

## What we think

### Replacing the Tories

IF THE Tory government is forced to resign by the united mass action of the trade union movement, what will happen then? What will we put in its place?

WHAT HAPPENS after the Tories are forced out will not be decided primarily in parliament. The essential question is now that a mass movement of the working class can be mobilized to drive the Tories out, and this will be the predominant factor in what replaces them.

But it is already obvious that the Labour leaders fear this mass movement just as much as the Tories do; so when a Labour government replaces the Tories, will they not carry on the Tories' work?

The struggle against the treacherous reformist leaders will have to be carried through to the very end. However, the Labour leaders will not come back in the same circumstances in which they were elected in 1964 and 1966.

The Tories are forced to try and take away every basic right, every hard-won gain, from the working class: full employment, health and welfare services, council housing at reasonable rents, trade union and democratic rights.

The first and only question before the government which replaces the Tories will be: how to restore these rights and these gains?

As the Charter of Basic Rights points out, they can be defeated and restored only by decisive inroads into the property and power of the capitalist class.

Workers will have to occupy and run factories to ensure full employment and no closures. Banks will have to be nationalized to control the economy.

Building and insurance societies, and the building and building supplies industries, will have to be nationalized under workers' control, if housing is to be guaranteed to the working class.

The forces of the ruling class who are out to destroy democratic rights will have to be fought and defeated. It is these tasks which the mass movement will pose to the next Labour government.

When Wilson promotes Michael Foot and Eric Heffer in the Parliamentary Labour Party, it is not because he is contemplating socialist measures, but because he hopes this 'left' face will give the working class the illusion that their demands can be satisfied in parliament.

But every one of the questions before the working class is a question of the power of the organized working class, not of simply a few parliamentary measures.

That is why it is so important to demand now that the Labour and trade union leaders mobilize the whole movement.

That is why we must fight for all the policy demands in the Charter of Basic Rights, to unite all sections of the working class, low-paid and well-paid, housewives and trade unionists, youth and adult, for a programme of expropriating the capitalist class.

Consequently, the bringing down of the Tories would be the beginning of a new and much more advanced stage of the struggle.

The ruling class would then hope to use betrayals and deception by the reformists to prepare a rapid change to an ultra-right Tory regime, and there would be a decisive struggle on basic questions of a socialist programme, and of defence against right-wing reaction, inside the trade union and labour movement.

In this struggle, the Socialist Labour League and the All Trades Unions Alliance will be fighting for leadership, around the programme of the Charter of Basic Rights. The next Labour government will mark the beginning therefore of the most de-

# 'Marginal' offer change-unions Power men face crucial weekend

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

ALTHOUGH no power-industry settlement was reached in yesterday's lengthy joint talks there can be no doubt that union chiefs are swiftly retreating from their members' £5 16s pay claim.

It is similar to the kind of retreat made by the Transport and General Workers' Union on the docks and—together with other unions—at GKN-Sankeys after the Tories came to power.

The union chiefs' first aim will be to persuade their members to follow the Electrical Power Engineers' Association's example yesterday in calling off their threatened work-to-rule.

Effects of the manual workers' five-day-old action have clearly scared union chiefs more than they have the Tory government.

They hope to achieve a return to normal working on the basis of the Feather formula hailed in yesterday's 'Morning Star' as a victory for the power workers.

'The fact that a meeting is taking place is a tribute to the strength and militancy of the power workers and a rebuff to the government's attempts to intimidate them,' said the 'Star' editorial.

It went on: '... it is the government which is being taught a lesson. The workers have proved that militancy is the only thing that pays. Its continuation will bring them victory.'

Here we have the 'Star' which originally supported the £10 demand by militant power workers, giving a political cover to what is the first step to retreat masterminded by Victor Feather.

But what is the great concession the power workers' leaders wanted from the Electricity Council in yesterday's talks about talks?

### Concession?

Only that if talks take place the Council should promise not to rule out an improved pay offer.

Concession? It would surely be hard to imagine any talks between unions and management that did not include provision for 'improved offers'.

The union side of the industry's national joint council will meet again tomorrow to discuss what ETU secretary Frank Chapple says is a 'marginal change' in the employers' offer.

The unions hope this will be followed by a long period of haggling while men in the stations cool-down and are generally softened up to accept a few bob on the existing £2 offer.

But the most remarkable feature in these early stages of manoeuvre has been the frantic activity of the TUC general secretary.

He was the man who on Thursday acted as unpaid mediator between the right-wing union leaders of the power workers, the government, and the Electricity Council.

His desire for compromise is born from the fear that the power workers' struggle will escalate into a major confrontation with the government.

Feather's activities are in contrast with those of the employers and government.

The Tories are undoubtedly not quite as concerned about the work-to-rule.

Their stand so far has been backed by the Confederation

## Trial protest by Iranian students



ABOUT 20 Iranian students went on hunger strike in Trafalgar Square yesterday against the trial in Teheran of five political opponents of the Shah, who face death if found guilty.

The Iranian regime has refused two Labour MPs visas to observe the proceedings.

## Kremlin 'conciliation' strengthens Nixon's attacks

BY JOHN SPENCER

PRESIDENT Nixon issued a brutal warning yesterday that US bombers will smash N Vietnam supply lines and military targets if Liberation Front troop build-ups continue in the South.

He made it clear he has no intention of stopping reconnaissance flights over N Vietnam and would order destruction of missile sites and supporting facilities if the aircraft were attacked.

He could foresee no circumstances, he added, under which American ground troops would be sent to help the Lon Nol government. But he defended US military aid to

Cambodia and said it was a 'wise investment', not an escalation of the war.

Nixon also took a hard line on the Middle-East conflict, openly disagreeing even with Jordanian King Hussein, who called on Thursday for unconditional Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories.

US policy, Nixon said, hinged on the 1967 United Nations resolution. With-

drawing was 'a matter for negotiation'.

Nixon is able to take this hard foreign policy line because of the continuing rapprochement between US imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy.

He made this plain at his conference when he spoke about the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) now going on in Helsinki: the US and the Soviet Union were very far apart at the talks, he said, but he thought the most significant aspect of their relations was that they



Power workers interviewed yesterday outside Fulham power station (from left to right): Thomas King, James Rome, Tom Champion and Harold Pritchard.

## Nothing less than £5 16s— power men demand

BY PETER READ

LONDON power workers yesterday left no room for doubt on their determination not to allow union leaders to settle for less than their full £5 16s claim.

