# The Newsletter

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This Week

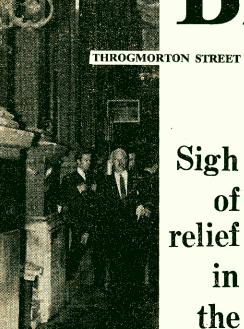
P. 2 A capitalist analysis of the Labour government—by Cliff Slaughter

> The story of a centrist (part ii) by Peter Arnold

P. 3 Letter from a Marxist in the CP

## THE BUDGET:

# BIG BUSINESS HAPPY



Working class split

By The Editor

EVERY worker and trade unionist knows that the Tories are responsible for the present economic crisis. It is their system of profit-making and greed which constantly threatens the standard of living of the wage worker, widows and old age pensioners.

If there is a balance of payments crisis it is not the trade union and labour movement that is responsible but the fact that private companies made four thousand million pounds profit last year and that their system is organised to fit in with this gigantic profit grab.

Mr. Callaghan's budget, like right-wing Labour's policy as a whole, has avoided a head-on clash with the City of London. He has instead introduced measures such as the 6d. a gallon tax on petrol and dearer National Insurance stamps which are bound to increase the cost of living for the wage earners and poorer sections of the population.

#### FOR THE £15 DOCKERS' WAGE

of

in

City

## Organise national rank and file committee

Says Birkenhead docker in letter

TT was good to read two weeks ago of the appreciation of 1 The Newsletter by dockers in the Surrey Docks, London. Here in Birkenhead, Garston and Liverpool ports, this tremendous weekly paper is a 'must' and is read eagerly week after week by hundreds.

One docker in the Irish club some weeks back expressed the value of the paper when he said to all those around him-'Get this paper, it's the only one that gives you the real facts behind the news.

The editorial 'Organise now against decasualisation' (Newsletter. October 31) is no excep tion: especially the fact that one of the main authors of the 'new deal' for skinning dockers is none other than the 'left' Mr. Cousins!

But there is one point which needs more explanation and that is the so-called dockers' wage demand for an increase of 25s. being turned down at the end of

#### Trickery

That 25s. exemplifies the trickery and treachery of the Transport and General Workers' Union officials and the London Liaison Communist Party-led committee.

TGWU branches in Merseyside, Manchester, Hull, Scotland and London, not to mention other ports, mandated the negotiating committee for £15, £12 10s. and £14 in Hull months

No branch has mandated O'Leary for 25s. Neither has it been discussed at any branch. When O'Leary told the employers to start with 25s., that was a betrayal of the mandate and one of the biggest of many gifts to the employers over the

The London Liaison committee knew this very well, but at no time did they expose



Crichton: brains behind decasualisation

O'Leary and Co. On the contrary, they kept on telling the dockers that the TGWU was changing for the better, that it was going to do the job.

On the very day that Jack Dash (a leading member of the Liaison Committee) called off the one-day token strike, because of the TGWU bluff of ending the national agreement and then proceeding obsequiously to carry out the agreed procedural force of four weeks and then two weeks' strike notice, one of the Stalinists on Merseyside was calling for unity behind the officials!

There is no end to their betrayal and servility, except the building of a national rank and file portworkers'

Precisely because there is no national leadership, the TGWU have, up to this point, got away (Cont. p. 4, col. 6)

#### London dockers locked-out for being late

TWO hundred dockers were dockers agreed that if the cards 'locked-out' of the Royal Docks on Wednesday following an early morning meeting to discuss a proposed claim for a 50 per cent piece-rate pay increase.

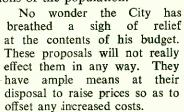
Over 2,000 men were at the meeting called by the Royal Docks Liaison Committee. When the 200 arrived late at the Dock Labour Board to have their attendance cards stamped, they found the windows shut in their faces. Officials refused to stamp their cards.

During the lunch hour, 3,000

had not been stamped by the end of the day they would hold a meeting on Thursday morning to vote a complete withdrawal of labour.

The Wednesday meeting decided the pay claim be made through the individual unions.

At the Thursday meeting the men decided to strike, so bringing the docks to a standstill. However, they decided to return to work in the afternoon so that union officials could 'look into the matter'.



Such means are not at the disposal of the working class who are to be asked by Mr. Woodcock and the right-wing trade union leaders to accept a wage freeze.

No wonder the City is relieved because they have the right-wing trade union and Labour leaders on their side.

