Wallace: 'He Ran All The Way' starring John Garfield and Shelley Winters. 10.00 News and Weather. 10.10 Hester Berg. 11.00 Frost On Saturday. 12 midnight Late Weather.

#### Westward

12.55 p.m. All Our Yesterdays. 12.55 National. 1.00 World Of Sport. 1.05 On The Ball. 1.20 Racing. 3.10 Sports Special. 3.55 Half Time Roundup. 4.00 Professional Wrestling. 5.00 Results Round-Up. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 National News. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 6.45 The Saturday Crowd. 7.30 Please Sir! 8.05 The Saturday Film: 'Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde' starring Spencer Tracy, Ingrid Bergman, Lana Turner and Donald Crisp. 10.00 National News. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10 Frost On Saturday. 11.35 Faith For Life. 12.01 a.m. Weather.

#### Tyne Tees

12.55 p.m. News. 1.00 World Of Sport. 1.05 On The Ball. 1.20 Racing. 3.10 Sports Special. 3.55 Half Time Roundup. 4.00 Professional Wrestling. 5.00 Results Round-Up. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 News. 6.15 Batman. 6.45 The Saturday Crowd. 7.30 Please Sir! 8.00 The Saturday Film: 'The Rat Race' starring Tony Curtis and Debbie Reynolds. 10.00 News. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10 Frost On Saturday. 11.55 Alfred Hitchcock Presents. 12.25 a.m. Autumn Evensong.

#### Scottish

12 noon-12.25 p.m. Stay Alive. 12.55 News. 1.00 World Of Sport. 4.00 Professional Wrestling. 5.00 Results Round-Up. 5.15 Cowboy In Africa. 6.10 News and Weather. 6.15 The Saturday Crowd. 7.00 Please Sir! 7.30 The Saturday Feature: 'Somewhere In The Night' starring John Hodgkin, Nancy Gull, Lloyd Nolan and Richard Conte. 9.25 Scotsport. 10.00 News and Weather. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10 Frost On Saturday. 12 midnight Late Call.

#### B.B.C.-1

9.00 a.m. Nai Zindagi-Naya Jeevan. 9.30 Repondez S'il Vous Plait. 10.00-10.30 Wie Bitte? 10.35 Remembrance Day. 1914-1918 1939-1945. 11.30 Buying A House. 12.00 noon Know How. 12.30-1.00 p.m. Representing The Union. 1.25-1.50 Farming The Weather For Farmers. 2.00 Ten Classic Dishes. 2.29 News Headlines. 2.30 Day Time. 3.5 Film Matinee: 'Nurse Edith Cavell'. 4.40 Hobbyhorse. 5.05 Going For A Song. 5.40 Dombey and Son. 5.55 Ken Dodd and The Diddy-men.

6.05 News, Weather. 6.15 Malcolm Muggeridge asks 'The Question Why'. 6.50 Songs Of Praise. 7.25 Detective. 8.15 British Film Night: 'The Password is Courage'. 10.05 News, Weather. 10.15 HRH The Duke of Edinburgh meets the American Press. 10.40 Omnibus: Richter, a film portrait. 11.25 Weatherman.

All regions as B.B.C.-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 11.27 p.m. Weather for Midlands and East Anglia.

North of England: 11.27 p.m. Northern News Summary, Weather. Wales: 10.30-11.30 a.m. Investiture Year Youth Service. 1.05-1.25 p.m. Adolla Ddlaw. 2.30-2.55 The Newcomers. 2.55-3.30 Rugby Union. 3.30-3.50 The Newcomers. 3.50-4.10 Dwedwch Be Fynoch Chi. 4.10-4.40 Ble Carch Chri Fynd. 6.50-7.25 Dechrau Canu. Dechrau Canmol. Scotland: 6.50-7.25 p.m. Songs Of Praise. 10.40-11.20 Braden's Week. Northern Ireland: 6.50-7.25 p.m. Songs Of Praise. 11.27 Northern Ireland News Headlines, Weather. South and West: 11.27 p.m. South and West News Headlines, Weather, Road Works Report.