TOM CHAMPION, joint shop stewards' committee chairman at Fulham power station, told us:

'The claim is such that nothing less than £5 will do. It's geared up so nothing less is acceptable. 'It has to be met in full. We'll work-to-rule for 12 months.'

### Entitled

'If a man with two children worked Monday to Friday, he would be entitled to money under the new Tory "poor law".'

'Our case stands up for examination by anybody. 'The power men can win because all we're doing is going to work, doing normal work and not doing excessive duties or hours. It's not true that we're going slow.'

### Rumours

Another Fulham shop steward, JAMES ROME, an engineering union member, spoke of rumours that union leaders may bring back a £3 offer:

'I myself feel that £3 would definitely not be acceptable.'

'We've fought for long enough for what we're asking and I feel we're entitled to £5 16s considering the high productivity that we've given.'

THOMAS KING, a Fulham toolstore worker, said: 'My opinion is the dockers

• PAGE FOUR COL. 7

## Make Jan 12 General Strike —Ford men

A RESOLUTION passed by Ford's 1/667 Transport and General Workers' branch has called on the union's executive to make January 12 an official stoppage.

The branch committee is to circularize its entire membership of four-and-a-half thousand with the resolution, which also calls for a campaign on 'the TUC general council to make January 12 a one-day general strike'.

## Revisionists lie on MDW at Cowley

BY DAVID MAUDE

BRITISH-LEYLAND'S attempt to force Measured-Day Work on its Cowley carworkers has received press backing from two quarters.

The more open attack has already provoked a firm and determined rebuff from the workers involved.

First in the field was Sir Max Aitken's 'Daily Express', leading 'The Daily Telegraph' Magazine by a short head in witch-hunting shop stewards at two Leyland plants in the area.

Management at the combine's BMC Service plant—in short-sighted disregard of the glaring inaccuracy and crude innuendo employed in both papers—displayed enlarged reproductions of Thursday's 'Express' article on 'The Wreckers', which named the factory's senior Amalgamated Engineers and Foundry-workers' steward.

They soon found they had badly miscalculated.

### PROTEST

On descending to the factory floor later in the day for informal discussions on a bonus dispute, company representatives came close to being mobbed by several hundred workers in protest against their witch-hunting action.

A more subtle attack on the fight against MDW comes in today's issue of the revisionist 'Socialist Worker'.

The headline in this paper's report is: 'Morris says yes, but PSF sticks out'.

This is a lie.

And it is a lie designed to help the management.

Morris workers have not accepted Measured-Day Work. The International Socialism group's line is: 'Oppose MDW, but not "negatively"'. In a bid to foist this rotten opportunist philosophy on to Leyland workers, 'Socialist Worker' falsely claims that pieceworkers at Cowley's Morris assembly plant have been instructed to throw readers off the scent with the new scheme.

### INSISTED

A meeting at the plant in fact insisted that the company's MDW proposals be submitted to senior stewards in a bid to counter management's attempt to put them straight to local union officials.

This meeting was on November 13. Since then, national officials have stepped in to insist that they were discussed at local official level—as the company wanted—and then at York national conference.

This latter meeting took place yesterday. In failing to mention this train of events, 'Socialist Worker' adds covering up for the union officials to its list of political crimes.

### POISONOUS

Instead of coming out in support of the Cowley stewards' open struggle to scotch MDW, the paper—after attempting to throw readers off the scent with a bald assertion that 'the management's proposals are totally unacceptable'—moves in with the poisonous nonsense that Leyland's plans should be opposed by fighting for four

## £1,250 Dec. Appeal Fund reaches £272 12s 10d

WE ARE confident that you will raise the outstanding £977 7s 2d by December 31. It is more important than ever before to develop support for the Workers Press.

The retreats of the trade union leaders in the face of the Tories pose serious dangers for the working class.

This paper will continue to expose this reformist leadership and show the way forward to millions of workers. The Tory government must be forced to resign.

Let us go all out in a big campaign this weekend. Raise as much as you can towards the December total.

Post all donations to: Workers Press Appeal Fund, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

## SOME DELAYS

SOME readers might receive their Workers Press later than usual this weekend because of power cuts caused by the refusal of the Tories to grant the power workers' legitimate demand.

We assure all our readers that we will not let them down, and that the paper will continue to appear regularly—the Tory government notwithstanding.

## All Trades Unions Alliance Second Annual Conference

Discuss

### THE CHARTER OF BASIC RIGHTS

The right to a job, to strike and organize, to retain gains made, to fair prices, to welfare benefits and to decent housing.

Defend and maintain these rights in a fight to force the Tories to resign.

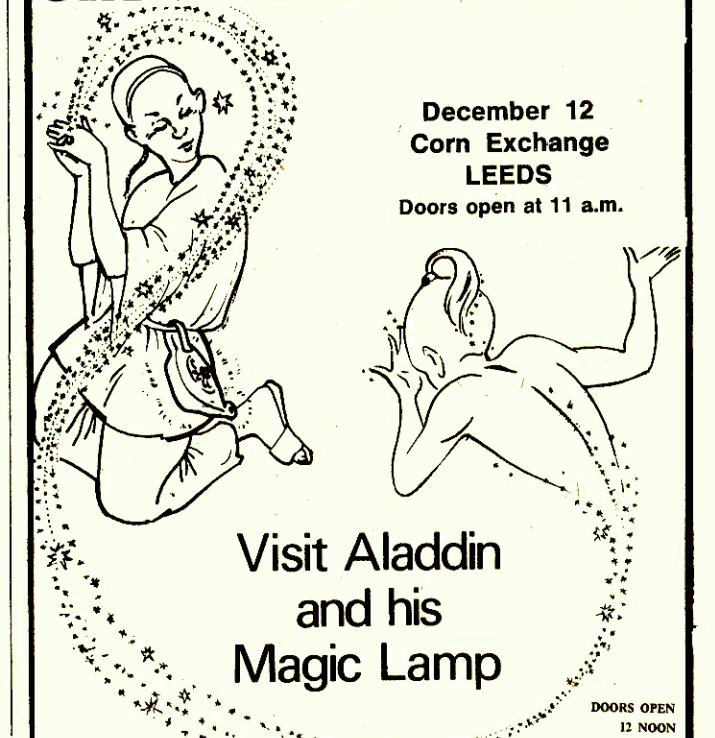
## BIRMINGHAM Sat. December 19

Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth 10.30. am

For delegates' or visitors' credentials send 5s to Alan Wilkins, ATUA secretary, 53 The Hiron, Styvechale, Coventry.