Of course, everyone will support an improvement in standards of old age pensioners and the removal of the health service prescription charges. But why should the working class be made to pay through an increase in the cost of living for these measures? That is the real

#### Hypocrisy

A policy of giving with one taking back with another shows the hypocrisy of the reformists Callaghan and Wilson, who are in reality nothing more than the servants of big capital applying policies which will not in the long run make any difference to the working class.

There is, however, a strategy behind the budget. These concessions are designed to create a division in the working class between those who are poorly paid and those who through trade union organisation enjoy higher wages.

Both Tories and right-wing

#### Alfred Dressler: an appreciation

THE Editorial Board of The Newsletter has learned with deep regret of the death of Alfred Dressler on Sunday, October 24.

Alfred Dressler ranked as one of the foremost and sincere intellectuals who left the Communist Party during the Prague trials. He was especially active in the Leeds branch of the International Society of Socialist Studies and will always be remembered for his production of the record of the Eighth Plenum of the Polish Workers' Party.

As a founder-member of the Editorial Board of the New Reasoner' he collaborated very closely with John Saville and Edward Thompson. Although critical of Trotskyism, he always provided serious and thoughtful arguments to those with

whom he discussed. The labour movement has lost a serious worker on matters of important historical and theoretical interest.



Callaghan: avoids clash with City

Labour alike hope that the incomes commission will tie down all wages and salaries to longterm legislative agreement. The protagonists of the income commission speak about taking action over prices, but by the time the commission gets down to work, prices will have risen considerably over what they are now.

Wages, however, will remain the same, because it is anticipated that there will be an agreement reached between the Trades Union Congress and the government to freeze wages before Christmas.

#### Prices rise

Under a disguise of the improvement in the social services prices will go up and will be higher than they are today by April next year. Then, when the Incomes Commission proposals come up for decision, the Labour government is bound to introduce some curtailment of profits. But by that time big business will have plenty of time to prepare for any contingencies which might arise.

In other words, the first action of the Labour government, both on the 15 per cent surcharge and on the budget increases, is to attack the living standards of the working class. This is the classical role of reformism tinkering with capitalism, whilst at the same time absolutely rejecting real socialist measures against big business.

#### Sleep sound

You cannot place the responsibility for the economic crisis on the backs of the Tories as long as they own and control property. Callaghan, Wilson and their ilk have no intention of touching this property, so the City of London can sleep soundly.

Like all reformist Labour governments in the past, what they have done is to hit and defeat the very people who voted them into office.

Wilson and Callaghan are, in fact, the architects of defeat, miserable Parliamentary careerists who are at the moment only providing the role of a caretaker government whilst at the same time creating the conditions for the return of the

## Hard labour for

Dr Allen





## three Nigerians

Left: Oleshengun Adebayo Centre: Sidi Kayam Right: Jonas Kiomasekenagh

By Robert James

VICIOUS one year's hard labour sentence was passed on Dr. Leonard Victor Allen, the A 41-year-old Leeds University lecturer accused with three Nigerians of plotting to overthrow the Nigerian government, at Ikeja, Eastern Nigeria, on Tuesday.

The Nigerians, trade unionists Jonas Kiomasekenagh and Sidi Kayam, and teacher Oleshengun Adebayo received similar sentences.

The trial opened on July 1 when the four accused pleaded after a six-month tour of Africa not guilty to conspiring to overthrow the government, drawing up a plan for the same purpose and possessing a seditious pub-

lication. Dr. Allen will begin his sentence at the end of a two-month term imposed last month for making a false statement and using a false document in alleged 'escape attempt' dressed as a tribesman.

#### DEPORTATION REFUSED

Pleas by Dr. Allen's counsel, Mr. Michael Odesanya, for a deportation order on the grounds of the lecturer's deteriorating health due to separation from his family, allowing him to resume his academic work in Britain, were rejected by chief magistrate Ufnmilayo Wickliffe.

Arrested on June 16 on a charge of managing an unlawful society for the purpose of overthrowing the government, Dr. Allen was discharged, but immediately arrested on the present charges.

An authority on trade union affairs Dr. Allen was due to return to Britain last month

THE following telegram has Olushengun Adebayo. been sent by the National Committee of the Socialist Labour League to the Nigerian High Commissioner.

On behalf of trade unionists, Labour Party members, Young Socialists and students, the National Committee of the Socialist Labour League strongly protests against the sentence of one year's imprisonment with hard labour passed on Dr. Victor Allen, Jonas Kiomasekenagh and Sidi Kayam and London, W.C.2.

where, it is understood, he was gathering material for another

He arrived in Nigeria soon after the victorious general strike in which the workers gained substantial wage increases.