#### I.T.V.

10.40 a.m. Church Service. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session. 12.40-1.05 Your Living Body. 1.25 'The English Sickness'—fact or fiction? 1.55 Out Of Town. 2.15 Sports Arena. 2.45 University Challenge. 3.15 The Big Match. 4.15 The Flaxton Boys. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 Hark At Barker. 6.00 News From ITN. 6.15 All Creatures Great and Small. 6.35 Tomorrow's Child. 7.00 Stars On Sunday. 7.25 Star Movie: 'Fun In Acapulco' starring Elvis Presley and Ursula Andress. 9.10 Strange Report. 10.10 News, Weather. 10.20 Music Hall. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Reflection.

6.05 News, Weather. 6.15 Tomorrow's Child. 7.00 Stars On Sunday. 7.25 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.20 Underworld USA starring Cliff Robertson, Beatrice Kay, Larry Gates and Richard Rust. 10.10 News From ITN. 10.20 Music Hall. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Miscellany.

#### Anglia

10.40 a.m. Service of Remembrance. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session. 12.40 Your Living Body. 1.05-1.30 You and Your Child. 1.35 Farm Progress. 2.15 Sports Arena. 2.45 All Our Yesterdays. 3.15 Sherlock Holmes Film Library. 4.15 The Flaxton Boys. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 The Ghost and Mrs Muir. 6.00 News. 6.15 All Creatures Great and Small. 6.35 Tomorrow's Child. 7.00 Stars On Sunday. 7.25 Marcus Welby M.D. 8.25 Music Hall. 9.25 The Big Film: 'The Big Country' part one. 10.10 News, Weather. 10.20 The Big Film: 'The Big Country' part two. 12.36 a.m. Sunday Talks.

#### Grampian

10.40 a.m. Remembrance Service. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session. 12.40 Your Living Body. 1.05-1.30 You and Your Child. 1.45 Farm Progress. 2.15 Sports Arena. 2.45 All Our Yesterdays. 3.15 Sherlock Holmes Film Library. 4.15 The Flaxton Boys. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 The Ghost and Mrs Muir. 6.00 News. 6.15 All Creatures Great and Small. 6.35 Tomorrow's Child. 7.00 Stars On Sunday. 7.25 Marcus Welby M.D. 8.25 Music Hall. 9.25 The Big Film: 'The Big Country' part one. 10.10 News, Weather. 10.20 The Big Film: 'The Big Country' part two. 12.36 a.m. Sunday Talks.

#### B.B.C.-2

3.00-4.15 p.m. Saturday Cinema: 'Sons Of The Islands'. 7.00 The News and Sport, Weather. 7.15 Gardeners' World. 7.30 Rugby Special. 8.20 One Pair Of Eyes. 9.00 Line-Up. 10.05 The First Churchill. 10.50 Review. 11.35 News Summary. 11.40 Midnight Movie: 'Footsteps In The Fog'. 11.40 News From ITN. 6.15 Parkin's Patch. 6.45 The Saturday Crowd.

#### Anglia

12.55 p.m. News. 1.00 World Of Sport. 1.05 On The Ball. 1.20 Racing. 3.10 Sports Special. 3.55 Half Time Roundup. 4.00 Professional Wrestling. 5.00 Results Round-Up. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 National News. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 6.45 The Saturday Crowd. 7.30 Please Sir! 8.05 The Saturday Film: 'Red River' starring Montgomery Clift and Joanne Dray. 10.00 News, Weather. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10 Frost On Saturday. 12 midnight Reflection.

#### Grampian

12.30 p.m. The Flintstones. 12.55 News. 1.00 World Of Sport. 1.05 On The Ball. 1.20 Racing. 3.10 Sports Special. 3.55 Half Time Roundup. 4.00 Professional Wrestling. 5.00 Results Round-Up. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 National News. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 6.45 The Saturday Crowd. 7.30 Please Sir! 8.05 The Saturday Film: 'The Frigate City'. 9.40 Vintage Comics. 'The Iceman'. 10.00 News, Weather. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10 Frost On Saturday.

