# The Newsletter

WEEKLY JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Vol. 8, No. 364

October 3, 1964

8/OSL FILE

Price 6d.

# Meeting

# Public After the Election, what next? Cora Hotel, Upper Woburn Place, London, WC.1.

Sunday, October 11, 7.30 p.m.

Speakers: CLIFF SLAUGHTER, PETER KERRIGAN, Docks leader

(NAS&D) and G. HEALY

Auspices: Socialist Labour League

Admission: SIXPENCE

# 3,000 Youth March for Socialism

The Stalinist 'Daily Worker'

refused an advertisement for the

demonstration and 'Tribune'

found a convenient but shabby

Militant policies

talist revisionists organised an

indoor counter - demonstration

the previous Sunday, around the

slogan 'Save the Young Social-

ists' and all they could muster

was an audience of 200, who, if

the truth was known, have no

principled agreement except that

they hate the militant policies of

the thousands of Young Social-

ists who support the youth paper

Significantly enough, the

'Daily Worker' and 'Tribune'

displayed prominent advertise-

The demonstration, in effect,

heralds the break-up of the old

bastions of bureaucracy

Stalinism and social-democracy,

in the labour movements of

That it should take place in

ments for this meeting.

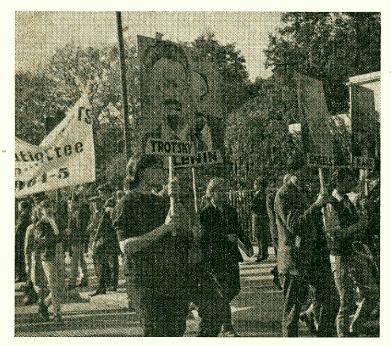
Western Europe.

'Keep Left'.

The Pabloite and State Capi-

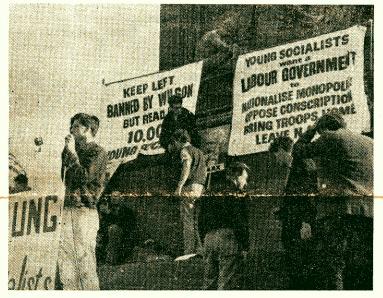
excuse to follow suit.

Send off



At the head of the march at Hyde Park four Young Socialists proudly bear the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

## Welcome to Trafalgar Sq.



Dave Longley, publisher of Keep Left, welcomes the marchers to the rallying point.

### Over 4,000 at meeting



Over 4,000 people congregated in Trafalgar Square to listen to the National Committee speakers.

### SEPTEMBER 27th

# A Sunday to remember

By Robert James

CUNDAY's 3,000 - strong also came under fire. March began at Hyde Park where six members of the National Committee of the Young Socialists: Chairman Dave Ashby, Vice-chairman, Sheila Torrance, and Mike Farley, Barrie Evans, Wal Hobson and Bob Hamilton, took the head of the demonstration followed by the four portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and their own banner. A seventh NC member could not appear because of illness.

In brilliant sunshine as the procession wended its way into Oxford Street, the marchers immediately began shouting their slogans 'Tories Out! Labour In!'

Unemployment, police violence, conscription and racialism

The police attempted to break up the procession into sections, but by the time the National Committee had turned into Bond Street, the procession stretched back to Hyde Park where the last of the marchers were just leaving.

The whole of narrow Bond Street reverberated to the slogan-shouting as red banner after red banner with its chanting followers turned the corner. At one stage the whole length of the street became a mass of red.

Into Piccadilly and down to Piccadilly Circus where Eros took second place: hundreds of sightseers turned to gasp at the spectacle which seemed even more impressive when the marchers entered Trafalgar Square from all directions to

mass in front of the plinth. Cont. page 2, col. 1  $\rightarrow$ 

# Young Socialists march through London to

# rally against the Tories

By The Editor

CCORDING to 'The Sun', one of the daily A newspapers owned by the world's most powerful press baron, Cecil King, nearly 3,000 young demonstrators marched under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square last Sunday. According to police estimates, there were over 4,000 gathered in the Square after the demonstration arrived.

We are sure that tens of thousands of labour militants all over the country will join with The Newsletter in saying 'Well done' to this splendid gather-

ing of socialist youth. The demonstration was as political as it was exciting. Over 30,000 Manifestos containing the full policy of the Young Socialists were sold in

advance during the weeks of preparation in the towns and great industrial centres of Britain. It was not just a demonstration bringing youth together on some urgent specific issue such as the H-bomb or youth unemployment. It was a demonstration based on a full socialist programme which

included a call for action on

these burning issues, but

which related this call to

the urgent need for the

labour movement to fight

on a full socialist policy. Exciting

This was the feature which movements of youth which have been taking place since the late 1950s. It was a march for socialist policy.

The demonstration was exciting because it embraced a majority of young people, many of whom had never been on a demonstration before. There were contingents of apprentices from various factories, including Harland & Wolff Belfast, AEI Manchester, and others from factories whose names are household words, on Tyneside, the Midlands and Scotland.

Marching in step with the apprentices were young students, Young Communists and certainly the most colourful and powerful array of Young Socialists branches that has been seen since the movement was founded in 1960.

### United fight

They came from as far north as Aberdeen, as far West as Wales and from London right down to the new industrial centre of Crawley.

There were Mods and there were Rockers, who are now rapidly learning how to turn their energies to a real and effective fight against capitalism instead of fighting amongst themselves. In this demonstration they were united.

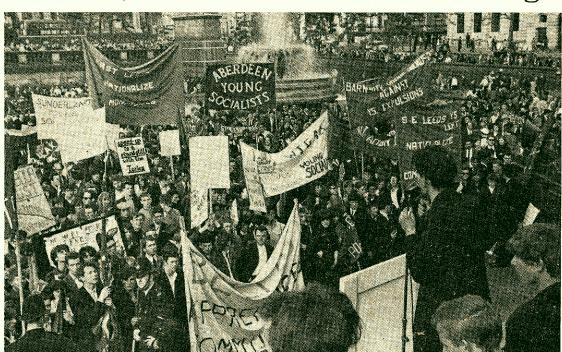
The contingent in the lead was, of course, the majority of the National Committee of the Young Socialists whose average age is 22 years. Immediately behind them were the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, telling the world at large that the youth movement in Britain rejects Stalinism, Khrushchevism, Maoism

We ask all those 'dothering' old men of the revisionist and centrists camps a simple question.

How did it happen, in Britain of all places, the heart of socialdemocracy?

You have been busy telling everybody that it could not

# National Committee address meeting



Chairman of the National Committee of Young Socialists, Dave Ashby, addressing the rally.

Britain is, for two reasons, not an accident. Firstly, the economic crisis of world imperialism is at its sharpest point in Britain. Secondly, the consistent struggle of the Socialist Labour League and The Newsletter against revisionism has assisted in the education of hundreds of new cadres to the revolutionary movement, although at no time have these Young Socialists joined the Socialist Labour

> This development in the Young Socialists is of a qualitative character. The youth are today potentially the most powerful force in the working class movement. Those who snigger over their 'tactlessness' in the fight against socialdemocracy will eat their words before very long. These three thousand mar-

chers can, must and will

build the most powerful revolutionary party the world has ever seen.

The tired old centrists of the United Secretariat in Paris will scratch their heads and say that surely to march behind the banners of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky is sectarianism. Think again, gentlemen.

Politically advanced

The youth, even in their immaturity, are a thousand times more advanced politically than you are. Because they are young they have time to learn. In the next year or so they will be playing a more and more important part in the trade unions and in the adult movement. They already know all about centrism and fake lefts.

future are already firmly held. and their centrist allies.

They reject the theory that is first necessary to build a centrist movement within social-democracy before the revolutionary party can be built. They can bring 3,000 on to the streets.

We wonder, in spite of all your subtle disguises as editors of right centrist papers, could you muster 30, under the same conditions?

Then Y mag Socialists are not isolated from the mass of the labour movement. In their fight against the right wing today they will be joined by hundreds of thousands of adult workers tomorrow. For every one who is expelled from the Labour Party today, they will train ten to replace them in the coming period. When the left wing develops inside the I They have their own trained Party they will be organised and leadership in whose hands the ready to do final battle to red banners of the communist expose and defeat the right wing

# Procession stretches length of Bond Street



The silence of Bond Street is shattered by the noise of the massive demonstration which, led by the Naitonal Committee, stretches the

100 years ago. Then suddenly its editorial staff wake up to

the requirements of the capital-

ist world and hit out viciously,

not against bureaucracy but

against those whose rights are

really being taken away by

such agencies of monopoly.

demonstration.

natural justice.

This is the meaning of the ill-

concerning the Young Socialists

One Young Socialist after another

has been expelled from the

Labour Party without charges

or rights of appeal. Indeed the

National Executive Committee

of the Labour Party are

notorious for their violation of

increasingly difficult.

## TROTTING AFTER THOMPSON

N the world of monopoly capital, the role of that 'The Guardian' knows this very liberal - minded newspaper, well, but what it does not like 'The Guardian' becomes about the youth is that they pursue a policy politically independent from that of the On matters of advice, 'The Occasionally, it gets agitated over Tory, Liberal and Labour Party such issues as individual freeleaders, that is, hostile to dom, just as if it was living

monopoly. such circumsances, as happened last Sunday, 'The Guardian' reporter was either near-sighted or almost totally blind. He could only find 1,000 young people around on the march. Even the 'Daily Worker', notorious for its political blindness on such questions, actually tempered, peevish report in arrived at the figure of 2,000. 'The Guardian' of last Monday These, our 'Guardian' man airily dismisses as young people who

were 'trotting after Trotsky'. Now, all this 'trotting after Trotsky' might not be such a bad idea as 'The Guardian' seems to make out. After all, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky have done more to progressively change the world and the destinies of

man than all the verbiage of the capitalist and liberal newspapers since the industrial In turn, he acquired without revolution.

Guardian' in particular, is in poor shape. The growth of monopoly is perhaps greater in the newspaper world than anywhere else. 'The Guardian' is printed in London on the presses owned by Lord Thompson, who, in fairness to him, does not claim to be anything more than a money changer in the best capitalist sense. Recently, he appeared like a fairy

godfather to the beleaguered 'Guardian' (some 'Guardian' employees even say that he was too much of a fairy). He closed down his Manchester evening paper in order to enby 'The Guardian' to increase its circulation and thereby subsidise 'The Guardian' so that it could regularly pay its printing bills to him, for work done on presses which would otherwise be idle.

paying a penny piece a substantial number of shares in the 'Manchester Evening News'. So today 'The Guardian' is printed on presses which it does not own, by a man who has already got a firm holding in the only substantial asset which it has for subsidising the paper itself.