#### **ARDUOUS**

While he was detained on the original charge, Dr. Allen went on a hunger strike and also claimed, through the British press, that he was not receiving any help from the British authorities in Nigeria.

Later he was released, rearrested then released again on £500 bail.

The long and arduous trial has been a tremendous physical and financial strain on the four accused.

The Nigerians are well known among the working class of the country and it is almost certain that the arrests and trial were staged as an attack by the puppet government of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Belewa on the conditions and wages won through the general strike.

We demand that the three Nigerian trade unionists be immediately released and Dr. Victor Allen returned to

G. HEALY, Britain. National Secretary Socialist Labour League

We urge other members and organisations of the trade union and labour movement to send similar protests to the High Commissioner at Nigeria House, 9 Northumberland Avenue,

## changes.

#### PROTEST

against the savage sentences passed

DR. LEONARD VICTOR ALLEN JONAS KIOMASEKENAGH **OLESHENGUN ADEBAYO** SIDI KAYAM

The Socialist Labour League calls on members of the British trade union and labour movement to join

A LOBBY OF MPs at the HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 6 p.m.

A PROTEST MEETING at the ST. BRIDE'S FOUNDATION INSTITUTE, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, E.C.4 SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 7 p.m.

## **English** lecturer jailed

NOTHER English lec-

turer has been sentenced to imprisonment in Africa. He is Alan Keith Brooks (24), who was jailed for two years for 'furthering the aims of communism', by the Supreme Court in Capetown, South Africa, on Monday.

Brooks and student Anthony Trew (23), were each sentenced to four year's imprisonment, but two were suspended. A physiotherapist, 23-year-old Stephanie Kemp was sentenced to five years' jail - with three suspended.

All three pleaded guilty to belonging to an underground organisation, but denied committing sabotage.

The judge told the accused it was not an offence to oppose apartheid or take up the cause of the underprivileged, 'nor is it an offence to join associations with the view to bring about political economic or social

'It is only so when it is sought to bring about such changes by causing disorder or disturbances or by the commissions of unlawful acts that crime is committed.

This statement looks ridiculous in the light of the repressive actions by the extreme Verwoerd regime which has sent people like Nelson Mandela and Dr. Neville Alexander into jails, where they are treated brutally, for opposing apartheid and taking up the cause of the underprivileged, which the Judge referred to.

#### Devlin makes interim report

I ORD DEVLIN has made his interim report on the docks dispute to the Minister of Labour, Mr. Ray Gunter, who ordered a quick enquiry soon after the Election, in order to prevent an embarrassing dock

Shortly before making his report-confined to the wage question-Lord Devlin, meeting the unions and the port employers, said the wage offer was too low, but the claim was too

Just how much difference can there be between the 12s, 6d. extra offered and the 25s. the TGWU claim that would mean anything to the docker and his

## A capitalist analysis of the Labour THE TIMES reassures its government readers

London has always been rightly regarded as reflecting some of the most informed and advanced opinion in ruling class circles.

Written for the 'top people', its pages cover a wide area of international news and provide considered opinions in the editorial columns upon the most serious questions.

Last week I dealt with the praise given to the Wilson government by the paper 'World Outlook', whose Pabloite editors referred to the Labour government as 'left social-democratic' and called upon socialists to support its 'progressive measures'. On Tuesday November 3, 'The Times' provided a remarkable confirmation, in an indirect way, of our criticism of these revisionists.

In The Newsletter we said clearly that the Labour government represented not a gain by the working class so much as a reflection of the need of the bosses to use a Labour government for its own desperate pur-

#### 'Left trend'

Socialists must start from the and against measures taken by the government in support of the employers.

'The Times' notes that the election of a Labour government coincides with similar developments in West Germany,

local elections and may go close to a majority in next year's general election; after many years in the wilderness in France some sort of 'left front' is being mounted to fight against de Gaulle's Presidency; in Italy the socialists are near to taking part in government again, helped by the divisions within the Italian Communist Party.

It is wrong to think, says 'The Times', that all this means a turn to the left in Europe: , the trend is more in favour of the centre than of the left as

The editorial goes on to give a brief outline of the development of European 'socialist' politics since the end of the Second World War. After emerging powerfully from the war because of the upsurge of working-class desire for social change and the enthusiasm for Russia, these parties were replaced by 'centre' and 'Christian Democratic' parties during the anti-communist period of the Cold War.

#### Revival

'The Times' should add that this was only possible because of the deal made by Stalin with the capitalist rulers of America and Europe, followed out to the letter by the Communist Parties and fellow-travellers of Italy and France, and that the Korean war saw the beginning of a prolonged period of boom.