Frank Cartwright's

### T.V. Column in Tuesday's WORKERS PRESS

will deal with the BBC's plan for the 1970s, and the reaction to these plans amongst BBC staff

#### B.B.C.-2

7.00 p.m. News Review, Weather. 7.25 The World About Us. 8.15 Music Now. 9.15 A Year In The Life For The Year. Rebel Rocker—June 1968 to June 1969. 10.05 Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In. 10.55 Thirty Minute Theatre. 11.25 News Summary. 11.30 Line-Up.

#### Westward

10.40 a.m. Service Of Remembrance. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session. 12.40 Your Living Body. 1.05-1.25 You and Your Child. 1.30 Farm and Country News. 2.15 Star Soccer. 3.15 Feature Film: 'Rogue Cop' starring Robert Taylor, Janet Leigh, George Raft and Steve Forrest. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 Bugs Bunny Show. 6.00 National News. 6.15 All Creatures Great and Small. 6.35 Tomorrow's Child. 7.00 Stars On Sunday. 7.25 Feature Film: 'Arrowhead' starring Charlton Heston, Jack Palance and Katy Jurado. 9.10 Strange Report. 10.10 National News. 10.20 Music Hall. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12 midnight Faith For Life. 12.06 a.m. Weather.

#### Scottish

10.40 a.m. Service of Remembrance. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session. 1.30 All Our Yesterdays. 2.00 Diane's Magic Theatre. 2.15 Sports Arena. 2.45 University Challenge. 3.15 Feature Film: 'Song Of The Thin Man' starring William Powell and Myrna Loy. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 The Flaxton Boys. 6.00 News and Weather. 6.15 All Creatures Great and Small. 6.35 Tomorrow's Child. 7.00 Stars On Tomorrow's Child. 7.00 Stars On Sunday. 7.25 Marcus Welby M.D. 8.25 Music Hall. 9.25 The Big Film: 'The Big Country' part one. 10.10 News and Weather. 10.20 Music Hall. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Late Call.

## The Newsletter

ETU: CLOSE THE RANKS! Defend the Union Against the Right Wing

ETU: CLOSE THE RANKS! Defend the Union Against the Right Wing

The SLL was in the forefront of the campaign against the witch-hunt of the ETU leaders, defending them against right-wing attack, but not condoning their ballot-rigging activities. ETU leader Frank Foulkes could only find a voice for his defence in 'THE NEWSLETTER', forerunner of the WORKERS PRESS.

Above: A front-page article in 'THE NEWSLETTER' of 1961 opposing the right-wing attack.

# Port Talbot A.E.F. opts out of productivity negotiations

## STOKES

● FROM PAGE ONE

Morris Commercial 1,500 workers  
Morris Radiators, Wales 2,000 workers  
G. H. Roe Ltd. Standard-Triumph, Coventry  
BMC Service (Oxford) CKD  
Morris Motors . . . transport department voted not to take vehicles to BMC Service.

Whatever may have been achieved under the new formula, it is due entirely to the solidarity of thousands of workers throughout the combine and, above all, to the solidarity and determination of the Merseyside strikers over the last eleven weeks.

## A.T.U.A. meetings

MANCHESTER  
The fight against productivity deals'

Monday, November 10 8 p.m.

The Wheatsheaf High Street off of Market Street

## RAMSGATE

'The Common Market' Tuesday, November 11 8 p.m.

Flowing Bowl Newington Estate

## I.-H. dayworkers 'blow a hole' in productivity

DAYWORKERS at International Harvester's, Doncaster and Bradford struck on Thursday over a pay claim.

The strike is for an increase of 1s. 6d. an hour. A management offer of 9d. was rejected and the workers walked out.

Strikers were meeting at Doncaster yesterday and meet in Bradford today.

It is only a few months since a productivity deal was signed covering both plants. Strikers say that their action is certain to 'blow a hole' in this.