Certainly, trotting after Lord Thompson does not appear to have done 'The Guardian' much good, especially since it is rumoured that the next change may be 'all change' when the noble Lord takes over 'The Guardian', lock, stock, and the reporter who dislikes counting beyond a thousand.

able the evening paper owned The Young Socialists, therefore, are on to a much better thing so far as change is concerned when they follow the policies of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

CEYLON

DEADLOCK ON

'STATELESS

**INDIANS' IN** 

**CEYLON** 

ATTEMPTS to 'solve' the

'stateless' Indians in Ceylon have

reached a deadlock as a result

of the refusal of the Indian

government to be blackmailed

by the Cevlon representatives at

the informal talks held recently

The problem of 'stateless

Indians' only arose after the

United National Party govern-

ment in 1947 decided to change

the citizenship laws and sub-

stitute the principle of 'descent'

in place of the principle of

'birth and residence' as the

This gigantic political mano-

euvre was designed to strike the

800,000 Indian plantation wor-

kers off the electoral register and

consolidate the position of the

Since then, every government,

whether 'left' or right wing has

adhered to these complex and

infamous laws. Now, the Sri

Lanka Freedom Party - Lanka

Sama Samaja Party coalition is

trying to draw a communal red-

herring across the path of the

advancing working class move-

ment by proposing to repatriate

the Indian workers as a partial

solution to the unemployment

The Ceylon government states

it is prepared to register a

certain number (unspecified) of

'stateless Indians' as Ceylon

citizens provided the Indian

The talks bogged down when

Ceylon representatives

government absorbs the rest.

attempted to pressurise the

Indian government by stating

that they (the Indians) had

agreed to absorb the 'unassimi-

lated' Indians as far back as

1947 and that this should be

the starting point of the dis-

The Indian representatives

rejected this as a baseless

assumption and the talks ended

Velona strikers

defy Council

THE three month old strike of

workers has entered a violent

and bitter stage with no prospect

of settlement in the foreseeable

Recently, the strikers, led by

Merryl Fernando-a leader of

the Lanka Sama Samaja (Re-

volutionary) defied a ban en-

forced by the local Urban

District Council and entered a

council-owned park to hold a

The gates of the park, which

were padlocked, were lifted off

their hinges. In the same week,

a hand bomb was flung at a

scab-driven car leaving the

21 demands

struggle planned

THE Democratic Workers'

substantial minority of Indian

Estate workers—has agreed to

attend a conference called by

the Ceylon Trade Union Fede-

ration to discuss the presenta-

The Congress statement wel-

comes the convening of the

conference and adds: 'In fact,

for the plantation workers the

urgency is all the greater

because of the immediate need

to secure the demand of the

special living allowance of

17 rupees 50 cents (about 30

shillings a month) which is

enjoyed by most of the other

workers.'

tion of the 21 demands.

Congress — embracing a

the Velona Textile mill

cussions.

abruptly.

meeting.

Velona factory.

problem in Ceylon.

criterion of citizenship.

capitalist government.

between India and Ceylon.

problem of the 1,200,000

# Sunday Remember

Cont. from page 1

Each contingent was welcomed by Dave Longley, publisher of the Young Socialists paper, 'Keep Left'.

Dave Ashby then addressed the 4,000 people crowded in the Square, on the balustrade at the rear and even on the steps of the National Gallery across the

He explained how the National Committee had fought for the socialist policies passed at the Young Socialists Annual Conference at Easter and how it had been forced, because of attacks from Transport House, to call its own meeting, issue a Manifesto outlining the policies of the Young Socialists, and call the rally.

'The working class is sick of Toryism,' he said. 'That is why we have organised this rally.

Because there was no lead from Wilson, the Young Socialists had the responsibility to build an alternative leadership so they could go to the working class and tell them the truth about automation, incomes policies, NATO, etc.

#### Socialist future

The National Committee had been elected by Young Socialists and would continue to operate. It would not accept any expulsions or suspensions.

'What is involved here is the future of socialism in Britain,' he said.

Sheila Torrance asked for the whole labour movement to join the YS in its fight for socialism. She added that the majority of Young Socialists had refused to accept the proscription of

'Keep Left'. 'We have fought for its policies,' she said. This had helped to build the YS into a mass movement despite attacks from the right, a refusal from the 'left' in 'Tribune' to help the YS by putting an advertisement in their paper, and the cynicism of other left sections towards a mass movement.

### Workers' unity

'There is no unity with such people, only unity with these Young Socialists and adult workers,' she said. Mike Farley dealt with un-

employment and automation, two factors leading to misery for the working class in his area in the north-west. There had been tremendous attacks on Young Socialist branches fighting against these problems but, he warned: 'If Young Socialist branches are closed down, we will open them again,'

A Belfast Young Socialist, Jackie Vance, also spoke of extremely hard conditions in Northern Ireland and of attempts by the right wing to prevent the YS mobilising youth. But, he assured the audience, 'We will work to return Labour candidates to help the fight in this country for the workers.'

### Candidate support

Prospective Labour Parliamentary candidate for South Paddington, Bill Dow, outlined the fight in his area, against 'rapacious and grasping landlords'.

This was not just a battle with thugs and racketeers, but a battle against the Tory system, he said.

He believed the Young Socialists were carrying on this fight and said he supported their policies. He appealed for help in his constituency to assure a Labour victory.

Barry Evans of the East Midlands said the Young Socialists associated themselves with the socialists and revolutionary leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky because 'it is in their tradition that we have carried through this rally today.

### Second march

The marchers, some of them weary from overnight trips to London and the walk from Hyde Park, then picked up their banners and en bloc marched out of Trafalgar Square behind the 'Keep Left' banner to a meeting at St. Pancras Town Hall called by the paper.

There, the National mittee members joined 'Keep Left' editor, Aileen Jennings, John Robertson, the expelled chairman of last year's Young Socialists National Committee and chairman of the Manchester Apprentices Direct Action Committee, Mike Hughes, and Dave Longley on the platform.

# Labour and



George Woodcock, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, speaking at this year's Congress

# -the trade unions

Election campaign, all the real problems which the next government will have to tackle are hidden under a thick blanket of empty ver-

But while the politicians chatter on about the 'New Britain', the economic crisis of the old Britain looms up behind them

The problems facing British imperialism boil down to the main question of disciplining the workers. British industry has to re-equip itself to meet foreign competition. All the vague talk about 'planning' really refers to the need of the monopolies to use the state to tame organised labour.

Key role

The trade unions have a key

role to play at this stage. Their

right-wing leaders have shown

themselves eager to co-operate

with big business in carrying

out their programme of 'plan-

ning—i.e., installation of vast

automated processes, redun-

A quarter of a century ago.

Trotsky analysed this tendency

within the unions. In his last,

unfinished article, 'Trade Unions

in the Epoch of Imperialist

itself to the independence of

trade unions. It demands of the

reformist bureaucracy and the

labour aristocracy, who pick the

crumbs from its banquet table,

that they become transformed

into its political police before

the eyes of the working class.

If that is not achieved, the

labour bureaucracy is driven

away and replaced by the

ward and advanced capitalist countries.

are analysed thoroughly.

Trade unions in the epoch

of imperialist decay

By Leon Trotsky

A short, masterly and topical analysis of trends in monopoly

capitalism and the prospects for the trade unions in the back-

Some past rank-and-file

movements

By Brian Pearce

A concise history of the growth of trade union bureaucracy and

the struggles against it. The shop stewards' movement of 1915-

21, the Minority Movement and the Third Period experiences

**NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS LTD.,** 

186A CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON, S.W.4

dancy, wage freeze, etc.

■ N the 1964 General fascists. Incidentally, all the efforts of the labour aristocracy in the service of imperialism cannot, in the long run, save them from destruction.'

> The British union bosses have startlingly confirmed this description in recent years. Not only have they collaborated on the bodies like the National Economic Development Council with the Tories and the employers, but they have also moved more and more towards integration with the state machine in their attacks on militants and left-wingers in their own

In the Electrical Trades Union, for example, the right wing took office with the aid of the law courts and a big campaign in the capitalist press. Woodcock's plans to amalgamate unions into larger enticed into the trap.

This is a reactionary and dangerous dream. Far from bringing an era of peacefully rising living standards, automation under capitalist control will mean mass unemployment for some sections of the working class and intensified exploitation of others.

THE NEWSLETTER

### Independence

This critical period for British imperialism will see bitter struggles throughout industry. Only through a fight for the independence of the unions from state intervention can the bosses be stopped from cutting into the conditions of the working class.

Even the meagre reforms offered by Wilson must be seen as the bait with which the workers' movement is to be

instruments of regimentation of the workers.

Independent trades unions will become a luxury that capital will no longer be able to afford. The labour leaders will be discarded by the monopolies after

The trade union movement grew up in the period when British capital dominated the world market. Later, in the hey-day of the British Empire the unions set up the Labour Party as their political voice.

There were always two sides to this process.

On the one hand labour leaders saw themselves as achieving improvements in the position of their members within the framework of capitalist exploitation. On the basis of the huge profits extracted from their colonial investments, the ruling class could afford to

replace the union chiefs as the this decline has become a collapse.

The Wilson administration faces (with tight-shut eyes) problems which will tear apart the relations between the unions and the Labour Party.

Woodcock, already showing signs of indifference as to who wins the election, wants to remodel the movement on American, non-political lines.

On the other hand, the former Gaitskell-ite group of rightwingers in the Labour Party also wait for a chance to break away from the trades unions.

### Political power

As the postmen and dockers have shown, the workers will not accept Wilson's 'incomes policy' without a fight. Whatever the plans of the monopolies and their errand boys, the union rank and file will not be fitted into such a policy peacefully.

But much more is posed by Wilson's and Woodcock's treachery than militant industrial struggle. To prevent the smashing of the labour movement, the question of political power has to be faced.

The unions must be transformed under Marxist leadership into instruments of power.

### Prepare

Wilson's refusal to extend the nationalization of industry will leave the Labour government at On the other hand, for the mercy of the monopolies millions of workers, the labour and the banks. Trade unionists only on questions of wages and through which they could unite conditions, but on the whole policy of the Wilson leadership.

This means the building of a Marxist leadership which prepares the working class to take the power and end capitalism throughout the world.

(Next week No. 4 in election series: 'Socialists and Loyalty to Labour' by Cliff

# The third of our General Election articles By JOHN CRAWFORD

the Labour Party to amend the

It is likely to result in legal

backing being given to control

of the bureaucrats over the rank

However, the most craven

treachery of the labour and

trades union leaders will not be

enough to solve the crisis of

British capital. In the coming

period, every atom of indepen-

is a potential threat to the

dent organisation of the workers

and file of the unions.

suspicion.