## LEEDS — TODAY

### Something for everyone at the YOUNG SOCIALISTS GIANT XMAS BAZAAR



December 12 Corn Exchange LEEDS Doors open at 11 a.m.

Visit Aladdin and his Magic Lamp

THE DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## What we think

### Replacing the Tories

IF THE Tory government is forced to resign by the united mass action of the trade union movement, what will happen then? What will we put in its place?

WHAT HAPPENS after the Tories are forced out will not be decided primarily in parliament. The essential question is now that a mass movement of the working class can be mobilized to drive the Tories out, and this will be the predominant factor in what replaces them.

But it is already obvious that the Labour leaders fear this mass movement just as much as the Tories do; so when a Labour government replaces the Tories, will they not carry on the Tories' work?

The struggle against the treacherous reformist leaders will have to be carried through to the very end. However, the Labour leaders will not come back in the same circumstances in which they were elected in 1964 and 1966.

The Tories are forced to try and take away every basic right, every hard-won gain, from the working class: full employment, health and welfare services, council housing at reasonable rents, trade union and democratic rights.

The first and only question before the government which replaces the Tories will be: how to restore these rights and these gains!

As the Charter of Basic Rights points out, they can be defeated and restored only by decisive intervention into the property and power of the capitalist class.

Workers will have to occupy and run factories to ensure full employment and no closures. Banks will have to be nationalized to control the economy.

Building and insurance societies, and the building and building supplies industries, will have to be nationalized under workers' control, if housing is to be guaranteed to the working class.

The forces of the ruling class who are out to destroy democratic rights will have to be fought and defeated. It is these tasks which the mass movement will pose to the next Labour government!

When Wilson promotes Michael Foot and Eric Heffer in the Parliamentary Labour Party, it is not because he is contemplating socialist measures, but because he hopes this 'left' face will give the working class the illusion that their demands can be satisfied in parliament.

But every one of the questions before the working class is a question of the power of the organized working class, not of simply a few parliamentary measures.

That is why it is so important to demand now that the Labour and trade union leaders mobilize the whole movement.

That is why we must fight for all the policy demands in the Charter of Basic Rights, to unite all sections of the working class, low-paid and well-paid, housewives and trade unionists, youth and adult, for a programme of expropriating the capitalist class.

Consequently, the bringing down of the Tories would be the beginning of a new and much more advanced stage of the struggle.

The ruling class would then hope to use betrayals and deceptions by the reformists to prepare a rapid change to an ultraright Tory regime, and there would be a decisive struggle on basic questions of a socialist programme, and of defence against right-wing reaction, inside the trade union and labour movement.

In this struggle, the Socialist Labour League and the All Trades Unions Alliance will be fighting for leadership, around the programme of the Charter of Basic Rights. The next Labour government will mark the beginning therefore of the most de-

## 'Marginal' offer change-unions

# Power men face crucial weekend

ALTHOUGH no power-industry settlement was reached in yesterday's lengthy joint talks there can be no doubt that union chiefs are swiftly retreating from their members' £5 16s pay claim.

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

## Trial protest by Iranian students



ABOUT 20 Iranian students went on hunger strike in Trafalgar Square yesterday against the trial in Teheran of five political opponents of the Shah, who face death if found guilty. The Iranian regime has refused two Labour MPs visits to observe the proceedings.

## Kremlin 'conciliation' strengthens Nixon's attacks

BY JOHN SPENCER

PRESIDENT Nixon issued a brutal warning yesterday that US bombers will smash N Vietnam supply lines and military targets if Liberation Front troop build-ups continue in the South. He made it clear he has no intention of stopping reconnaissance flights over N Vietnam and would order destruction of missile sites and supporting facilities if the aircraft were attacked. He could foresee no circumstances, he added, under which American ground troops would be sent to help the Lon Nol government. But he defended US military aid to

Cambodia and said it was 'a wise investment', not an escalation of the war. Nixon also took a hard line on the Middle-East conflict, openly disagreeing even with Jordanian King Hussein, who called on Thursday for unconditional Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories. US policy, Nixon said, hinged on the 1967 United Nations resolution. With-

drawing was 'a matter for negotiation'. Nixon is able to take this hard foreign policy line because of the continuing rapprochement between US imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy. He made this plain at his conference when he spoke about the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) now going on in Helsinki: the US and the Soviet Union were very far apart at the talks, he said, but he thought the most significant aspect of their relations was that they

It is similar to the kind of retreat made by the Transport and General Workers' Union on the docks and—together with other unions—at GKN-Sankeys after the Tories came to power.

The union chiefs' first aim will be to persuade their members to follow the Electrical Power Engineers' Association's example yesterday in calling off their threatened work-to-rule.

Effects of the manual workers' five-day-old action have clearly scared union chiefs more than they have the Tory government.

They hope to achieve a return to normal working on the basis of the Feather formula hailed in yesterday's 'Morning Star' as a victory for the power workers.

The fact that a meeting is taking place is a tribute to the strength and militancy of the power workers and a rebuff to the government's attempts to intimidate them, said the 'Star' editorial.

It went on: '... it is the government which is being taught a lesson. The workers have proved that militancy is the only thing that pays. Its continuation will bring them victory.'

Here we have the 'Star' which originally supported the £10 demand by militant power workers, giving a political cover to what is the first step to retreat masterminded by Victor Feather.

But what is the great concession the power workers' leaders wanted from the Electricity Council in yesterday's talks about talks?

### Concession?

Only that if talks take place the Council should promise not to rule out an improved pay offer.

Concession? It would surely be hard to imagine any talks between unions and management that did not include provision for 'improved offers'.

The union side of the industry's national joint council will meet again tomorrow to discuss what ETU secretary Frank Chapple says is a 'marginal change' in the employers' offer.

The unions hope this will be followed by a long period of haggling while men in the stations cool-down and are generally softened up to accept a few bob on the existing £2 offer.

But the most remarkable feature in these early stages of manoeuvre has been the frantic activity of the TUC general secretary.

He was the man who on Thursday acted as unpaid medium between the right-wing union leaders of the power workers, the government and the Electricity Council.

His desire for compromise is born from the fear that the power workers' struggle will escalate into a major confrontation with the government.

Feather's activities are in contrast with those of the employers and government. The Tories are undoubtedly not quite as concerned about the work-to-rule. Their stand so far has been backed by the Confederation



Power workers interviewed yesterday outside Fulham power station (from left to right): Thomas King, James Rome, Tom Champion and Harold Pritchard.