'The Times' notes two important developments which helped the revival of the 'socialist' parties: first, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, whose suppression by Khrushchev weakened Marxism in Europe; and second, the decision of the German Social-Democratic Party in 1959 to remove all socialist demands from its programme.

The Newsletter insisted at the time of that social-democratic conference in Germany that this was a decisive turn by these

TIMES' of agents of capitalism and that corrupting working-class parties similar moves were afoot in arises from a crisis whose other Britain in Gaitskell's campaign to remove Clause 4 from the constitution of the Labour

> These were necessary in order to adapt these parties more adequately to the needs of monopoly capitalism. The capitalists themselves had long since abandoned any idea of pure competition, or property-owning democracies and recognised the need for more decisive state intervention in the economy.

'The Times' sums up:

"This rise (of the left), such as it is, derives less from the acceptance of traditional leftwing ideas than from their partial rejection by the left itself-as well, to be fair, as their partial acceptance by the right. . . . The desire for change has been able to find expression only since the democratic left became respectable. If a swing is taking place it is a symptom of the growing consensus of the centre, where basic social and economic doctrines are no longer at issue . . a certain softening of political frontiers seems likely. Europe is not so much turning left as just turning.

What could be clearer? Capitalism must make a turn in cils, confirming the programme

side must inevitably be the heightening of the struggle of the workers themselves against all the results of this crisis.

Consequently, 'The Times' does not consider, for example, the other result of the crisis Stalinism surrounding the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. From various Communist Parties came not only renegades from the movement but cadres who learned from that Revolution the lesson of the necessity of a Fourth International of revolutionary parties based on the teachings of Trotsky; this happened in Britain and in



'The Times' ignores the crisis of Stalinism

Hungary itself, to name only

As part of the same process the Hungarian workers showed the path of political revolution to the workers of Eastern Europe through workers' counorder to overcome its crisis. of the Fourth International, that

ible to expect too much to follow from them.

'The Times' is here drawing attention to the fact that whatever leaders might say, the workers will insist on fighting, and attention should be paid to

#### Doom

They cannot understand the workings of the whole capitalist system as one which is going to its doom through a series of international and inter-connected conflicts, with working-class leadership settling the historical issue-that would involve rejecting the whole bourgeois outlook-but they insist on being able to root out troublemakers in their own backyard.

They write:

'Trade union leaders are on the whole responsible and knowledgeable men willing to give their co-operation on reasonable terms. But they can be easily outflanked by unofficial leaders who are assisted by the fact that in an inflationary economy the interests of some employers join with the pressure for higher pay to defeat any prolonged attempt to hold earnings below the market rate.'

This has the same meaning as the first 'Times' article we analysed. Some employers must change their traditional attitudes and accept the vital role of the opportunist leaders in the trade unions and Labour Party in regulating the economy.

#### Limited

In this case 'The Times' can rance and Italy.

The counter-revolutionary policy the political bureaucracy of see the immediate difficulties in In West Germany the social- of the Stalinist bureaucracy has Stalinism must be overthrown, the demands of rank-and-file helped prepare the ground for but not the planned socialist workers. But that is the limit of their understanding; they only give the working class credit for being able to understand and fight for its immediate economic demands. They assume that the workers, like themselves, will continue to accept the limits of bourgeois society, only challenging for small adjustments within it (such as getting the 'market value' for their labour!).

> Shrewdness, cunning, and the ability to corrupt many gene-



The Hungarian Revolution, 1956: Many came from Stalinist movement to learn the lesson of the necessity of the Fourth International

But the present crisis of British capitalism brings home to roost all the chickens of a hundred years of bloody exploitation and super-profit on a world scale.

The struggles it brings will British workers.

The story of a centrist (ii)

AFTER its disaffilia-AFTER its disaffiliation from the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party twisted and turned, trying out every policy to hand, avoiding only one-that of revolutionary Marxism.

It is a sad tale of failure and hypocrisy, ending where it began-back with the rightwing leaders of the Labour Party who, in 1939, actually themselves initiated discussion for reaffiliation. Once again, Brockway was 'surprised'.

Brockway's leadership over disaffiliation from the Labour Party had been unprincipled. He was unable to understand the hostility of MacDonald's successors to the Independent Labour Party and the pleasure with which they greeted its departure.

Of his visit to Lansbury he writes: 'I was disappointed . . . he put the view that the departure of MacDonald and Snowden from the Party did not alter the situation'. Similarly he was 'surprised by Henderson's attitude . . . He challengingly raised the issue of whether we had any real faith in Parliament . pressing the ILP further than it was prepared to go at the moment . . .