Wilson's statement at the grant concessions of this kind in

New and more open forms of even bread and butter improve-

tinuation of the system.

movement on which the leaders

rested, represented an instrument

their strength, so as to begin to

control their own lives. The

unions and the Labour Party

were potential levers of working

decline of Britain as a world

power began to undermine the

relationship between the labour

movement and imperialism.

The labour leaders became less

and less capable of securing

After the 1914-18 war, the

class power.

organisations, so highly approved by the Communist Party, Trades Union Congress pledging order to secure the smooth conare designed to enable the 'Monopoly capitalism is less bureaucrats and the government legal position of the unions and less willing to reconcile to control the union members received much applause. more closely

Ray Gunter, soon to be Minister of Labour under Wilson, showed the line of thought of the Labour Party leaders in his infamous article last April. Writing in 'Socialist Commentary' he hinted at the possibility of state control of the unions if they did not adapt themselves to the automation

## 'Partnership'

Together with his speeches attacking shop stewards, this idea should be remembered when considering the policies of the Wilson government.

The Labour Party leaders see themselves especially fitted to supervise the transition through which British capitalism is now

Wilson's speeches about the great possibilities of automation and computers assumes that the unions are to be coaxed into 'partnership' with the employers, under the benevolent eye of the

# state authority will arise to ments for the workers. Today, Wilson admits election victor faces economic

IN his TV broadcast on ■ Monday, Harold Wilson referred to the approaching economic crisis for the first time in his election campaign. 'Whoever wins this election is

going to be faced with very grave economic difficulties right away,' he said. According to last Sunday's

'Observer', Wilson had been arguing against other Labour Party chiefs who wanted to bring this issue into the open. Despite all the signs of the

past few months, he has avoided using the balance of payments figures to attack Tory policies. Only a month ago, he had specifically denied the existence of a crisis.

### **NOT 1961 CRISIS**

On Saturday he mentioned the danger that the Tories would once again introduce measures to halt economic expansion. But he added: 'This does not means that a financial crisis in the sense that we had them in 1957 and 1961 is impending or imminent.

As The Newsletter has been pointing out for several months, to be explained by the absence the Tories have timed the of socialist policy in Labour's

# **Crisis**

From Our Special Correspondent election so that the boom would

end just when Labour took office. They had deliberately avoided taking measures to deal with the balance of payments problems, so that the crisis would land in Wilson's lap at the end of the year.

#### BRAKE ON In practice the payments

deficit and the consequent drop in gold reserves have grown faster than they expected. Cuts in government spending and other brakes on consumption will have to be applied very

Wilson will explain his hesitation about raising these questions openly by saying that he had no wish to endanger the pound on the world market. This very patriotic excuse is not, however, the true one.

The veil of silence drawn over the real economic problems during the election campaign is programme. Since Wilson is pledged to try to make monopoly capitalism work, he is afraid of letting anyone know that this will inevitably involve attacks on workers' living stan-

That is why the Labour Party's election campaign is a sham, not a real fight against the Tories. The admission that the finan-

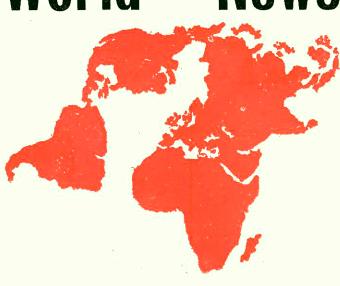
cial crisis is on the way shows just what pernicious nonsense was the argument of the Foot's, Mikardo's and the other Tribune'-ites — that all socialists should keep their mouths shut on policy questions until the Labour government was elected.

#### **BROWN'S PROMISE** It also makes nonsense of

George Brown's promise of cheaper interest rates for buying The labour movement must

prepare now for these attacks, which will start almost immediately after October 15. The Labour Party leaders must not be allowed to get away with the excuse that they did not know how bad the situation was.

# World



## **ALGERIA BOUDIAF**

# **CONDEMNS** BEN BELLA

MOHAMMED Boudiaf, one of the leaders of the underground opposition to Ben Bella, told the French press why he did not believe that there was socialism in Algeria, last week.

'To set up a real socialist regime,' he said,' 'presupposes the creation of a vanguard party, of workers' and peasants' unions and of an administration which would correspond to the needs of these. Yet none of these elements exist in Algeria.'

The present system, he continued, involved the lack of any political or economic control by the masses. Ben Bella's 'socialism' boiled down to bringing under state control ever greater sectors of the economy, or in other words, placing the economy in the hands of a petty-bourgeoisie that is eager for private gain, that is individualistic and reactionary'.

### UNIFICATION

'This petty-bourgeoisie is the backbone of the bureaucracy, both in the party and in the administration,' he said.

Boudiaf went on to speak of the unification of the various elements that make up the opposition into the 'National Committee for the Defence of the Revolution'. (This included Chaabani, who was executed by Ben Bella recently.)

The aim of the opposition was to organise and give con-

movements of the rural masses. 'We do not consider that armed activity is the only kind that we should carry out; nonetheless, it is an indispensable adjunct to our political action.' Boudiaf stated that the

opposition conceived of a socialist policy in Algeria, but that this was impossible without effective participation of the disinherited masses.

#### **NATIONAL INTEREST** The opposition would not

form any alliance with any organisations representing 'those who exploit either politically or economically'. It was not tied to any foreign power, or to any economic interests. The 'national interest' alone, guided its actions.

Asked where the opposition stronghold was, Boudiaf replied that it carried out partisan activity in the Kabyle, in North Constantine, in the Aures mountains, and in the South. 'Our partisans are strongest in the poorest regions, where the population is poorest,' he said.

### Algerians killed by mercenaries claim

ARMED confrontation between the Ben Bella government and the opposition in Algeria has spread to Algerian workers in France.

Early in September, four Algerians armed with revolvers entered a cafe in Aulnay sous Bois in France and opened fire on a group of fellow countrymen. Three people were killed and five were wounded.

A statement made later by the Front of Socialist Forces (one of the opposition groups led by Ait Ahmet) claimed that the assassins were mercenaries of the Ben Bella government.

The statement also appealed to Algerian workers in France not to yield to provocations of this kind.



# Harle Negr leade jailed

THE violent attac ■ Negro workers North American been accompanied b witch-hunting and ment of several Neg Earlier this year,

rent strikes and the s cotts showed the seri the Negro mover American press began 'public opinion' for " police attacks that follow. Reports appeared

papers, notably in York Times', of Negi and terrorism suppose a gang called th brothers'. Reports of crimes t

were deliberately pla the press and those were played down, wh it all was supposed t terrifying 'blood brotl

### HYSTERIA It has never been r

such an organisation fact, the gang has be dropped by the presssufficient hysteria whipped up.

But six unemploye teenagers were arre without bail, denied of their own lawyer now up for trial on of murdering a w keeper.

The main 'evidend the six seems to be were 'members' of brothers'—an organis no one now is prepa

ever existed Likewise, Bill Eptc leader of the Progress Movement has been i charges of sedition at

Epton's group wa one prepared to co fight of the Negroe city government of attempted to buy Negro leaders. Fo

### cepted, Epton is no WITCH-HUN

the compromise tl

other so-called mi

For taking this sta has been witch-hunte by the bosses' press the 'leaders' of th Negro organisations.

Roy Wilkins, the le National Association Advancement of People, and James the Congress of Raci have both asked the General, Robert K start an inquiry into of rioting in northern

According to thes these riots must instigated by son underground organis foul housing conditio conditions and polito which the Negro the United States are not apparently being the minds of these of the Negro cause, 1 rioting of the last fev

> Significantly, to X, the black racia of the Socialist Party, the man v interview with the Evening Post', sa would prefer Go Johnson for pres praised Goldwate personal courage gence, has not bee to speak up in Epton.

MALCOLM X !

Paul Boutelle, of tl Now Party, has arrested for trying election rally in Harl

5 Union Congress, speaking at this year's Congress

collapse.

The Wilson - administration

faces (with tight-shut eyes)

problems which will tear apart

the relations between the unions

Woodcock, already showing

signs of indifference as to who

wins the election, wants to re-

model the movement on

On the other hand, the former

Gaitskell-ite group of right-

wingers in the Labour Party

also wait for a chance to break

Political power

As the postmen and

dockers have shown, the

workers will not accept

Wilson's 'incomes policy'

without a fight. Whatever

the plans of the mono-

polies and their errand

boys, the union rank and

file will not be fitted into

But much more is posed

by Wilson's and Woodcock's

treachery than militant indus-

trial struggle. To prevent the

smashing of the labour move-

ment, the question of political

The unions must be trans-

formed under Marxist leader-

ship into instruments of power.

Prepare

nationalization of industry will

leave the Labour government at

must be prepared to fight, not

only on questions of wages and

conditions, but on the whole

policy of the Wilson leadership.

Marxist leadership which pre-

pares the working class to take

the power and end capitalism

This means the building of a

Wilson's refusal to extend the

power has to be faced.

such a policy peacefully.

away from the trades unions.

American, non-political lines.

and the Labour Party.

on chiefs as the this decline has become a regimentation of

rades unions will ury that capital be able to afford. ders will be dismonopolies after

mion movement he period when dominated the

Later, in the : British Empire up the Labour political voice. always two sides

e hand labour themselves as ovements in the r members within k of capitalist On the basis of s extracted from investments, the could afford to

# ns of this kind in

ther hand, for the mercy of the monopolies rkers, the labour and the banks. Trade unionists ted an instrument they could unite so as to begin to own lives. The e Labour Party

levers of working

914-18 war, the tain as a world o undermine the tween the labour nd imperialism. ders became less ble of securing I butter improveworkers. Today,

(Next week No. 4 in our election series: 'Socialists and Loyalty Labour' by Cliff Slaughter.)

throughout the world.

# nits election s economic

# ur Special

pondent the boom would n Labour took had deliberately measures to deal nce of payments that the crisis Wilson's lap at

KE ON

year.

the payments consequent drop ves have grown y expected. Cuts t spending and on consumption be applied very

explain his hesitaising these quesy saying that he to endanger the world market. otic excuse is not,

ilence drawn over nomic problems tion campaign is i by the absence

The admission that the financial crisis is on the way shows

the Tories.

just what pernicious nonsense was the argument of the Foot's, Mikardo's and the other 'Tribune'-ites - that all socialists should keep their mouths shut on policy questions until the Labour government was elected.

programme. Since Wilson is

pledged to try to make mono-

poly capitalism work, he is

afraid of letting anyone know

that this will inevitably involve

attacks on workers' living stan-

That is why the Labour

Party's election campaign is a

sham, not a real fight against

### **BROWN'S PROMISE**

It also makes nonsense of George Brown's promise of cheaper interest rates for buying

The labour movement must prepare now for these attacks, which will start almost immediately after October 15. The Labour Party leaders must not be allowed to get away with the excuse that they did not know licy in Labour's how bad the situation was.