The Commission on Industrial Relations is at present conducting an investigation at the two plants.

## Brown

● FROM PAGE ONE

So much for Brown's claim that 'we were invented (I) to look after the poor people'.

Brown's main fire was directed against the trade unions which, he said, could be the downfall of the Labour Party.

'It is about time we talked straight to our trade union friends and said if they go on doing as they are doing, they will destroy what we were born for.'

It was Brown, of course, who was wheeled in after a long absence from the political limelight to smooth over the controversy over incomes legislation with the trade union leaders at the Brighton Party conference.

He was also moved in later to whip up support for the Common Market.

Far from being a champion of the lower-paid worker, in other words, he is the most avid supporter of the two main threats to even their present inadequate standard of living. Just who is playing the fool, Mr Brown?

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Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

**ELEVEN HUNDRED Amalgamated Engineering and Foundryworkers' Union members at the Port Talbot steelworks have informed the management that they will no longer co-operate with the other unions in productivity negotiations.**

By an industrial correspondent

The negotiations at the plant are over the management's 'Green Book', the plan for big speed-up, mobility and flexibility of labour.

The management proposes to cut the labour force by 5,000 and wage increases for the remaining workers are to be related 'closely' to the saving.

The AEF complaint is that the productivity deal is not producing wage increases quickly enough.

One of the main reasons is the big resistance to the deal shown, for example, in the blastfurnacemen's determined strike during the summer.

The AEF has agreed to continue productivity bargaining in isolation from the other unions.

## Noose

But it is putting one's head in a noose to try to push up wages by bargaining away men's jobs in a period of rising unemployment.

There can be no defence of wages in the long run at Port Talbot without a principled struggle against the 'Green Book' proposals.

All unions at Port Talbot must unite to fight any sackings and totally reject the 'Green Book'.

## C.I.R. for hotel wages

THE Commission on Industrial Relations has been asked by Mrs Barbara Castle to report on wages and conditions in the hotel and catering industries.

The workers in these industries, well known for their low pay rates, can expect nothing from the CIR except an attack on their conditions under the disguise of 'rationalization'.

## Paltry wage award for farmworkers

THE FARMWORKERS' claim for a £16 minimum wage and a 40-hour week has been turned down flat by the Agricultural Wages Board.

Instead, union leaders have settled for a paltry minimum of £13 3s.—a increase of 15s.—and a cut in hours from 44 to 43.

This is, of course, totally inadequate to keep pace with rising prices, let alone put money into the farmworkers' pockets.

No doubt the union leaders will claim that this is the best they could get and the employers are already complaining that the award will cost them £20 million a year.

## Pass on rise

They plan, of course, to pass on the cost in the form of further food price rises.

The farmworkers' wages are kept among the lowest in the country because the employers and the government cynically calculate that they will be unable to take effective action to force further increases.

So much for the government's 'crusade' on behalf of the lower-paid workers. Despite the exodus of workers from the land, food production has increased and is expected to go on increasing.

Mechanization has made possible big rises in farmworkers' productivity, at the

## Gondoliers join Italian strikes

DESPITE the Pope's appeal for class peace, more strikes have broken out in Italy.

Urban transport services were paralysed throughout Italy as 90,000 workers observed a four-hour protest strike call by their union leaders.

Even the Venice gondoliers stopped work as tourists crowded onto fishing vessels as the only means of transport around the city.

## Third week

Strikes in the state salt and tobacco industries are now in their third week.

They were also joined on Wednesday by employees in government savings banks and pawn shops.

Metal, chemical and building workers continued their strategy of lightning strikes, while brick workers intended to strike each week for a total of 12 hours.

This 'target' is easily surpassed by chemical and pharmaceutical workers.

They intended to strike for a total of 96 hours between November 1 and 15.

## GREEK UNIONISTS TORTURED BEFORE TRIAL

A GREEK trade unionist told an Athens court martial that he had been tortured during police interrogation.