## Nothing less than £5 16s—power men demand

BY PETER READ

LONDON power workers yesterday left no room for doubt on their determination not to allow union leaders to settle for less than their full £5 16s claim.

TOM CHAMPION, joint shop stewards' committee chairman at Fulham power station, told us:

'The claim is such that nothing less than £5 will do. It's geared up so nothing less is acceptable. It has to be met in full. We'll work-to-rule for 12 months.'

### Entitled

'If a man with two children worked Monday to Friday, he would be entitled to money under the new Tory "poor law".'

'Our case stands up for examination by anybody. The power men can win because all we're doing is going to work, doing normal work and not doing excessive duties or hours. It's not true that we're going slow.'

### Rumours

Another Fulham shop steward, JAMES ROME, an engineering union member, spoke of rumours that union leaders may bring back a £3 offer:

'I myself feel that £3 would definitely not be acceptable. We've fought for long enough for what we're asking and I feel we're entitled to £5 16s considering the high productivity that we've given.'

THOMAS KING, a Fulham toolstore worker, said: 'My opinion is the dockers

• PAGE FOUR COL. 7

## Make Jan 12 General Strike—Ford men

A RESOLUTION passed by Ford's 1/667 Transport and General Workers' branch has called on the union's executive to make January 12 an official stoppage.

The branch committee is to circulate its entire membership of four-and-a-half thousand with the resolution, which also calls for a campaign on 'the TUC general council to make January 12 a one-day general strike'.

## Revisionists lie on MDW at Cowley

BY DAVID MAUDE

BRITISH LEYLAND'S attempt to force Measured-Day Work on its Cowley carworkers has received press backing from two quarters.

The more open attack has already provoked a firm and determined rebuff from the workers involved.

First in the field was Sir Max Aitken's 'Daily Express', leading 'The Daily Telegraph' Magazine by a short head in witch-hunting shop stewards at two Leyland plants in the area.

Management at the combine's BMC Service plant—in short-sighted disregard of the glaring inaccuracy and crude innuendo employed in both papers—displayed enlarged reproductions of Thursday's 'Express' article on 'The Wreckers', which named the factory's senior Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers' steward.

They soon found they had badly miscalculated.

### PROTEST

On descending to the factory floor later in the day for informal discussions on a bonus dispute, company representatives came close to being mobbed by several hundred workers in protest against their witch-hunting action.

A more subtle attack on the fight against MDW comes in today's issue of the revisionist 'Socialist Worker'.

The headline in this paper's report is: 'Morris says yes, but PSF stick out.'

This is a lie. And it is a lie designed to help the management. Morris workers have not accepted Measured-Day Work. The International Socialism group's line is: 'Oppose MDW, but not "negatively".'

In a bid to falsify this rotten opportunist philosophy on a Leyland workers' 'Socialist Worker' falsely claims that pieceworkers at Cowley's Morris assembly plant have 'instructed the stewards to start negotiating the new scheme'.

### INSISTED

A meeting at the plant in fact insisted that the company's MDW proposals be submitted to senior stewards in a bid to counter management's attempt to put them straight to local union officials.

This meeting was on November 13. Since then, national officials have stepped in to insist that they were discussed at local official level—as the company wanted—and then at York national conference.

This latter meeting took place yesterday. In failing to mention this train of events, 'Socialist Worker' adds covering up for the union officials to its list of political crimes.

### POISONOUS

Instead of coming out in support of the Cowley stewards' open struggle to scotch MDW, the paper—after attempting to throw readers off the scent with a bald assertion that 'the management's proposals are totally unacceptable'—moves in with the poisonous nonsense that Leyland's plans should be opposed by fighting for four

• PAGE FOUR COL. 8

## £1,250 Dec. Appeal Fund reaches £272 12s 10d

WE ARE confident that you will raise the outstanding £977 7s 2d by December 31. It is more important than ever before to develop support for the Workers Press.

The retreats of the trade union leaders in the face of the Tories pose serious dangers for the working class.

This paper will continue to expose this reformist leadership and show the way forward to millions of workers. The Tory government must be forced to resign.

Let us go all out in a big campaign this weekend. Raise as much as you can towards the December total.

Post all donations to: Workers Press Appeal Fund, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

## SOME DELAYS

SOME readers might receive their Workers Press later than usual this weekend because of power cuts caused by the refusal of the Tories to grant the power workers' legitimate demand.

We assure all our readers that we will not let them down, and that the paper will continue to appear regularly—the Tory government notwithstanding.

## All Trades Unions Alliance Second Annual Conference

Discuss

### THE CHARTER OF BASIC RIGHTS

The right to a job, to strike and organize, to retain gains made, to fair prices, to welfare benefits and to decent housing.

Defend and maintain these rights in a fight to force the Tories to resign.

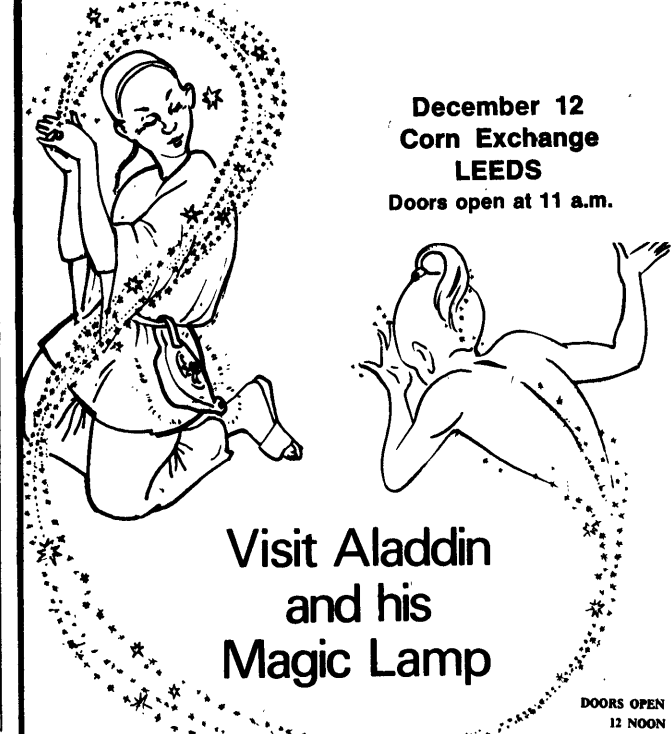
**BIRMINGHAM Sat. December 19**

**Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth 10.30. am**

For delegates' or visitors' credentials send 5s to Alan Wilkins, ATUA secretary, 53 The Hiron, Styvechale, Coventry.