# World



## CEYLON DEADLOCK ON **'STATELESS** INDIANS' IN **CEYLON**

ATTEMPTS to 'solve' the problem of the 1,200,000 'stateless' Indians in Ceylon have reached a deadlock as a result of the refusal of the Indian government to be blackmailed by the Ceylon representatives at the informal talks held recently between India and Ceylon.

The problem of 'stateless Indians' only arose after the United National Party government in 1947 decided to change the citizenship laws and substitute the principle of 'descent' in place of the principle of 'birth and residence' as the criterion of citizenship.

This gigantic political manoeuvre was designed to strike the 800,000 Indian plantation workers off the electoral register and consolidate the position of the capitalist government.

Since then, every government, whether 'left' or right wing has adhered to these complex and infamous laws. Now, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party - Lanka Sama Samaja Party coalition is trying to draw a communal redherring across the path of the advancing working class movement by proposing to repatriate the Indian workers as a partial solution to the unemployment problem in Ceylon.

The Ceylon government states it is prepared to register a certain number (unspecified) of 'stateless Indians' as Ceylon citizens provided the Indian government absorbs the rest. The talks bogged down when

Cevlon representatives attempted to pressurise the Indian government by stating that they (the Indians) had agreed to absorb the 'unassimilated' Indians as far back as 1947 and that this should be the starting point of the discussions.

The Indian representatives rejected this as a baseless assumption and the talks ended abruptly.

### Velona strikers defy Council

THE three month old strike of the Velona Textile mill workers has entered a violent and bitter stage with no prospect of settlement in the foreseeable future.

Recently, the strikers, led by Merryl Fernando—a leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja (Revolutionary) defied a ban enforced by the local Urban District Council and entered a council-owned park to hold a

The gates of the park, which were padlocked, were lifted off their hinges. In the same week, a hand bomb was flung at a scab-driven car leaving the Velona factory.

### 21 demands struggle planned

THE Democratic Workers' Congress - embracing a substantial minority of Indian Estate workers—has agreed to attend a conference called by the Ceylon Trade Union Federation to discuss the presenta-

tion of the 21 demands.

The Congress statement welcomes the convening of the conference and adds: 'In fact, for the plantation workers the urgency is all the greater because of the immediate need to secure the demand of the special living allowance of 17 rupees 50 cents (about 30 shillings a month) which is enjoyed by most of the other workers.'

# **ALGERIA**

October 3, 1964

## **BOUDIAF CONDEMNS** BEN BELLA

MOHAMMED Boudiaf, the underground opposition to Ben Bella, told the French press why he did not believe that there was socialism in Algeria, last week.

'To set up a real socialist regime,' he said,' 'presupposes the creation of a vanguard party, of workers' and peasants' unions and of an administration which would correspond to the needs of these. Yet none of these elements exist in Algeria.'

The present system, he continued, involved the lack of any political or economic control by the masses. Ben Bella's 'socialism' boiled down to bringing under state control ever greater sectors of the economy, or in other words, placing the economy 'in the hands of a petty-bourgeoisie that is eager for private gain, that is individualistic and reactionary'.

### UNIFICATION

This petty-bourgeoisie is the backbone of the bureaucracy, both in the party and in the administration,' he said.

Boudiaf went on to speak of the unification of the various elements that make up the opposition into the 'National Committee for the Defence of the Revolution'. (This included Chaabani, who was executed by Ben Bella recently.)

The aim of the opposition was to organise and give consciousness to the spontaneous

movements of the rural masses. 'We do not consider that armed activity is the only kind that we should carry out; nonetheless, it is an indispensable adjunct to our political action.'

Boudiaf stated that the opposition conceived of a socialist policy in Algeria, but that this was impossible without effective participation of the disinherited masses.

### 'NATIONAL INTEREST'

The opposition would not form any alliance with any organisations representing 'those who exploit either politically or economically'. It was not tied to any foreign power, or to any economic interests. The 'national interest' alone, guided its

Asked where the opposition stronghold was, Boudiaf replied that it carried out partisan activity in the Kabyle, in North Constantine, in the Aures mountains, and in the South. 'Our partisans are strongest in the poorest regions, where the population is poorest,' he said.

### Algerians killed by mercenaries claim

ARMED confrontation between the Ben Bella government and the opposition in Algeria has spread to Algerian workers in France.

Early in September, four Algerians armed with revolvers entered a cafe in Aulnay sous Bois in France and opened fire on a group of fellow countrymen. Three people were killed and five were wounded.

A statement made later by the Front of Socialist Forces (one of the opposition groups led by Ait Ahmet) claimed that the assassins were mercenaries of the Ben Bella government.

The statement also appealed to Algerian workers in France not to yield to provocations of

this kind.



## Epton: Harlem Negro leader jailed

THE violent attacks on the ▲ Negro workers in the North American cities has been accompanied by political witch-hunting and imprisonment of several Negro leaders.

Earlier this year, when the rent strikes and the school boycotts showed the seriousness of the Negro movement, the American press began to prepare 'public opinion' for the vicious police attacks that were to

Reports appeared in leading papers, notably in the 'New York Times', of Negro violence and terrorism supposedly led by gang called the 'blood

Reports of crimes by Negroes were deliberately played up in the press and those by whites were played down, whilst behind it all was supposed to lurk the terrifying 'blood brothers'.

### HYSTERIA

It has never been proved that such an organisation exists. In fact, the gang has been quietly dropped by the press—now that sufficient hysteria has been whipped up. But six unemployed Harlem

teenagers were arrested, held without bail, denied the choice of their own lawyer and are now up for trial on the charge of murdering a white shop-

The main 'evidence' against the six seems to be that they were 'members' of the 'blood brothers'—an organisation that no one now is prepared to say

Likewise, Bill Epton, Harlem leader of the Progressive Labour Movement has been indicted on charges of sedition and criminal anarchy.

Epton's group was the only one prepared to continue the fight of the Negroes, after the city government of New York attempted to buy off the Negro leaders. For refusing the compromise that all the other so-called militants accepted, Epton is now in gaol.

### WITCH-HUNTED

For taking this stand, Epton has been witch-hunted not only by the bosses' press but also by the 'leaders' of the racialist Negro organisations.

Roy Wilkins, the leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, and James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality have both asked the Attorney-General, Robert Kennedy, to start an inquiry into the pattern of rioting in northern cities.

According to these 'leaders', these riots must have been instigated by some sinister underground organisation — the foul housing conditions, working conditions and police violence to which the Negro workers in the United States are subjected, not apparently being enough, in the minds of these 'champions' of the Negro cause, to cause the rioting of the last few months.

### MALCOLM X SILENT

Significantly, too, Malcolm X, the black racialist darling of the Socialist Workers' Party, the man who, in an interview with the 'Saturday Evening Post', said that he would prefer Goldwater to Johnson for president, and praised Goldwater for his personal courage and intelligence, has not been prepared to speak up in defence of Epton.

Paul Boutelle, of the Freedom Now Party, has also been arrested for trying to hold an election rally in Harlem.

# A comparison between Trotskyist and Communist Party police

# Building the Revolutio Party

N all the main issues of the 1920s and 1930s, the Trotskyist criticisms of Stalinist policies, then, were correct.

Mrs. Reid, and the other party apologists, can only deny the tragic consequences of Stalinism by either skating over the history of the working class since the First World War, or consciously falsifying this history. Stalinist historians have done both and Mrs. Reid is merely the most recent example of a skater.

Yet it is posible for a serious member of the Communist Party to recognise the crimes of Stalinism, and yet be worried and confused by Mrs. Reid's gibes at the efforts of the Trotskyists to build a revolutionary party.

It is the question of the problems of building the revolutionary party that we intend to take up in this last article.

### Powerful organisations

In the advanced metropolitan countries of the West, where capitalism has existed for a century or more, the working class has built large and powerful organisations in its fight with the capitalist class.

The creation of these working class organisations is an inevitable product of the struggle between the workers and the employers.

They arise from the awareness of the working class that nothing whatever can be gained in this struggle without organisation. The creation of these mass organisations reflects the strength of the working class in these countries.

The strength of the capitalist class, on the other hand, is reflected in the way in which they have been able to control these organisations, through the representatives of privileged strata of the working class.

The role of the Marxist Party is to transform this balance of class forces, to replace the reformist leaders of the working

These leaders accept the system of capitalism and confine themselves merely to obtaining concessions for the working class from the employers, to defending those that the working class has gained in the past, or even, in periods in which the capitalist class is very hard pressed, to aiding the capitalists in whittling away these concessions.

### Conflict

In its fight against capitalism, therefore, the Marxist Party will come head-on in conflict with the reformist leaders. If it is to defeat capitalism, the working class must defeat these leaders, who are the representatives of capitalism in the labour movement.

As these reformist leaders represent the power of the capitalist class in the working class organisations, the Marxist Party s obliged from time to time to fight this leadership from within these organisations.

There can be no question of 'underhand' methods, as Mrs. Reid implies, in this fight. Working-class organisations are not the property of the right wing. On the contrary, the grip of the right wing, the rules and the restrictions, the compromises and sell-outs that they impose upon these organisations are nothing else but the grip of the ruling class upon the working class.

#### CP evasions Not to recognise this, to state

that the Marxist Party should accept the bans of the right wing, should refrain from attacking the right wing, is to state that the Marxist Party and Marxism are alien to the working class, whereas the representatives of capitalism somehow have a right to be present in working class organisations and to impose the wishes of the ruling class upon them. Its failure to understand the

role of the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party and the trade unions, or, indeed, to understand the importance of the Labour Party and the trade unions has led the Communist Party consistently to evade the fight with the ruling class for the leadership of the working

The attacks by the Communist Party on the Trotskyist movement for fighting the right wing in the Labour movement, means that they, in practice, accept the right of the capitalists to control the working-class organisations.

It is only by examining these movements in this way, seeing their present leaders and policies as reflecting the differing strengths of the two classes in struggle, that policies can be formulated for the working

#### Trotskyist assessment In all its struggles in the

Labour movement, the Trotskyist movement assesses its actions in the light of what will strengthen and what will weaken the working-class movement. This was the theoretical and practical contribution of the Transitional Programme, adopted at the founding Congress of the Fourth International, in 1938.