#### Unprincipled

His complete inability to understand imperialism made him unable to fight the Labour bureaucracy. It also made him unable to fight the Stalinist bureaucracy or, indeed, to see the need for an international or even a party at all.

His relations with the Stalinists were as unprincipled as had been his relations with the Labour bureaucrats.

He describes without comment an interview between himself. Maxton and Pollitt, in which Pollitt said: 'Its all very well to have principles, but the test of any course is its success. The Communist Party has failed to build a mass revolutionary Party. So has the ILP. Together we can do it.'

Happily Maxton was not satisfied with the offer, but nothing indicates that Brockway could fault it. After all, it resembled his own plans to unite the Second and Third Internationals in 1920.

He was 'disappointed' with the opulance of Soviet embassy life and the Moscow Trials 'disturbed my confidence in those who controlled Soviet Russia'

Once again he was unable to understand how these were part of the struggle between the classes. They were simply events which 'disturbed' things.

The Dewey Commission for the Defence of Leon Trotsky disturbed him as much as did the Trials as he 'did not think that an enquiry initiated by a Defence committee could be accepted as impartial'. When he wrote this to Trotsky he was surprised to be denounced by the latter as 'Mr. Pritt Number

But the implications of this denunciation were lost on Brockway, all that he could deduce was that 'Perhaps the "old man" (as his followers call him) was suffering from nerves'. ('Inside the Left', p. 259)

#### Conclusion

Fortunately though, an impartial enquiry was possible as I . . . decided for myself to make a thorough examination of the evidence'. Only Brockway could stand above classes.

His conclusion is worth quoting in full for its complete lack of any class analysis, of indeed of any causes for the (in fact, quite erroneous) phenomena that he describes. Unfortunately, for reasons of space, we must confine ourselves to the highlights:

'... politically the state had never been an expression of workers' democracy and was becoming less so. The power . . . had been transferred to the Communist Party, and control by the Party had become more and more controlled by a bureaucratic

leadership. His startling discovery that a bureaucracy existed in the Soviet Union (leaving aside the reasons that led him to this) outraged him and drove him to act. On March 9, 1938, he wrote a letter to (who? why the man

who could stop the messy

## with Stalinists and **Fascists** By Peter Arnold

business, of course) Stalin 'calling upon him to end the persecution'.

Brockway modestly comments, It made worldwide impression. During the whole of the period, the Independent Labour Party was working closely with Stalin's representatives in this country, or as Brockway puts it in his inimitable manner:

'We slipped into a united front with the Communist Party . . without considered attention.'

The method of this united action is best summed up in the negotiations between the Independent Labour Party, Cripp's Socialist League (a group operating inside the Labour Party) and the Communist Party in 1936. Once again let us hear from Brock-

'The first problem was the form of organisational unity at which we should aim.' Only once that was settled presumably did they move on to 'the second problem' which was 'the programme of the campaign'. Brothers let us first unite and then think of something to unite about.

#### Collapse

The joint action was a failure throughout and finally collapsed completely on the issue of fighting the Labour Party bureaucracy. They threatened to expel the Socialist League for co-operating with proscribed organisations, and the League officially disbanded, the mem-



Mosley: his October 1936 march called off through actions of a terrified Brockway

bers continuing to co-operate individually.

The showdown came when the Party leadership threatened to expel George Strauss if he went ahead to speak on the same platform as Maxton and Pollitt. The fight was called off, and the great unity campaign collapsed. The Independent Labour Party had again learnt nothing.

#### Indictment

Even Brockway has to admit: 'Thus ended ignominiously the Unity Campaign. Its result was the destruction of the Socialist League . . . the strengthening of the reactionary right-wing leaders and the disillusionment of the rank and file.'

A damning indictment one might think, yet Brockway still concludes: 'And yet if I am asked if the ILP made a mistake in entering the campaign, my answer is "No".' (Ibid., p. 269)

He then goes on to produce his analysis, which should be of lasting value to the workers of all countries: 'The real lesson of the campaign was the need to limit action to specific issues? It should be written in letters of

The way in which Brockway, as a true centrist, shied away from class action, is well illustrated in his encounters with the

The Independent Labour Party newspaper played a large part in calling out the workers of East London to prevent Mosley's march in October 1936. Brockway describes how he rushed down to Aldgate on the day and found a huge crowd of workers, already fighting with the police. The sight terrified him. He

dashed to the nearest 'phone box and got on to the Home Office to ask them to stop Mosley's march!

'I insisted,' he writes, 'that if the procession were allowed to approach Aldgate there would be bloodshed and that, after this warning, the responsibility would lie with the Home Secretary.'