## LEEDS — TODAY

Something for everyone at the YOUNG SOCIALISTS GIANT XMAS BAZAAR



December 12 Corn Exchange LEEDS

Doors open at 11 a.m.

Visit Aladdin and his Magic Lamp

DOORS OPEN 11 NOON

THE THEORETICAL justification for class collaboration with elements of the Tory Party was outlined by CP member Sam Aaronovich at Marx House, London, on November 27.

He claimed that today socialists should adopt the policy followed by the Communist International after its Seventh Congress in 1935 — the policy of the 'popular' or 'people's front'.

The Popular Front was a programme of collaboration between the working class and sections of the ruling class for the defence of 'parliamentary democracy'.

It tied the working class to the programmes of capitalist parties through the medium of the Front.

Aaronovich said this was justified by the need for the 'broadest possible unity' against 'the most reactionary sections of monopoly capitalism'.

Yet in the immediately preceding period, 1928-1934, beginning with the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the bureaucracy had imposed the ultra-left 'third period' policy on all its parties.

Basing themselves on Stalin's theory that social democracy and fascism had become 'twins', the leaders of the German CP refused to form a united front against the Nazis with the Social Democrats.

'Social fascists'

Instead, the Social Democrats were called 'social fascists'. Covering its retreat before fascism with ultra-left phrases, the German Stalinists put about the suicidal slogan 'After Hitler, our turn'.

This sectarian policy split the working class from top to bottom and was primarily responsible for Hitler's victory in 1933.

Having handed the German working class over to fascism through its ultra-left policies, the International swung 180 degrees back to the right. The former 'social fascists' were supposedly transformed by the Popular Front into fighters against fascism and war.

Cynically exploiting the deep hatred millions of workers had for fascism, the Stalinist bureaucracy led them into the arms of their class enemies in the so-called 'democratic camp' of imperialism.

In the interests of defending this 'democratic' imperialism against fascist imperialism, the 1935 Congress called for fronts to be formed between parties of the working class and 'progressive' leaders of the ruling class.

Georgi Dimitrov, the new chairman of the Communist International, made this very clear in his report:

'Under certain conditions, we can and must bend our efforts to the task of drawing these parties [of the capitalist class] and organizations or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist people's front, despite their bourgeois leadership. Such, for instance, is today the situation in France with the Radical Party ...'

Clear break

This 1935 report, so warmly praised by Aaronovich and recommended as 'a must' for the anti-Tory fight today, marked a clear break from the policies and principles defended by the Communist International in its early years. The united front (and not people's front) advocated by Lenin and Trotsky was a limited, tactical agreement between working-class parties to fight the common class enemy on certain issues. In this united front there was to be no common programme, or merging of banners.

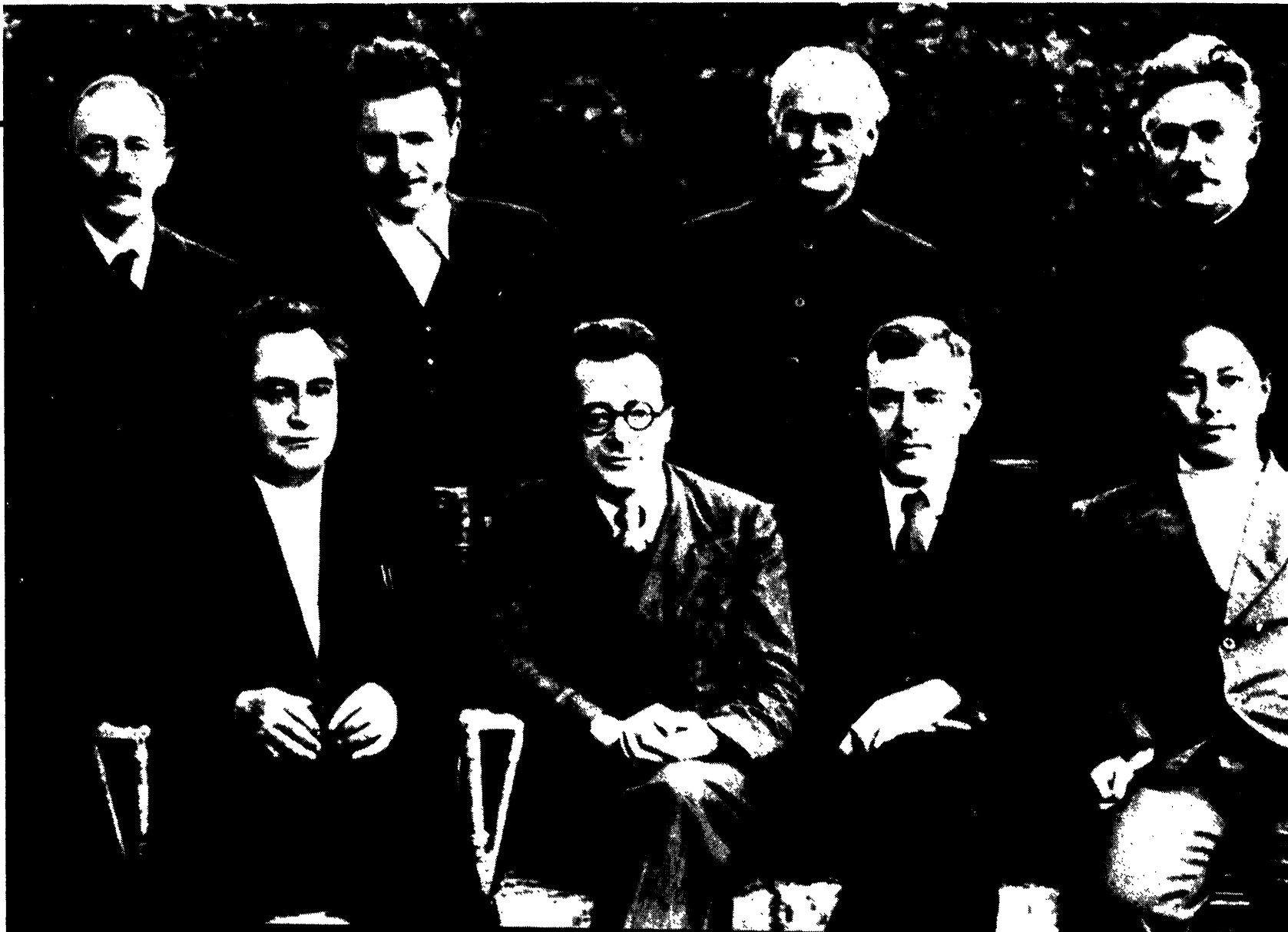
Its slogan was 'March separately, strike together'.