The Trotskyists, therefore, defended the Communist leadership of the Electrical Trades Union against the attacks of the right wing. It was not that we believed

that Haxell and Foulkes were champions of the working class. On the contrary, we had consistently pointed out in our press that the activities of these Stalinist 'leaders' would lead to a strengthening of the right

We defended Foulkes and Haxell because we recognised that the right wing were merely using the rottenness and corruption of a section of the labour movement in order to

existence in the face of all evidence and by branding those who pointed them out as 'capitalist agents'.

On the other hand, once the Stalinist leadership of the union was under attack from the right wing, and through this attack the entire membership of the union was laid open to further incursions by the bosses, the Trotskyists threw open the columns of their press to the Stalinist 'leaders' to defend themselves.

They had been denied this privilege even by their own press, the 'Daily Worker'. Foulkes' statement appeared in The Newsletter, not in the 'Daily Worker'.

### ETU leaders defended

Instead of standing up for the electricians under attack, the Communist Party expelled Haxell and Foulkes and crawled under a stone, leaving the rank and file to the mercies of the right wing.

The Newsletter defended these men although it was this very leadership that had broken the South Bank strike, which had been influenced by the Trotskyists, at Shell Mex, by refusing to call out the electricians working on the site. These two positions on the

ETU follow from the position's taken up by the two movements throughout their history. For the Communist Party,

ing the bureaucracy.

Reid. strengthening the working-class organisations means strengthen-

#### present fight against Wilson and his like in the Young Socialists; from the fight for the recognition of the 'Blue' union in 1954 to the present fight against the 'new deal' in the docks.

Re

the

Th

a pa

shoul

shevi

Bolst

Rusis

kers'

op

would

discu

What

Done

cussic

differ

ship, leade

Reid

reserv

cratic

Th

seem:

Where has the workers' movement been weakened and where strengthened, in Ford's and the ETU or in the docks and the Young Socialists? Where has the struggle been based on the workers' aspirations?

### False charges

Is Brother Haxell's right to build himself a garage and install central heating at the expense of the rank and file of his union a working-class demand (all of which escaped the notice of Mrs. Reid who was too busy spying on militants), or is £15 a week fall-back pay for the dockers and an end to the dole queues and police violence against the youth?

And who are the leftsectarians and wreckers? Those (Stalinist-led) apprentices who call for a national strike, completely unprepared, for October because their leadership has been rejected by the apprentices committee, or those apprentices extre who are to meet on October 8 to prepare for a national apprentice strike?

How well all your charges against the Trotskyists apply to the Stalinist movement, Mrs.

Yet, there is more involved here than a series of claims and counter-claims. What is really

# A reply to Betty Reid by Peter Arnold

(part III)

strengthen the grip of the capitalist class in that

movement.

December 14, 1957: 'The capitalist press attack on the Electrical Trades Union is part of the general offensive by the employing class and its Tory government against the workers' living standards, conditions and organisations.

'... But the defence of the ETU as a trade union by no means implies the defence of its present leaders or of their corrupt Stalinist policies and practices.

'. . . In their fight against Cannon, the ETU leaders have abandoned socialist principles. There was never any attempt to conduct a political struggle against him, to combat his ideas or answer his arguments.

'. . . Speedy action is imperative. If Frank Haxell and Frank Foulkes go on "defending" the union in the way they are doing, and the rank and file do not intervene, then the ETU will fall like a ripe plum into the hands of the right wing.

#### Sharp differentiation The Newsletter called for

1. The election of a Committee of Enquiry from the rank and

file of the union to investigate the charges. 2. Paid officials of the union to cut their salaries to that of a skilled electrician, plus reason-

3. Hold the election between Cannon and Fraser again.

### Why did the Stalinist leadership ignore this call?

The ETU case sharply differentiates the political methods of the Trotskyists and the Stalinists in this country. We attacked the corruption in the leadership, the vote fiddling and the embezzlement, together with the stifling of democracy in the

The Stalinists defended all these practices by denying their

For the Trotskyist movement, at stake is the development of it means fighting the bureau- Marxist theory, the indispensible cracy.

Hence the Communist Party's slogans: from its support of the TUC at the time of the General Strike in 1926, to its support for 'progressive' government in 1945 (Pollitt in 'How to Win the Peace' calls for a united front of 'all progressive forces of the country, whatever their party, class or social connections'. p. 73).

Hence the Communist Party's support for the Transport and General Workers' Union bureaucracy against the dockers who had left that union to join the National Association of Stevedores and Dockers in 1954.

### Other sell-outs

Hence Berridge's failure to support the Ford workers in struggle in 1962, and Paynter's collaboration with the National Coal Board against the miners in 1964.

Hence too, the Communist Party giving Ron Smith a full page in the 'Daily Worker' to put forward his views just a few days before the Mount Pleasant postal workers showed how little he represented themthe same Ron Smith who has just expelled seven leading militants, including two Communist Party members, from the Union of Postal Workers. All these actions consolidate

the bureaucracy in the Labour movement, thus weakening the working class and strengthening the employers. Compare this with the

Trotskyist movement's record:

#### Proud record The imprisonment of six

of its leading members in

1945 under the infamous Trades Disputes Act for defending trade union rights (whereas the capitalists saw fit to throw the support of their press behind Pollitt and the Communist Party in their attack on the imprisoned men because of the great work the Communist Party was doing for the war effort!); from the struggle in the Labour Party for socialist policies after the war to the weapon of the working class.

Marxist theory is not and cannot be a series of fixed and sterile formulae, once learned never forgotten. It must constantly be developed and be enriched as the experience of the working class is enriched at every development of the class struggle, and as man's consciousness is developed with the development of the means of

production As Marxist theory is the conscious reflection of the unconscious process of struggle between the classes as man struggles to conquer nature, it follows that the development of this consciousness must itself come through struggle.

### Theory

To develop the theory, without which it cannot overthrow capitalism, the Marxist Party must contain within it a theoretical struggle. Without the development of theory, the party merely adapts itself to bourgeois thought—and becomes as much an adjunct of the ruling class as the labour bureaucrats.

But Marxism cannot be developed and revisionism cannot be fought by organisational methods, by the banning of 'revisionist factions' or by the executioners' bullets. It is necessary fully to understand and to fight revisionism theore-

JUST OUT: A SOCIALIST LABOUR

# CEYLON: The great betray:

• Two reports from Ceylon by G. dealing with the background and develophind the Lanka Sama Samaja Party C and the role that the United Secretariat in played in this betraval. • A reply by the SLL to an attack mac by the magazine 'World Outlook'.

• A statement by the International Col of the Fourth International. • Complete resolutions submitted by th tendencies represented by the LSSP Conj

June 1964. Correspondence from the Intern Secretariat to the LSSP.

Price 1/-. Obtainable from 186a Claphan

Sta

Th

strug the s

crime task class H be t



r's Congress

become a

*idministration* it-shut eves) ill tear apart en the unions ady showing

ce as to who wants to reevement on itical lines. id, the former p of right-Labour Party ance to break des unions.

power

stmen and shown, the not accept nes policy' Whatever

the monoeir errand 1 rank and fitted into acefully. ore is posed

nilitant induso prevent the labour moven of political aced. ust be trans-

Woodcock's

arxist leaderents of power.

to extend the industry will government at e monopolies rade unionists to fight, not of wages and on the whole on leadership. building of a p which pre-; class to take nd capitalism

< No. 4 in series: d Loyalty by Cliff

# n

ce Wilson is make monowork, he is anyone know vitably involve rs' living stan-

the Labour ampaign is a l fight against

that the finanhe way shows ious nonsense of the Foot's, the other at all socialtheir mouths juestions until vernment was

### ROMISE

nonsense of promise of ites for buying

ovement must these attacks, almost immeober 15. The ders must not away with the did not know ation was.

World

October 3, 1964

**ALGERIA** 

BOUDIAF

**CONDEMNS** 

BEN BELLA

press why he did not believe

that there was socialism in

'To set up a real socialist

regime,' he said,' 'presupposes

the creation of a vanguard

party, of workers' and peasants'

unions and of an administration

which would correspond to the

needs of these. Yet none of

these elements exist in Algeria.'

The present system, he con-

tinued, involved the lack of any

political or economic control by

the masses. Ben Bella's 'social-

ism' boiled down to bringing

under state control ever greater

sectors of the economy, or in

other words, placing the

economy in the hands of a

petty-bourgeoisie that is eager

for private gain, that is indi-

UNIFICATION

backbone of the bureaucracy,

both in the party and in the

Boudiaf went on to speak of

the unification of the various

elements that make up the

opposition into the 'National

Committee for the Defence of

the Revolution'. (This included

Chaabani, who was executed by

The aim of the opposition

was to organise and give con-

sciousness to the spontaneous

movements of the rural masses.

armed activity is the only kind

that we should carry out; none-

theless, it is an indispensable

adjunct to our political action.'

opposition conceived of a social-

ist policy in Algeria, but that this

was impossible without effective

participation of the disinherited

Boudiaf stated that the

'We do not consider that

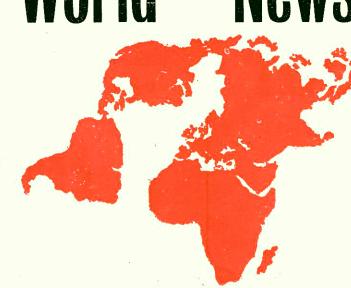
administration,' he said.

Ben Bella recently.)

'This petty-bourgeoisie is the

vidualistic and reactionary'.

Algeria, last week.



### CEYLON DEADLOCK ON 'STATELESS INDIANS' IN

**CEYLON** ATTEMPTS to 'solve' the problem of the 1,200,000 'stateless' Indians in Cevlon have reached a deadlock as a result of the refusal of the Indian government to be blackmailed by the Ceylon representatives at the informal talks held recently between India and Cevlon.

The problem of 'stateless Indians' only arose after the United National Party government in 1947 decided to change the citizenship laws and substitute the principle of 'descent' in place of the principle of 'birth and residence' as the criterion of citizenship.

This gigantic political manoeuvre was designed to strike the 800,000 Indian plantation workers off the electoral register and consolidate the position of the capitalist government.

Since then, every government, whether 'left' or right wing has adhered to these complex and infamous laws. Now, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party - Lanka Sama Samaja Party coalition is trying to draw a communal redherring across the path of the advancing working class movement by proposing to repatriate the Indian workers as a partial solution to the unemployment problem in Ceylon.

The Ceylon government states it is prepared to register a certain number (unspecified) of 'stateless Indians' as Ceylon citizens provided the Indian government absorbs the rest.