He and three other defend-



Local fisherman transport tourists in Venice

Wednesday the Italian Minister of Labour is to intervene in the negotiations between the unions and the employers, the biggest of which is, of course, Fiat.

Delegates from the unions and the management have been invited to a meeting at the Ministry of Labour next Monday.

Whatever deal might be concocted there, the offensive of the Italian working class will continue.

ants—all clerks of the Greek telecommunications organization—were being tried under a 22-year-old anti-sedition law.

Thursday's court martial is the third in a series of 'trials' of oppositionists in Greece.

In each case, brutal sentences have been imposed.

## Stoke ambulance men go slow

STOKE-ON-TRENT ambulance men continued their go-slow yesterday in support of a demand for an extra £2 a week.

The city's 70 ambulance men and drivers have imposed a 20 mph speed limit on all ambulance journeys except for emergencies and a ban on all paper work.

A spokesman for the men's action committee said: 'Feeling is growing that while other workers in local government have received pay rises we have been lagging behind.'

## New York election lesson—Build the Labour Party

Workers' Press correspondent

JOHN LINDSAY, running on a Liberal Party ticket, was narrowly re-elected as mayor of New York.

The final figures issued on Wednesday night were:

Lindsay (Liberal) 941,900.  
Proaccino (Democrat) 821,924.  
Marchi (Republican) 545,088.

Lindsay is a capitalist politician who has adapted himself quite deliberately to the radicalization in the youth, the Negro population and other oppressed national minorities.

Lately he has appeared on platforms at anti-Vietnam war rallies alongside various 'socialist' and revisionist

groups. But he has remained a bitter enemy of the New York labour movement, supporting legislation restricting the right of municipal workers to strike.

## Bitter

Last year's bitter New York teachers' strike saw Lindsay playing off the Negro community against the teachers in an attempt to weaken and smash the solidarity of the strikers.

## Four-year sentence for Bobby Seale



BOBBY SEALE, the US Black Panther Party leader who was bound and gagged in court last week, was sentenced on Wednesday to four years imprisonment for 'contempt of court'.

When Seale again denounced the court and the trial as being unfairly conducted, the judge imposed the sentence and declared a mistrial.

A new hearing is set for April 23 of next year.

Even before the trial begins, the Negro leader has been condemned for four years. This scandalous persecution must be stopped at once and Seale freed.

## INDIAN CONGRESS SPLIT

# Stalinists aid Mrs Gandhi

AS EXPECTED, Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi has turned to the Stalinists for support in her fight against the Congress Party right wing.

By Robert Black

The Party split has led to the defection of about 75 MPs to the right-wing opposition in the Lower House.

She can now count only on the votes of 200 Congress Party members—leaving her about 60 seats short of a majority in the 520-member house.

## Defections

Two of India's three 'Communist' parties, the pro-Moscow Stalinists led by S. A. Dange and the 'Marxists' (recently deserted by a left-'Maolist' splinter

group), command 43 seats in the house and have agreed to support Mrs Gandhi on certain terms.

Though supporting an alliance with the Stalinists, Mrs Gandhi is at the same time threatened by further defections from her faction in parliament if she draws too close to them.

Moves are already afoot to expel Mrs Gandhi from the Congress Party on a charge of breach of party discipline.

This could well take place before the Indian parliament reopens.

If the right-wing move against her is successful, Mrs Gandhi will find herself Prime Minister of India without a party.

It is at this moment of acute crisis within the Indian ruling class that the Stalinists, 'left' as well as right, come to the rescue of the Prime Minister and assist her attempts to hold together the main Indian capitalist party.

## Wages battle ahead in Holland

Workers' Press reporter

NEGOTIATIONS began on Wednesday between the Dutch trade unions and employers for a new two-year labour agreement.

Union leaders are insisting at this stage on the following demands:

- Three per cent wage increase.
- Reduction in the working week from 43½ hours to 42 hours.
- Increase in holidays from 15 days to 17 days.
- Increase in holiday pay.