In contrast the Stalinist Popular Front of 1935 and after was based on class-collaboration on a common programme with parties of the middle and ruling classes as well as the reformists. The American Stalinist leader Earl Browder described it thus:

'The People's Front is not socialism. It has the great merit of making no pretensions to that effect. It is openly and frankly a joint platform of non-socialists together with socialists.'

Under the blow of the class struggle in W Europe, the Popular Front rapidly developed from a joint political programme of Stalinists, reformists and capitalists into a government coalition.

Stalinism revives 'Popular front'



Robert Black takes up some vital questions of theory raised at a Communist Party meeting addressed by Sam Aaronovich at Marx House on November 27

General staff of the Comintern at its Seventh Congress. Front from left: Bulgaria's GEORGI DIMITROV; Italy's P A L M I R O T O G L I A T T I; Germany's W I L H E L M F L O R I N; China's C H E N S H A O - Y O (Wang-Ming). Rear: Finland's O T T O K U U S I N E N; Czechoslovakia's K L E M E N T G O T T W A L D; Germany's W I L H E L M P I E C K; Stalin's personal secretary D M I T R I M A N U I L S K Y.

Through the mechanism of Popular Front governments, the Stalinist bureaucracy served as another arm of the capitalist state machine, breaking strikes in France, murdering revolutionary workers in Spain.

In the name of the 'democratic alliance', Stalin's secret police (GPU) hunted down and assassinated Trotskyists all over the world.

This turn towards open class collaboration in 1935 by the International was a reflection of important social and economic changes in the Soviet Union.

A whole new bureaucratic layer of technicians, administrators, Party officials and highly-paid 'shock workers' had sprung up as a result of the first five-year plan, and merged with the Stalinist bureaucracy.

For both imperialism and the bureaucracy, the main enemy was not fascism, but revolution.

According to Browder, '... the People's Front ... finds in Trotskyism its most immediate and bitter enemy'. In fact, Browder made the crushing of Trotskyism the pre-condition of the front's success:

'Without this victory over every Trotskyist influence, unity in the fight against fascism and war ... is impossible.'

Exploited

To introduce this new Popular Front line at the Seventh Congress, the new Chairman was appointed Georgi Dimitrov.

Dimitrov was a Bulgarian Communist accused by the Nazis of

to unite can, and in fact did, have a great appeal. That is precisely its danger.

In France, the Stalinists anchored their Popular Front on the capitalist Radical Party just when, under the blows of the growing crisis, the peasantry and urban middle class were turning away from its corrupt leaders in utter disgust.

The Stalinists were left propping up an utterly discredited and stinking political corpse, whose bankrupt capitalist programme was adopted en bloc as the policy of the Popular Front.

When the middle class becomes radicalized by capitalist crisis, it jumps unpredictably in all directions. At such times it requires strong leadership, discipline and a bold programme to fight for, and this can come only from the

Then five months later, Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, clearing the way for the Second World War.

Its counter-revolutionary job done, the Popular Front was wound up.

But its class-collaborationist principles remained the basis of all future Stalinist policy. 'The British Road to Socialism', the official programme of the Communist Party, is based on the policies of the 1935 Congress.

This was acknowledged by Aaronovich, as it has been by many other CP leaders.

The 'British Road' is a programme of class-collaboration like the people's front. It preaches the parliamentary road to socialism through the organs of capitalist state power.

Aaronovich attempts to give it a new theoretical gloss just when big business is preparing for extreme right-wing, Bonapartist forms of rule over the working class.

In the trade unions, the Stalinists disarm the working class with reformist illusions about 'peaceful roads to socialism' in alliance with 'labour lefts'.

So the December 8 strike is presented by the Stalinists as a protest action which will force the Tories to 'change their minds' over their anti-union legislation.

True to Popular Front traditions, everything is staked on divisions within the ruling class, leading to a Tory retreat over the anti-union Bill.

This is completely in line with the strategy outlined by Aaronovich, which is to isolate 'the most reactionary' section of the ruling class and form an alliance with the rest.

Trade unionists must never forget that in the name of the 'people's front', Stalinists in Britain broke strikes on behalf of Churchill just as in 1970 the Polish bureaucracy helped to break the miners' strike for Franco in Spain and the cement strike for Lynch in Ireland by the export of 'black' coal and cement.

In the recent miners' strike, as Workers Press has proved, the Stalinists played an equally treacherous role, adapting to the militancy of the miners, only to knife them in the back when the strike reached a strategic turning point.

When the issue of a direct challenge to the NUM bureaucracy and the Tories was posed, the Stalinists knuckled under.

In turn, this Stalinist line in the trade unions of protecting the Tories serves the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Kremlin welcomed the Tory victory on June 18, expressing the hope that Heath would follow a more 'independent', anti-US foreign policy than had Wilson.

So, as in the period of the pre-war Popular Front, the foreign policy of the bureaucracy shapes the counter-revolutionary line of the Stalinists in the western labour movement.

To talk, as the Stalinists do, of this Tory government being forced to 'change its course' is to spread the illusion that there can be a 'reformed' or 'progressive' Tory government that will not be driven to attack the historically established rights of the working class.



A 'Popular Front' demonstration in Paris, 1936

This new privileged layer, intensely conservative and hostile to the mass of workers and peasants beneath it, desired only one thing—stability. It therefore feared revolutionary upheavals in Europe no less than an imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union.

Main enemy

This search for 'collective security' led to the Soviet Union's entry into the League of Nations (Lenin's 'thieves' kitchen') in 1934.

The bureaucracy rallied with genuine enthusiasm to both the People's Front and Stalin's murder of Lenin's party in the Moscow Trials.

setting fire to the Berlin Reichstag (Parliamentary building) on the eve of the March 1933 election. Acquitted at the famous Leipzig trial, he was handed over to the Soviet government by the Nazis soon afterwards. His reputation as an anti-fascist hero was exploited by Stalin to the full.

The basic, anti-Marxist, assumption behind his 1935 report was that fascism and imperialism war could be prevented without mobilizing the working class on a socialist programme for the overthrow of capitalism.

As Dimitrov said at the Seventh Congress:

'The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the axe of a powerful anti-war front.'