The talks bogged down when the Ceylon representatives attempted to pressurise the Indian government by stating that they (the Indians) had agreed to absorb the 'unassimilated' Indians as far back as 1947 and that this should be the starting point of the dis-

The Indian representatives rejected this as a baseless assumption and the talks ended abruptly.

### Velona strikers defy Council

THE three month old strike of the Velona Textile mill workers has entered a violent and bitter stage with no prospect of settlement in the foreseeable future.

Recently, the strikers, led by Merryl Fernando-a leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja (Revolutionary) defied a ban enforced by the local Urban District Council and entered a council-owned park to hold a

The gates of the park, which were padlocked, were lifted off their hinges. In the same week, a hand bomb was flung at a scab-driven car leaving the Velona factory.

### 21 demands struggle planned

THE Democratic Workers' Congress — embracing a substantial minority of Indian Estate workers—has agreed to attend a conference called by the Ceylon Trade Union Federation to discuss the presentation of the 21 demands.

The Congress statement welcomes the convening of the conference and adds: 'In fact, for the plantation workers the urgency is all the greater because of the immediate need to secure the demand of the special living allowance of 17 rupees 50 cents (about 30 shillings a month) which is enjoyed by most of the other

workers.'



# jailed

THE violent attacks on the TOHAMMED Boudiaf, M one of the leaders of the underground opposition to Ben Bella, told the French

Reports appeared in leading papers, notably in the 'New York Times', of Negro violence and terrorism supposedly led by a gang called the 'blood

Reports of crimes by Negroes were deliberately played up in the press and those by whites were played down, whilst behind it all was supposed to lurk the terrifying 'blood brothers'.

It has never been proved that such an organisation exists. In fact, the gang has been quietly dropped by the press-now that sufficient hysteria has been whipped up.

But six unemployed Harlem teenagers were arrested, held without bail, denied the choice of their own lawyer and are now up for trial on the charge of murdering a white shop-

The main 'evidence' against the six seems to be that they were 'members' of the 'blood brothers'—an organisation that no one now is prepared to say

Likewise, Bill Epton, Harlem leader of the Progressive Labour Movement has been indicted on charges of sedition and criminal

Epton's group was the only one prepared to continue the fight of the Negroes, after the city government of New York attempted to buy off the Negro leaders. For refusing the compromise that all the other so-called militants ac-

### **NATIONAL INTEREST**

The opposition would not form any alliance with any organisations representing 'those who exploit either politically or economically'. It was not tied to any foreign power, or to any economic interests. The 'national interest' alone, guided its

Asked where the opposition stronghold was, Boudiaf replied that it carried out partisan activity in the Kabyle, in North Constantine, in the Aures mountains, and in the South. 'Our partisans are strongest in the poorest regions, where the population is poorest,' he said.

### Algerians killed by mercenaries claim

ARMED confrontation between the Ben Bella government and the opposition in Algeria has spread to Algerian workers in France.

Early in September, four Algerians armed with revolvers entered a cafe in Aulnay sous Bois in France and opened fire on a group of fellow countrymen. Three people were killed and five were wounded.

A statement made later by the Front of Socialist Forces (one of the opposition groups led by Ait Ahmet) claimed that the assassins were mercenaries of the Ben Bella government.

The statement also appealed to Algerian workers in France not to yield to provocations of



# **Epton:** Harlem Negro leader

▲ Negro workers in the North American cities has been accompanied by political witch-hunting and imprisonment of several Negro leaders.

Earlier this year, when the rent strikes and the school boycotts showed the seriousness of Negro movement, the American press began to prepare 'public opinion' for the vicious police attacks that were to

### HYSTERIA

ever existed!

cepted, Epton is now in gaol.

### WITCH-HUNTED

For taking this stand, Epton has been witch-hunted not only by the bosses' press but also by 'leaders' of the racialist Negro organisations.

Roy Wilkins, the leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, and James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality have both asked the Attorney-General, Robert Kennedy, to start an inquiry into the pattern of rioting in northern cities.

According to these 'leaders', these riots must have been instigated by some sinister underground organisation - the foul housing conditions, working conditions and police violence to which the Negro workers in the United States are subjected, not apparently being enough, in the minds of these 'champions' of the Negro cause, to cause the rioting of the last few months.

### MALCOLM X SILENT

Significantly, too, Malcolm X, the black racialist darling of the Socialist Workers' Party, the man who, in an interview with the 'Saturday Evening Post', said that he would prefer Goldwater to Johnson for president, and praised Goldwater for his personal courage and intelligence, has not been prepared to speak up in defence of Epton.

Paul Boutelle, of the Freedom Now Party, has also been arrested for trying to hold an election rally in Harlem.

The attacks by the Communist Mrs. Reid, and the other Party on the Trotskyist moveparty apologists, can only ment for fighting the right wing deny the tragic consequences in the Labour movement, means of Stalinism by either skating that they, in practice, accept the right of the capitalists to control over the history of the workthe working-class organisations. ing class since the First World

N all the main issues of the 1920s and 1930s, the Trotskyist criticisms of Stalinist policies,

then, were correct.

War, or consciously falsifying

this history. Stalinist his-

torians have done both and

Mrs. Reid is merely the most

Yet it is posible for a serious

member of the Communist

It is the question of the

Powerful organisations

countries of the West, where

capitalism has existed for a

century or more, the working

class has built large and power-

ful organisations in its fight with

The creation of these working

class organisations is an inevit-

able product of the struggle

between the workers and the

They arise from the awareness

of the working class that nothing

whatever can be gained in this

struggle without organisation.

The creation of these mass

organisations reflects the strength

of the working class in these

The strength of the capitalist

class, on the other hand, is

reflected in the way in which

they have been able to control

these organisations, through the

representatives of privileged

The role of the Marxist Party

is to transform this balance of

class forces, to replace the re-

formist leaders of the working

These leaders accept the

system of capitalism and confine

themselves merely to obtaining

concessions for the working

class from the employers, to

defending those that the working

even, in periods in which the

capitalist class is very hard

pressed, to aiding the capitalists

in whittling away these con-

Conflict

therefore, the Marxist Party will

come head-on in conflict with

the reformist leaders. If it is to

defeat capitalism, the working

class must defeat these leaders.

who are the representatives of

capitalism in the labour move-

As these reformist leaders

represent the power of the capi-

talist class in the working class

organisations, the Marxist Party

is obliged from time to time to

fight this leadership from within

There can be no question

of 'underhand' methods, as

Mrs. Reid implies, in this

fight. Working-class organi-

sations are not the property

of the right wing. On the

contrary, the grip of the

right wing, the rules and the

restrictions, the compromises

and sell-outs that they im-

pose upon these organisa-

tions are nothing else but

the grip of the ruling class

CP evasions

that the Marxist Party should

accept the bans of the right

wing, should refrain from

attacking the right wing, is to

state that the Marxist Party and

Marxism are alien to the work-

ing class, whereas the repre-

sentatives of capitalism some-

how have a right to be present

in working class organisations

and to impose the wishes of the

Its failure to understand the

role of the right-wing leadership

of the Labour Party and the

trade unions, or, indeed, to

understand the importance of

the Labour Party and the trade

unions has led the Communist

Party consistently to evade the

fight with the ruling class for

the leadership of the working

ruling class upon them.

Not to recognise this, to state

upon the working class.

these organisations.

In its fight against capitalism,

class has gained in the

cessions.

ment.

strata of the working class.

the capitalist class.

employers.

countries.

take up in this last article.

Party to recognise the crimes of

tionary party.

recent example of a skater.

It is only by examining these movements in this way, seeing their present leaders and policies reflecting the differing strengths of the two classes in struggle, that policies can be formulated for the working

### Trotskyist assessment

Stalinism, and yet be worried and confused by Mrs. Reid's In all its struggles in the gibes at the efforts of the Labour movement, the Trotsky-Trotskyists to build a revoluist movement assesses its actions in the light of what will strengthen and what will weaken the problems of building the revoluworking-class movement. This tionary party that we intend to was the theoretical and practical contribution of the Transitional Programme, adopted at the founding Congress of the Fourth International, in 1938. In the advanced metropolitan

The Trotskyists, therefore, defended the Communist leadership of the Electrical Trades Union against the attacks of the right wing.

It was not that we believed that Haxell and Foulkes were champions of the working class. On the contrary, we had consistently pointed out in our press that the activities of these Stalinist 'leaders' would lead to a strengthening of the right

We defended Foulkes and Haxell because we recognised that the right wing were merely using the rottenness and corruption of a section of the labour

strengthen the grip of the

capitalist class in that

December 14, 1957:

existence in the face of all evidence and by branding those who pointed them out as 'capitalist agents'.

Building the Revolutionary

A comparison between Trotskyist and Communist Party policies

On the other hand, once the Stalinist leadership of the union was under attack from the right wing, and through this attack the entire membership of the union was laid open to further incursions by the bosses, the Trotskyists threw open the columns of their press to the Stalinist 'leaders' to defend themselves.

They had been denied this privilege even by their own press, the 'Daily Worker'. Foulkes' statement appeared in The Newsletter, not in the 'Daily Worker'.

#### ETU leaders defended Instead of standing up for the electricians under attack, the Communist Party expelled Haxell and Foulkes and crawled under a stone, leaving the rank and file to the mercies of the

right wing. The Newsletter defended these men although it was this very leadership that had broken the South Bank strike, which had been influenced by the Trotskyists, at Shell Mex, by refusing to call out the electricians working on the site.

These two positions on the ETU follow from the positions taken up by the two movements throughout their history. For the Communist Party,

organisations means strengthen-

A reply to Betty Reid

by Peter Arnold

(part III)

ing the bureaucracy.

Reid strengthening the working-class

present fight against Wilson and his like in the Young Socialists; from the fight for the recognition of the 'Blue' union in 1954 to the present fight against the 'new deal' in the docks.

Party in Britain

Where has the workers' movement been weakened and where strengthened, in Ford's and the ETU or in the docks and the Young Socialists? Where has the struggle been based on the workers' aspirations?

### False charges -

Is Brother Haxell's right to build himself a garage and install central heating at the expense of the rank and file of his union a working-class demand (all of which escaped the notice of Mrs. Reid who was too busy spying on militants), or is £15 a week fall-back pay for the dockers and an end to the dole queues and police violence against the youth?

And who are the leftsectarians and wreckers? Those (Stalinist-led) apprentices who call for a national strike, completely unprepared, for October 2 because their leadership has been rejected by the apprentices committee, or those apprentices who are to meet on October 8 to prepare for a national apprentice strike?

How well all your charges against the Trotskyists apply to the Stalinist movement, Mrs.