Naturally, the Home Office was only too pleased to oblige. The procession was called off. As one contemporary put it, it was a 'feather in Brockway's

Brockway's attitude to bloodshed, however, did not cause him to sever all connections with the fascists. At the time when the POUM was fighting the fascists (and the Stalinists) in Spain, Brockway, 'debated with Mosley's first lieutenant William Joyce [later Lord Haw Haw during the Second World War] before the students of Aberdeen University. I am humiliated to say that on the vote I lost in the debate. . . .

#### **Impressed**

He was obviously impressed with the fascists, as he writes: 'Joyce's indictment of the inequalities of capitalism might have been uttered by any socialist.'

All ended in a traditional British way: 'After the debate, we both accompanied our supporters to a students' ball, but Joyce didn't dance.' ('Inside the Left', p. 272)

Here is the man who describes himself as a 'revolutionary socialist' attending a dance with fascists and all that he can find for them is praise at their indictment of capitalism and concern at their failure to dance. How can these people hope to lead the working class, when they cannot even recognise the most naked of their enemies?

It must be stressed once again that this took place when the German, Italian and Spanish workers were being subjected to the most enormous suffering by fascism. To Brockway, fascism is not the class enemy in its most horrible form, but chaps with different ideas, which ought to be discussed.

Internationally his policy was as disastrous. But how could it be otherwise for this narrow English empiric. Describing his 'fight' to build what was to be known as the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  international he makes no mention at all of political discussion with any foreign party. Presumably, this did not play an important part in what he calls his 'interesting visits to various parts of Europe'.

#### 'Knowledge'

He does tell us a lot about himself though. Describing a meeting that he addressed in Poland in 1931 he writes: 'It was fiercely interrupted by Communists and there were scenes of fighting. I had not before seen such political ferocity.' I should hope not, too. Just imagine that happening in Slough!

He also tells us that in Poland he 'found a knowledge of British politics and an enthusiasm for the ILP that surprised me'. After all he knew

## by Cliff Slaughter

this turn to be possible through the capitalists' use of discredited parties like those of the socialdemocracy.

#### No prejudice

And 'The Times' more or less tells its readers, 'don't be put off by your past prejudices against people who call themselves socialists, they're in the

Now the position of the revisionists within the Marxist movement over the last few years becomes clearer still. By



Gaitskell: Attack on Clause 4 part of 'turn'

selling Wilson as a 'left winger' they, in fact, assist the capitalists, who have decided that Wilson is all right by them.

For all its urbanity and sophistication, 'The Times' is unable to get to the bottom of the matter, however. Only the dialectical method of Marxism can do this, providing a basis for working-class political action.

As always, the spokesmen of the ruling class neglect the power of the working class itself. They constantly fall into the illusions of their own bureaucratic and parliamentary system, assuming that everything in the class struggle depends upon official programmes and combinations of people within the apparatus. It never strikes them that their very need for

foundations of the economy.

All the crises and civil wars called up in the period of imperialist decay, together with their reflections within the camp of the Stalinist bureaucracy, provide revolutionary opportunities for a working class led by a Marxist party, based on the only scientific theory which can see the world system as a whole, in terms of one struggle between capitalists and workers. Such parties in fact are being built in the course of the real struggle against the capitalists and their agents in the Labour move-

'The Times' is unable to achieve this overall view of the contradictions of the system, because it remains within the bourgeois world view of formal logic and accepts the capitalist order as natural and eternal. Only the conflicts under its very nose call for treatment of a different kind.

#### Generosity

For example, in its first editorial the same day, a different question is taken up. 'The Times' comments upon a speech by Les Cannon, right-wing excommunist president of the Electrical Trades Union.

In this speech to the ETU policy-making conference, Cannon pledged support to the incomes policy of Wilson and spoke strongly against 'restrictive practices'. The next day he had strong words for the unofficial strikes by ETU members on power station construction

'The Times' welcomes his generosity but warns that fine words butter no parsnips:

'Mr. Cannon's sentiments do him credit, they cannot be too often urged by trade union leaders or too closely heeded by those to whom they are addressed, but it is poss-

rations of labour leaders, have enabled the British capitalist class, with 'The Times' always well to the fore, to ensure up to now that the working class does not go beyond reform demands and reformist leaders.

see the downfall equally of the capitalist class itself and its faithful servants the Labour leaders, because from these struggles we have begun to build in the Socialist Labour League a revolutionary leadership which presents the challenge of Marxism in living, active form to the

nothing of Poland, so why should the Polish workers know anything of Britain. Didn't they have enough problems of their own?