Or, as Manuilsky expressed it:

'Today, the working class in most capitalist countries is not confronted with the alternative of bourgeois democracy or proletarian revolution; they are confronted with the alternative of bourgeois democracy or fascism.'

In other words, there was to be no struggle for power, but only an alliance with capitalist parties against fascism.

Looked at superficially, the Stalinist call for all 'democrats'

working class behind a revolutionary party.

The Stalinists could only offer it an alliance with the very leaders that time and again had betrayed the middle class to the monopolies.

A 'democratic' alliance is put forward just when the middle classes turn in anger against bourgeois 'democracy'. The Popular Front 'against fascism' thus served to drive sections of the middle class directly over to the fascists!

And by tying the working class to the programme of the middle-class parties, the Stalinists prevented the working class from coming forward as the decisive force for reorganizing society along socialist lines, the only challenge that can break the political grip of fascist demagogues and liberal windbags.

Tested

Within months of the Seventh Congress, the Popular Front was put to the test.

In France, the Stalinists tied the working class to the Radical Party, in Spain to the Republicans and bourgeois nationalists in the Basque and Catalonia.

Largely through the policies of the Popular Front 'against fascism and war' the working class was soon to suffer from both fascism and war.

First came Franco's victory in Spain.

'broad democratic alliance'. Here he was repeating the old Popular Front lie that the middle class are repelled by revolutionary policies and decisive working-class action.

This is also implicit in the editorial of the Stalinist 'Marxism Today' (December 1970), which calls for a 'broad alliance of anti-monopoly forces'—(among whom it specifically includes the Archbishop of Canterbury).

'Changes'

The point is, this alliance is not intended to defeat the Tories, but to change their policies:

'... the movement is still a very long way from reaching the level required to compel the Tories to withdraw their anti-union measures and cuts in the social services ... Such an alliance could compel changes in current policies and open the way for more basic changes ...' (Emphasis added.)

Basic changes ... in what? The Tory Party?

Since the editorial nowhere makes the call to bring this Tory government down, and talks only of changes in its policy, then this is what it must mean.

Aaronovich's revival of the Popular Front today is calculated to head off the working class from an all-out struggle against the Tory government in defence of its rights and conditions.

From our foundation, the Trotskyist movement has always fought against class-collaborationist policies.

The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International rejects completely the treacherous strategy contained in the 'people's front'.

'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. "People's Fronts" on the one hand — fascism on the other: these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution.'

Trotsky's analysis of Stalinist class-collaboration retains all its validity today.

It must become the political foundation of our struggle for revolutionary leadership against all those—Stalinists, centrists and reformists alike—who would betray the working class to its enemies.

Advertisement for 'BOOKS FOR XMAS' featuring 'STALINISM IN BRITAIN' by Robert Black. Includes details about New Park Publications, a special offer of three vital books for £2 plus 3s postage, and a form to request the books.

Advertisement for 'THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE' with a form to request information. The form asks for Name and Address and mentions the Secretary, Socialist Labour League, 186A Clapham High St, London, SW4.

Advertisement for 'ADVANCE NOTICE' on Sunday, February 14, 1971, 11 a.m. at Alexandra Palace, Wood Green, London, N22. It promotes a 'Young Socialists and All Trades Unions Alliance' Great National Rally Against Toryism and asks to 'BOOK THIS DATE NOW!'.

'ANTI-CLERICAL groups' in the Italian Communist Party had better watch out.

The latest gambit in the Stalinist chiefs' campaign to get their backsides restored to the ministerial armchairs from which they were peremptorily evicted in May 1947...

A front-page editorial in last Sunday's edition of the Italian CP daily 'Unita' set the pace.

Joint general secretary and former 'left' Enrico Berlinguer reassured his readers that in voting for the recent Divorce Bill in parliament...

Proposals

Useful proposals for this had already come 'not only from us, but from the socialist comrades and the deputies of the Christian Democratic and Republican Parties...

Only the very short-sighted can doubt that, like the recent parliamentary agreement with Christian Democratic Prime Minister Colombo on his inflationary economic 'decree'...

The main obstacle to such a happy outcome is evidently the archaic prejudices of certain



Stepping stones

Party members. Accordingly Berlinguer delivers a stern warning against both 'anachronistic clerical groups [as opposed to the majority of progressive, up-to-date divines] no less than the distortions, the sectarian exasperation and the irresponsible provocations of equally anachronistic anti-clerical groups.'

Evil-minded

In other words 'Put the thumb-screw and the rack out of sight, Comrade Pope, and we'll undertake to muzzle any misguided or evil-minded souls among the rank and file who still see the Church as the fount of idealism and reaction.'

Already, the Vatican is offered more than reform of family law.

Berlinguer also proposes an

agreed revision of the Concordat between the Papacy and the Italian State—signed by Mussolini in 1929 and incorporated, on the initiative of the Communist Party, in the post-war Italian Constitution.

Such a revision, he holds, 'should always take account of the particular needs of the two contracting parties.'

The Pope, therefore, is to retain his vast estates, tax concessions and legal immunities, and the Italian taxpayer is to continue to finance his professional pedlars of superstition, all as part of a 'just relationship between Church and state'.

Forgotten

These perspectives on foreign policy are confirmed in a communiqué issued jointly by the Italian Party leadership and the delegation of Soviet CP bureaucrats who recently visited Rome.

The 'comradely disagreements' which have been referred to from time to time since the invasion of Czechoslovakia have been forgotten.

In their place appears a 'convergence of views on the international situation'.

Far-sighted observers of European politics do not exclude the possibility that this may be the prelude to a Soviet proposal to invite the Pope to a European Security conference.

His Holiness recently slashed his military budget by over half—sacking several dozen ornamental Vatican guards who had formed a unit to press for a wage increase.

Trotsky was German-born; his real name was Braunstein. A fortnight before the US entered the First World War Trotsky wanted to leave—as we now know to follow Germany's instructions—and take over the Bolshevik revolution.

Falsification

THE QUOTE above is not evidence from one of Stalin's purge trials but an extract from the ultra-right weekly magazine 'Time and Tide'.

It comes in a review of a biography of John Bayne Maclean, the Canadian publishing millionaire.

In the same issue appears an article on strikes which described the pay award won by dustmen as 'plunder', deplored the fact that 'Strikers... call on National Assistance to keep their families while they are idle'...

To which is added a heart-warming piece on 'The married life of the Queen', a violent attack on students of Balliol College, Oxford—a notorious hotbed of communism—for being sick during dinner, and a cautionary warning to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his 'strange theologies'.