Yet, there is more involved here than a series of claims and

Marxist theory is not and

cannot be a series of fixed and

sterile formulae, once learned

never forgotten. It must con-

stantly be developed and be

enriched as the experience of

the working class is enriched at

every development of the class

struggle, and as man's con-

sciousness is developed with the

development of the means of

As Marxist theory is the con-

scious reflection of the uncon-

scious process of struggle be-

tween the classes as man

struggles to conquer nature, it

Theory

out which it cannot overthrow

capitalism, the Marxist Party

must contain within it a theore-

merely adapts itself to bour-

geois thought-and becomes as

much an adjunct of the ruling

class as the labour bureaucrats.

developed and revisionism

cannot be fought by organi-

sational methods, by the

banning of 'revisionist

factions' or by the execu-

tioners' bullets. It is neces-

sary fully to understand and

But Marxism cannot be

To develop the theory, with-

production.

#### tically. Our fight against the Pabloites, at which Mrs. Reid sneers, is just such a theoretical fight. This theoretical fight inside

a party requires factions from time to time. This is why Lenin and Trotsky and why the Trotskyists today insist on the need for factions inside the Marxist Party.

Mrs. Reid and her friends should remember that the Bolshevik Party began as the Bolshevik faction inside the Rusisan Social-Democratic Workers' Party and that the fight against the Mensheviks, Narodniks and Bundists was an indispensible part of the preparation of that party for the revolution.

Even at the time of the 10th Congress, when the Bolshevik Party banned factions temporarily because of the exceptional circumstances following Kronstadt, Lenin defended this right in the party generally and opposed Riazanov's amendment condemning faction-

### Factionalism

Lenin banned them under extreme circumstances, but would not condemn them. In fact his writing abounds with discussion on the need for them. What else are 'What is to be Done', 'The April Theses' and Lenin's Testament, but factional documents, Mrs. Reid?

But the Communist Party does not tolerate any such discussion, any examination of past experiences, any opinions that differ from those of the leadership, and consequently from the

leadership in the Kremlin. And in case this was not abundantly clear to all, Mrs.

Reid reiterates the point: 'Our rules guarantee the right to raise differences and to

reserve opinion,' she states. What could be more democratic than that? Yet the sting

comes in the very next sentence: 'Membership of our Party is rules, our present policy.'

Stalinist betrayals The only right, therefore, seems to be the right to be expelled-as the members of the Young Communist League and the Communist students discovered.

In the Stalinist movement, the subservience to Stalin and his successors replaces the fight for Marxist theory and the fight to build a movement based upon the aspirations of the working class. Hence the biggest betrayals of Haxell and Paynter, and of countless others like them, are tolerated and even justified, so long as the betrayers continue to praise Stalin, or whichever bureaucrat currently holds his position.

The education of cadres, the development of layers of the working class through conscious struggle are both abandoned for the slavish praise for a group of

Underlying all the Stalinist crimes and betrayals is thiscontempt for the working class and the abandonment of the task of building the working class party.

How strange that these should be the very charges that they level at the Trotskyists.

CEYLON

The great betrayal

Two reports from Coylos by G. Healy

### JUST OUT: A SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PAMPHLET

• Two reports from Ceylon by G. Healy dealing with the background and developments behind the Lanka Sama Samaja Party Coalition and the role that the United Secretariat in Europe A reply by the SLL to an attack made on it

of the Fourth International.

Complete resolutions submitted by the three endencies represented by the LSSP Congress of

#### tical struggle. Without the Hence too, the Communist development of theory, the party

the employers. Paid officials of the union to

Hold the election between Cannon and Fraser again.

entiates the political methods of the Trotskyists and the Stalinists in this country. We attacked the corruption in the leadership, the vote fiddling and the em-

The Stalinists defended all these practices by denying their

#### For the Trotskyist movement, at stake is the development of it means fighting the bureau- Marxist theory, the indispensible not open to those who do not weapon of the working class. Hence the Communist Party's

The Newsletter said on slogans: from its support of the TUC at the time of the General 'The capitalist press attack Strike in 1926, to its support for on the Electrical Trades a 'progressive' government in Union is part of the general 1945 (Pollitt in 'How to Win the offensive by the employing Peace' calls for a united front of class and its Tory government 'all progressive forces of the against the workers' living country, whatever their party, standards, conditions and class or social connections'.

p. 73).

organisations. '... But the defence of the ETU as a trade union by no means implies the defence of its present leaders or of their corrupt Stalinist policies and practices.

'. . . In their fight against Cannon, the ETU leaders have abandoned socialist principles. There was never any attempt to conduct a political struggle against him, to combat his ideas or answer his

arguments. '. . . Speedy action is imperative. If Frank Haxell and Frank Foulkes go on "defending" the union in the way they are doing, and the rank and file do not intervene, then the ETU will fall like a ripe plum into the hands of the right wing.'

#### Sharp differentiation The Newsletter called for three acts:

1. The election of a Committee of Enquiry from the rank and file of the union to investigate the charges.

cut their salaries to that of a skilled electrician, plus reasonable expenses.

Why did the Stalinist leadership ignore this call?

The ETU case sharply differbezzlement, together with the stifling of democracy in the

#### dores and Dockers in 1954. follows that the development of this consciousness must itself come through struggle. Other sell-outs

Hence Berridge's failure to support the Ford workers in struggle in 1962, and Paynter's collaboration with the National Coal Board against the miners in 1964.

Hence the Communist Party's

support for the Transport and

General Workers' Union bureau-

cracy against the dockers who

had left that union to join the

National Association of Steve-

Party giving Ron Smith a full page in the 'Daily Worker' to put forward his views just a few days before the Mount Pleasant postal workers showed how little he represented them the same Ron Smith who has just expelled seven leading militants, including two Communist Party members, from the Union

of Postal Workers. All these actions consolidate the bureaucracy in the Labour movement, thus weakening the working class and strengthening

Compare this with the Trotskyist movement's record:

### Proud record The imprisonment of six

of its leading members in

1945 under the infamous Trades Disputes Act for defending trade union rights (whereas the capitalists saw fit to throw the support of their press behind Pollitt and the Communist Party in their attack on the imprisoned men because of the great work the Communist Party was doing for the war effort!); from the struggle in the Labour Party for socialist policies after the war to the

to fight revisionism theore-CEYLON: The great betrayal

played in this betrayal.

by the magazine 'World Outlook'. ● A statement by the International Committee

• Correspondence from the International Secretariat to the LSSP.

Price 1/-. Obtainable from 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

# Incustra VANS BEB

Message to Frank Cousins

# Come off the fence on the dockers' wage claim!

by Reg Perry

FRANK Cousins, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, should come off the fence—his conduct on the dockers' wage claim is a shabby sell-out.

Expelled 7 must

fight for

reinstatement

NOW!

THE expulsion by the Execu-

Post Office Workers of the seven

militant leaders of the London

District Council is causing deep

preparation of the right-wing

dominated Executive to accept

the Tory proposals for part-time

Rank and file members feel

that this step would greatly

undermine the new found mili-

tancy of the union, by creating

an unnecessary division in their

ranks. They have become more

and more critical of their leader-

ship, especially since the role

that people such as Ron Smith

opposed to the policy of part-

time postmen. Their reluctance

so far to appeal against the

expulsions is that they are wait-

ing for Ron Smith and the right

wing to come to an agreement

over part-time postmen, because

they think this will provide for

them a more powerful support

that it can well lead to a break-

away which will be a very

dangerous thing inside the union

at present. Any kind of break-

away now would and could lead

to a serious weakening of the

union and most certainly the

These seven who are expelled

should therefore avail themselves

of the appeals machinery and

carry their fight for reinstate-

ment into the union between

now and the conference next

May. By then, the full disas-

trous effects of the right-wing

policies will become much

isolation of the militants.

The danger with this policy is

inside the union.

The expelled members are all

played in the strike last July.

postmen.

Behind this decision lies the

resentment amongst postmen.

tive Council of the Union of

The decision of the Executive Committee of the union last week to defer a decision on the question of dockers' pay must fill the hearts of the port employers and the Tory government with joy.

These people know that the nearer Christmas they get, th. better chance they have of avoiding or defeating a national docks strike.

They probably also count on a Labour government being elected on October 15 that will persuade the dockers to accept the port employers' terms.

In April this year the Transport and General Workers' Union presented a claim for a substantial wage increase to the port employers for the first time in two years.

Now five months, and several joint meetings later, the employers have stuck fast to a miserable offer of 12s. 6d. a

They have twice declared that this is their final offer. Before that they insulted dock workers on three separate occasions.

At the Trades Union Congress in Blackpool a few weeks ago Frank Cousins heard of the last wage offer and remarked that the situation on the docks was now serious.

The situation for the dockers has been serious for years!

### INCREASE

Cousins should go to the Merseyside and hear how a docker takes his wage packet home to his wife on Thursday with only £9 in it. To draw this amount he has probably been up at 6 a.m. each morning for six days, stood in 'the pen' wondering if he will be allocated work.

'Record', the journal of the Transport and General Workers' Union said, in 1962, that £15 a week was not a claim to be laughed at. Yet the officials of that union now consider 25s. a

week to be a substantial increase. Even the well-tamed delegates to 'the Transport and General Workers' Union docks conference asked for £12. They gave the executive committee powers to call a national strike if the port employers' offer was not satisfactory.

But the union officials went back for humiliating discussions with the employers.

At the Trades Union Congress Cousins spoke big words about asking dockers to refuse to handle South African goods.

But if he can ask them to strike on the issue of South African goods why lick the boots of the bosses on the wages question?

It is rumoured that Cousins favours an impartial investigator. Mr. Wilson perhaps?

The patience of the dockers is wearing thin. They will not take much more of the fancy ideas and schemes that the leaders of the TGWU care to cook up, like the one circulating from the Tilbury dock-a work-to-rule.

It is obvious that neither Cousins nor the Executive of the TGWU nor the Stalinists, have any intention of fighting the port employers.

But other dockers have SO COME OFF THE FENCE!

# Birmingham car workers demand 9d. an hour **Tyneside**

# dockers continue overtime ban

NEWCASTLE dockers decided to continue finishing work at 2 o'clock and banning overtime at a mass meeting last week.

The decision was taken after the employers once again rejected the dockers' claim for compensation for gangs of men

sent home early.
Secretary of the Tyne Port Employers' Association, Mr. S. T. Wright, said that because of the action of Newcastle's 400 dockers, the employers were considering re-routing ships due

If this is done then Mr. Wright will get a swift response from dockers in other ports. With traditional solidarity they can be expected to 'black' the Newcastle cargoes.