In 1932, after visiting Germany, he made another startling discovery, almost equalling his discovery about the British Labour Party made in the previous year. 'I realised then that Hitler would make a bid for power at all costs, not excluding civil war.' It must have been a shock.

In the Spanish Civil War, he refrained from any real criticism of the Stalinists (or of the other Spanish parties for not fighting the bureaucracy) because, after all, 'British and French workers had no right to criticise whilst they were unable to compel their governments to allow arms to be

As the then Tory government could safely be relied on not to allow arms to be sent for use against their friend Franco, and as the Independent Labour Party could be relied upon not to lead the workers against them, all criticism could be safely avoid-

When the Stalinist GPU purges began against the POUM, the Independent Labour Party's sister party in Spain, Brockway's advice was for them to give in to the Stalinists 'not resisting the transference of power to the Popular Front State'.

Of course, they should try to keep alive 'the idea (now that they had been forced to abandon the reality, they should stick to ideas. They would have saved a lot of fuss and bother had they stuck to them in the first place) of the social revolution as the object accompanying Franco's defeat'.

#### Rejected FI

In any case, Brockway adds: 'I doubt whether any modifications of policy by the POUM would have made any difference.'

Maybe he was drafting another letter to Stalin on the subject. Perhaps it got lost in the post. n any case it was just at this time when his Spanish comrades of the POUM were being tortured and murdered by the Stalinists that he was sharing the same platform in the abortive 'unity' campaign with the English Stalinist Harry Pollitt.

His other definite act in this inter-war period was to reject Fourth International. Trotsky, he said, was a dictator. 'He had the same instinct for personal power as Stalin' and Brockway could see 'little difference in spirit between Mexico and Moscow'. There

are none so blind. In any case it was just at this on forming the Fourth International were quite wrong.

'His view that it was possible to form a "Fourth International" by a thesis thrown into a vacuum I regarded as nonsense.' he writes. His own view was that an international would 'come only from an upsurge of the workers arising from some historical development'. Naturally he does not specify what development, nor how it will arise, nor how the workers will be led.

For Brockway we must just wait and see. Man is powerless, the tool of the Gods, tossed hither and thither by 'upsurges' constantly 'disappointed' and 'shocked'. It is a perfect centrist's philosophy.

#### Aid from USSR

And this is why we find Brockway in 1938 confidently predicting the socialist revolution as coming spontaneously out of the Second World War because 'the armies would be fed up. The peoples would be disillusioned . . . There would be Social Revolution', ('Pacifism and the Left Wing', 1938)

This is why, in 1942, despite all his pre-war experiences, he can still write: 'Despite the Soviet Union's alliances with capitalist powers, it is difficult to believe that its assistance will not be used on the side of a European socialist revolution Alas, as every child can tell him, truth is stranger than fiction, especially for the untheoretical.

From there it was an easy road to the frank and cynical opportunism of the post-Second World War. As 'surprise' followed 'shock' with increasing rapidity, what better course than to join those right-wing Labour leaders who always seemed to

get the upper hand. But one warning is necessary. Be careful Brockway, and all those militants who want to transfer your history to the 1960s, there are other 'shocks' in store. This time, of a differ-

ent kind.

## Wilson continues Tory line WORLD NEWS ROUND-UP over Southern Rhodesia

#### Making a mock stand against Smith By Eric Neilson

Harold Wilson has been ably assisted by the Tory press in his sham fight with the white supremacists of Southern Rhodesia.

Wilson has said that Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bottomley will not visit Rhodesia for talks unless he is also allowed to hear the views of the African leaders. Wilson is, however, prepared to meet Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, for talks in London.

Smith's government recently held a referendum on the question of independence from Britain, in which the vast majority of Africans were excluded from voting. The result, not surprisingly, was a vote for independence under continued white domination.

#### Nationalists jailed

The two leading African nationalists in Rhodesia, Ndabaningi Sithole and Joshua Nkomo, have been thrown into jail at Gwelo.

Now Mr. Wilson is making a great pretence at fighting for the rights of the Africans in Rhodesia and taking a stand against the reactionary Smith government. But this does

#### Students in Kerala food riots

THE shortage of food in India has again led to demonstrations-in Trivandrum, capital of Kerala State. On Monday thousands clashed with police and looted shops and lorries carrying grain.

The government of the state the most highly populated in India—are demanding that the central government fly supplies of rice to the area.

Hundreds of students demonstrated throughout the state, demanding rice. Police at Quilon used tear gas to disperse stone-throwing students and in Trivandrum broke up a crowd

Later the Indian government announced it would dispatch at least a thousand tons of rice a day to the State. They refused to send supplies by air because, they said, only small quantities could be moved.