'Time and Tide's' falsifications go even further than Stalin's.

For these people the October Revolution, and especially the roles of Trotsky and Lenin, were part of a 'German plan' which 'prolonged the most bloody war in history by a year and a half'.

The Stalinists, of course, have never felt able to deliver open insults to Lenin's memory.

But there are important similarities between the two attacks on Trotsky—particularly the attempt to portray him as an alien in the pay of hostile powers, designed to have its impact on the most backward, prejudiced elements.



Three of the 36 draughtsmen on picket duty this week

Pay talks for draughtsmen

PAY TALKS open on Monday at G. A. Harvey's, Charlton, office furniture plant in SE London for 36 workers who say they are 'the lowest-paid draughtsmen in London and NW Kent'.

Although the national minimum rate is £28 10s at 30 years, Harvey's draughtsmen receive a maximum of £29 even after 20 years' service, while their average wage is about £28 15s.

The company only agreed to open talks after the mail struck for a week ending with a return to work yesterday.

Harvey's Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association Committee member Frank Thompson told Workers Press that a claim for a 'substantial increase' had been submitted since April.

But at the end of last month—in works conference—management would only offer a pay review on an individual basis.

The draughtsmen saw this as cutting across agreed procedure and began a work-to-rule.

But after a week, this was escalated to a strike because of the management ultimatum to end sanctions or not to clock on.

THE Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party met this week to discuss the results of the Party's 11-month purge.

Review of Czech purge

It was the first meeting of the Committee since it expelled former General Secretary Dubcek from the Party's ranks in June.

Dubcek's successor, Gustav Husak, delivered the main report which revealed that 310,000 members, or more than 20 per cent, had been expelled from the Party since the purge began.

Economic problems are also high on the agenda. The Czech press has been running a campaign for 'labour discipline', while trying to excuse the growing shortages of basic foods and housing.

Problem

There is also the acute problem of the official history of the 1968 crisis.

A commission has been drafting an account of the events leading up to the Soviet invasion of August 1968 and this has led to sharp clashes between ultra-Stalinists and Husak supporters.

The latter are attempting to curry much-needed popularity by putting some of the blame for the 'liberalization' movement on the 'excesses' of the Novotny regime.

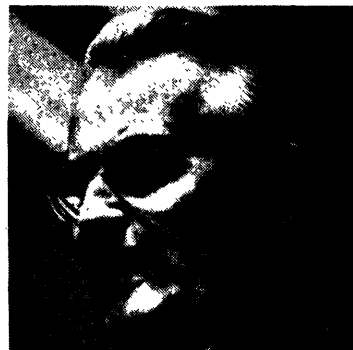


Husak

Undermine

The old guard, afraid that any discussion of the bureaucracy's history might undermine its authority, still insist that Dubcek was the tool of conscious counter-revolutionaries.

These tensions proved that the regime's crisis, far from being resolved by the Kremlin invasion and occupation, is bearing down relentlessly on the top leadership.



Novotny

Town Planning

A HITCH has arisen in the scheme of the Paris municipal council (hatched on November 13 in a unanimous vote which the CP representatives were among the first to support) to re-name the 'Place de l'Etoile'—one of the city's most impressive squares—the 'Place Charles-de-Gaulle'.

Not that the 'left-wing' have had second thoughts. But a representative of the centre, M. Edouard Frédéric-Dupont, has. According to him the Place de l'Etoile 'is closely linked in the hearts and spirits of Frenchmen with the Tomb of the unknown soldier—enshrined in the Arc de Triomphe ('Victory Arch') at the centre of the square.

And the tomb of the unknown soldier, needless to say, is dear to all (such as Frédéric-Dupont) who relish the bloodthirsty military traditions of French imperialism.

Accordingly he proposes to relegate the General (in name) to the less imposing Porte Maillot, one of the main entrances to the city, and 'lying half-way between the Avenue of Defence and the Arc de Triomphe'.

The Gaullists are furious. And among the representatives of the 'left' the suggestion has 'provoked a lack of enthusiasm'.

But at whichever spot the defunct General finally hangs up his sign, he will be better commemorated than Lenin, who is recorded only by the modest-sized 'Rue de Leningrad', in an unfashionable northern district.

The name of Stalin, on the other hand, is kept alive in the spacious Place Stalingrad, on which added dignity is conferred by the presence of a major underground station with the same name.

Advertisement for 'Just off the Press' pamphlet by Bernard Franks, 'Measuring Day Work and Productivity Deal Swindle', 'URGENT READING for every Trade Unionist', 'Packed with information on all types of deals 160 pages illus. 3s 6d'.



Berlinguer

SUBSCRIBE NOW advertisement with rates for 12, 6, and 3 months, and a form to fill out for subscription details.

TV SATURDAY and ITV listings for BBC 1, BBC 2, and Regional BBC, including programmes like 'The South Rises Again', 'The Frodo Programme', and 'The View from Pompey's Head'.

SUNDAY listings for BBC 1, BBC 2, and Regional ITV, including programmes like 'Maiden and Dean Jagger', 'The Three Faces of Jazz-Folk', and 'The Three Men in a Balloon'.

China's 'door open' to wider relations

CHINESE Prime Minister Chou En-lai says his government is ready to open talks with the US on Peking's entry into the United Nations.

He revealed this in an interview with the Milan weekly 'Epoca'.

'The door is open, but all depends on the seriousness with which the United States intends to face the problem.'

The main problem remains the island of Formosa (Taiwan), he explained.

The Chiang Kai-shek regime would have to be expelled from the UN before China could take its place there.

Chou En-lai's comments reflect the softening of China's policy towards the capitalist world, which first became evident after the winding-up of the 'Red Guards' and Mao's 'Cultural Revolution'.

Moscow-Peking relations are also showing certain definite signs of improvement' according to a Soviet broadcast to China earlier this week.

This conclusion is based on the recent re-opening of diplomatic relations between the two countries, new trade agreements and the continued progress of talks in Peking on the disputed borders along the River Amur.

'Naturally, these improvements are good', the broadcast commented; 'the Soviet people welcome them.'

Chinese propaganda against the Soviet government has been markedly toned down over recent weeks. The old slogans directed against Russian 'social imperialism' and 'facism' have been replaced by vague references to 'revisionists'.

This parallels Mao's turn towards closer relations with many capitalist countries, notably Canada, Italy and France.

Maotist groups in Britain may well find their mentors making similar approaches to the Tories.