### **GLASGOW DOCKERS** BAN **WEEK-END** WORK

A MEETING last week attended by over 700 dockers passed a two-to-one majority decision to carry on a ban on all week-end work.

The ban was originally fought for by rank and file dockers at the KE5 control and was eventually operated by all the controls in Glasgow. Only after a long period of time did the union officials call the mass meeting to endorse the ban.

Port employers are now having difficulty in manning ships. Last week there were 13 ships waiting to be unloaded and a number were undermanned.

Overtime is being worked during the week but the dockers refuse to budge from their decision to ban week-end work until the employers agree to their demands for the operation of the 40-hour week.

Dockers should be on the lookout for treachery from their own union leaders. These bureaucrats are under strong pressure from the employers to get week-end working restarted and they will try to seek out any weakness in the dockers' solidarity so that they can push through the demands of the employers.

**各种性性性性性性性性性性性性性性性性性性性** NOW OUT The Dockers' SOCIALIST LABOUR

Price 3d.



### The Dockers' Wage Claim

A reply to the Communist Party by Reg Perry

Obtainable from: 186A Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. **美国企业的过去式和过去分词 化二氯甲基苯基苯** 

## **LETTER FROM** A **MERSEYSIDE**

SIX weeks ago a docks delegate conference in London passed a resolution giving the negotiating committee on wages their support to go into strike

**DOCKER** 

Two weeks later at a mass meeting of dockers at the Pier Head, Liverpool, called by an 'official' Transport and General Workers' Union docks action committee, another resolution was put to the meeting: 'That the employers be given one more chance.' This, after six months! However, the resolution was passed.

But—and this is typical of the TGWU-a further meeting was called the following week and a resolution put that they should seek plenary powers from the four unions.

We now have the latest report to hand: The TGWU is expected to agree to the delegate conference request and use its power to call a national docks strike.

There have already been three conferences and the last two voted unanimously for strike

The Executive Committee of the TGWU, with Frank Cousins at the head, has met to give plenary powers to O'Leary (secretary of the docks section) for strike action. . .

So why the constant passing of plenary powers and delegate conferences?

Because they do not want to lead the dockers against the employers for a decent wagesuch action would destroy the present collaboration with the employers.

The only other alternative is to lead the dockers into strike action a few weeks before Christmas-our most difficult time-in order to defeat the strike and establish some form of permanent peace for the bureaucracy.

Meanwhile, the TGWU Docks Executive Committee have agreed to meet the employers to discuss differences on the implementation of the 'New Deal' for Merseyside.

This, after it has been completely rejected by every docker.

According to the rule book, the Executive Committee of the Docks Section and National Executive Committee should be expelled forthwith for anti-trade union activity and the abandonment of trade union democratic practice.

A Merseyside docker.

# wage increase

From Our Midlands Correspondent

**EXACTLY 24** hours after returning to work on Monday, following an unofficial strike, men in the inspection department at Hardy Spicer Limited, Erdington, Birmingham, came out on strike after the management refused to give them a wage rise.

The men have firmly rejected the management's offer to go to arbitration and the three unions involved—the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Transport and General Workers' Union and the National Society of Metal Mechanics—are understood to be considering making the dispute official.

These men are out on strike for the second time in support of a claim, first made nearly a year ago, for 9d. an hour increase in pay. They rejected the management's offer of 3d. an hour.

The Rover factory at Solihull and the BMC Tractors and Transmission will be immediately affected.

Last week, by the narrow margin of seven votes, the men decided to call off the unofficial strike, which was described as 'the most serious stoppage the car industry has faced for

It involved 250 men in the nspection department of the factory which produces 80 per cent of the propeller shafts used by the British car industry.

### Usual pleas

Strong pressure was put on the inspectors at the meeting to return to work by senior shop stewards and by officials of the three unions involved.

The usual pleas were made for 'responsible' behaviour; strikers were reminded that 'all disputes depend ultimately on the climate of opinion you create'.

Officials, were told: 'You want to listen to our side more, and not so much to the gaffers' side', and 'Now we're out we shall stay out'.

It was clear throughout the meeting that strikers had few illusions that much would result from the reopening of talks with the management, following a resumption of work.

When the vote was taken on a show of hands cheers greeted the hands raised in favour of continuing the strike, not only from the inspectors themselves but from a large number of workers from other departments in the factory who were standing on the outside of the meeting listening to the proceedings.

### Closed down

BMC, Rovers, Fords and Vauxhall are all supplied with components by Hardy Spicer, who also supply the Lancia car firm of Italy and the Swedish Volvo and Saab companies. As a result of the walk-out last week Hardy Spicer's closed down, sending home 3,000 workers.

Among many of the workers

### there was considerable resentment and dissatisfaction. One of them, Mr. Edward Kirby, said: 'This has been dragging on for 12 months and it's absolutely ridiculous the way the union officials are going on.'

He spoke with bitterness of press misrepresentation of the average earnings of the inspectors.

### Living wage

'The fact is they are grossly underpaid. Most of them are working 55 hours a week, and some as much as 63 hours a week. They've got to, to earn a living wage,' he declared.

A woman inspector showed me her pay packet; £9 8s. 7d. for 42 hours work. A feature of the vote was the large number of women in favour of continuing the strike.

Mr. Kirby said: 'We want to see the women getting the same pay as the men. They have supported us in this strike; they do the same work as the men.'

## Red dust angers Durham tenants

TATORKERS and their wives in Consett, Co. Durham, are angrily protesting against the red dust which has been pouring from the Consett Iron Company's oxygen steel plant during the past few months.

The dust has become known as the 'red menace'. It covers everything. The roofs of the streets in the shadow of the works are tinted red.

Mrs. Davies, together with other housewives in Eltringham Street, is organising a petition.

Tenants in Eltringham Street complain that their children have coughs and their hair turns red with the dust.

### GENUINE

The managing director of Consett Iron Company has admitted that the complaints are genuine. But he has stated that special equipment which was to filter the smoke from the new steel plant has never worked correctly.

He said that a solution was expected within four to five

People in Eltringham Street are sceptical about promises. 'It's all right them promising,' they said, 'they are not eating or living in it.'

Mr. Pearson, the managing director, ended his statement declaring his concern by saying: 'Paramount in our minds, however, is the maintenance of full employment in the area.'

#### **NEW EQUIPMENT** But did Consett Iron Com-

pany build its new plant to provide jobs for men in the area?

Before long its new equipment may be putting men out of

The purpose of production at Consett is . . . profit. That is what the belching fumes represent. Clean housing comes second to profit.

The tenants are considering holding a protest meeting and a march to lobby the Labour MP.

## Morgan **Crucibles** refuse pay talks

INION officials are pressing for negotiations with the management of Morgan Crucible, a Battersea, London, graphite - producing company, following a one-day strike over pay at the firm, two weeks ago. It was the first strike held at the factory for a number of years.

In spite of a 'tradition' of non-militancy at the factory, 1,000 of the 2,000 workers attended a meeting this Tuesday to hear from Assistant Divisional Organiser of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Vic Parker, what stage had been reached in negotiations.

The management had refused to discuss pay because of the one-day strike and the negotiating committee was giving the bosses one more chance.

The management say they will negotiate with the unions-there are 11 at Crucible's-in January at the end of a two-year bonus plan and package deal, introduced in 1962.

Parker quoted figures to illustrate that the plan had meant a reduction in the pay packet of every worker.

### Call for action on Baildon rent increases

COUNCIL house tenants in the town of Baildon, near Bradford, packed a meeting called by the recently-formed tenants' association on Tuesday night and bombarded members and officials of the urban council with questions.

Councillor H. Chapman and seven other councillors, together with the treasurer and housing manager, were left in no doubt as to the complete opposition of the tenants to the rent increases and rent rebate scheme which are due to come into operation next week.

### Rent rebate

Mr. F. Underwood, a member of the committee of the tenants' association stated that the rent for his two-bedroomed house is to increase by 17s. 11d. a week to a total of £2 19s. 1d. The rent of some of the threebedroomed houses are to rise by 25s.

The council, which is Liberalcontrolled, with only two Labour members, originally favoured a straight rise of 35 per cent, but the idea of a rent rebate scheme was pressed for by the Labour councillors and accepted by the majority.

One tenant shouted that 450 tenants present at the meeting should be asked whether or not they were going to pay the increases and said that they must all stick together. # 2 R H 2 B H 2 R H 3 B H 2 R H 2 B H 2

## Become a regular subscriber to The Newsletter

Subscription Department, The Newsletter, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. 8s. 6d. for 12 issues

Address

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), r.o. 180 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 Published by The Newsletter. 1864 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

# Tyneside tenants organise to win better housing conditions By BILL HUNTER

TENANTS of Railway **■** Street, Hebburn, Tyneside, have been up in arms about the Labour Party. their living conditions. This

protests to the local council, something has been done. Railway Street runs alongside a shipyard. One end of the street, in fact, is joined to the

time, as a result of their

shipyard wall. Cranes run up and down a line at the back of the street and tower over the houses. There is a railway line at the front which runs over the road and round the end of the street into the shipyard.

The street is next to a prefabrication shop and there is with a shovel to prevent it from the banging of ship construction -toppling over.

night and day. 'It's like living right inside a year, the tenants began to been left for years,' said Mrs.

-five years ago, one of the are afraid of them.' cranes fell over, smashing a wall and narrowly missing some children. As a result of this there was publicity about the street in the press. But the bad housing conditions did not change.

### AGITATE

Rats run through the houses. Floorboards are rotten. One tenant, over 70 years of age, had gaping holes in her floor and had to prop her gas stove up

At the end of August this factory,' said Mr. Routledge, agitate. Mrs. Ethel Routledge Routledge. 'For five years we Labour councillors.

an electrician and member of wrote to the local press: 'We are run alive with rats and mice It is a dangerous street for and any other vermin you can the 30 children who live there name, even the cats and dogs

#### **PETITIONS** After this letter appeared, a

tenants' association was formed. Letters and petitions were sent to the local Labour council. Delegations visited councillors and also saw the local Labour MP—Mr. Ernest Fearneyhough.

Floors were mended. In a back lane a drain was clearedthere had been complaints about it for months. Councillors declared the tenants would be rehoused in six months.

Things were done that had

got nothing, but now we've got thing done in five weeks, once we started moving.

Of course, all this activity on the part of the council is just before a general election. Hebburn tenants must hold the council to its promise to rehouse everyone in six months, after the election has taken place. It is not enough just to patch up a few houses and leave it at that.

### **EXAMPLE**

The thousands of other tenants in Tyneside who live in conditions similar to those of Railway Street can follow the example set by Hebburn Association and Tenants' organise together, seek the support of trade unionists and fight the timid complacency of