## Resist

Faced with ever-sharpening European and overseas competition the Dutch employers, backed up by the recently adopted government incomes policy, will resist these demands stubbornly.

The Dutch working class has already been engaged in several sharp battles, and can be relied upon to fight just as stubbornly for its claim.

## Opposed

The Labour government's official policy is opposed to such transactions, as is that of the Soviet Union.

Their reactions to the company's request could throw light on their attitudes to the apartheid regime.

## S-TI men

● FROM PAGE ONE particular should be involved in action going further than a one-day stoppage were frequent comments.

'I don't think we'll go back as a result of the inquiry whichever way it goes,' said A. J. Cole, a toolmaker.

'It's got to be united action, but a one-day strike isn't enough.'

'From the time the combine committee came in to the time it took action was a whole month! The management was

able to prepare for this one-day stoppage.

'Our issue is the issue of the whole combine.'

Two press operators—H. Rudkin and W. Parkes—told us:

'Barbara Castle thought we'd go back once she set up the court of inquiry. We won't.'

'Stokes makes it worse with his performance in the House of Lords. Will he say that when the Queen gets a rise?' (Lord Stokes referred in his maiden speech 'pitiful claims' in the motor industry.)

'It's not a court of inquiry we want—it's cash!'

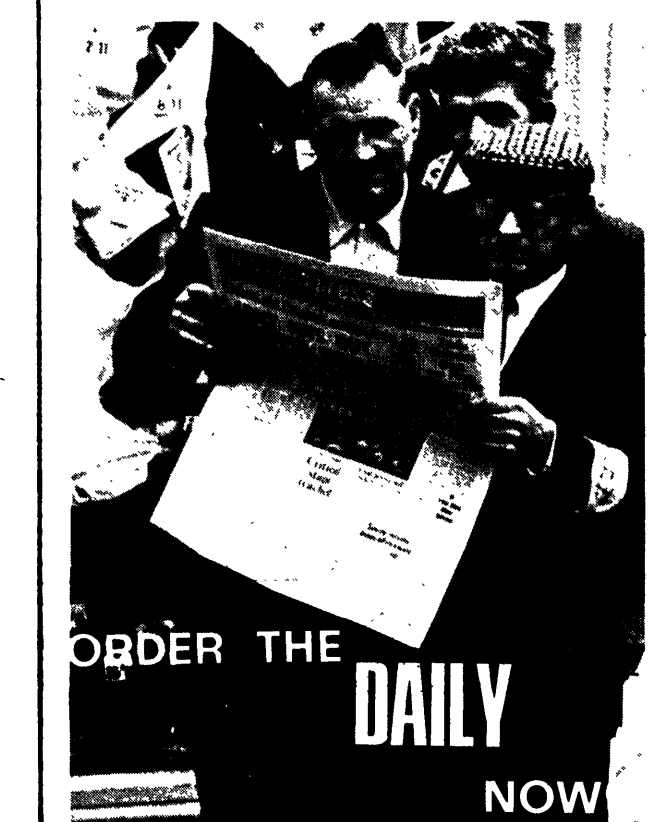
Attacking the court, Paddy Long said:

'Courts of inquiry aren't run for or by the workers but by and for the employers.'

A young press shop worker—J. W. Taylor—said that in his opinion:

'We can't go back with nothing to negotiations. If we go back without winning it will be very hard to get the men out again if in negotiations the management refuse what we want.'

'We only win if they pay us. If we do win it will help other motor workers. There should be a token strike in the combine every week!'



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## French banks attack workers

THE BANK of France announced new credit restrictions on Wednesday.

As from next January, the volume of credit extended by all French banks will be reduced by 3 per cent. It will then be eased back to its current level over the following six months.

The measures are said to be necessary because of the continued inflationary pressures still at work in the economy.

High wage costs and an active demand for goods are stated to be undermining the intended deflationary effects of the franc devaluation last August.

Any restriction of credit will lead directly to unemployment, the classical international weapon of capitalism against the living conditions of the working class.

Workers' Press