On Tuesday Trivandrum city councillors and students led a 2,000-strong march on the government secretariat to hold a sit-down protest. police prevented slogan shouting students entering the building.



Smith: His referendum for independence

not mean that the Labour government is pursuing a socialist policy on the Southern Rhodesian issue.

On the contrary: the Tories too were unable to reach anything but deadlock with Mr. Smith, and no change of policy has been apparent with the change of government in this

The only change that has occurred is that the Tories have Britain.

managed to put off the problem for months in order to place it in the laps of the Labour leaders.

The hard fact is that Mr. Wilson, far from being worried about the future of the Africans in Rhodesia, is more concerned with the needs of British imperialism in Africa.

#### Reason for 'stand'

For many years now the aim of British imperialism has been not to continue with white supremacist regimes but to reach an understanding with African nationalists and allow them to form stooge governments with some measure of African support.

bureaucracy.

1. THE 'TTALIANS', taking

the Togliatti line, of whom

Monty Johnstone is the main

representative. These pseudo-

oppositionists put forward a

more 'subtle' line favouring

the appearance of more open-

discussion in the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union and

the international communist

movement because they realise

that the Communist Parties in

the West have no future on

the basis of discredited

It would be a mistake not

to recognise that this trend

may well develop in strength

in the period ahead as a

counterpoise to the develop-

ment of genuine Communist

ideas in the Communist Party

and the Young Communist

The need to expose John-

stone and his line (as The

Newsletter did last week)

becomes increasingly import-

On fundamentals he does

not differ from Gollan, Betty

Reid and company, to whom

he is tied by many years as

a full-time worker at King

Street and by intimate per-

sonal links of the most varied

It should not be forgotten

that, whilst in 1956 appearing

as an 'oppositionist' in the

YCL leadership, he sat on

the drafting commission for

the new 'British Road to

Sociatism' programme and

helped frame this revisionist

ant in such a situation.

Stalinist monolithism.

League.

That is why Wilson is making his 'stand' against Smith.

The Labour government is not arguing about whether Africans should be exploited by the imperialists but about how they can best be exploited. And that, of course, is the logical extension of their policy in

#### Sorge award a warning to Chou?

By PETER ARNOLD

K Soviet Union's master spy in Japan before and during the Second World War. was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union on November 5.

Sorge, a German national and member of the German Communist Party, was summoned to Moscow in 1925, to be trained by the GPU. He became a Soviet citizen and member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On GPU instructions he proceeded to Japan, where he became a prominent correspondent for a number of Nazi newspapers. He subsequently became press attache to the German embassy in Tokio.

#### **INVASION WARNING**

From his position as press attache, he had access to secret documents, which he copied and sent to the Soviet Union. Among these were the German plan to invade Poland in 1939 and the plan to invade the Soviet Union in 1941.

This information was ignored by Stalin, who could not believe that his Nazi co-signatories could break the terms of the non-aggression pact.

Sorge's documents were filed

#### ICHARD SORGE, the and ignored, and in the margin of his warning that Nazi Germany was about to attack, is written 'information of a doubtful nature from a drunkard'

Sorge had long been worried by the reports of the purges that reached him in Tokio, especially as the GPU chiefs responsible for his work, Berzon and Borovich, were themselves liquidated.

In 1940, he wrote to Moscow, seeking information of his future, and requesting leave.

#### ARREST

In October 1941, five months after the Nazis had invaded the USSR, as he had predicted, Sorge was suddenly arrested by the Japanese authorities and executed.

It has now been revealed in the Soviet Press that he was denounced by a member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, Ito Ritsu. It is presumed that Ritsu acted on Stalin's instructions: the 'information of a doubtful nature' had become embarrassingly correct.

In its articles on Sorge, 'Pravda' comments: 'How many thousands and millions of lives would have been saved if the information of Richard Sorge and others was not walled up in a safe?'

Sorge's rehabilitation, timed to coincide with Chou En-lai's visit, is a sign that the reconciliation with China, to the point of rehabilitating Stalin, will not be accepted by at least one section of the Soviet bureau-

#### Nationalize coal, say West German miners

MINERS demanding nationalization of the West German coal industry are to march to the capital, Bonn.

Last Saturday 3,000 miners and their families from the Ruhr valley marched in different coal towns calling for nationalization as an answer to the announcement that 36 pits are to be closed by the end of the

The miners are particularly angry over the announcement by the pit bosses that production will be cut by 40,000,000 tons a year (a third of the output) because of growing competition from oil.

The 'over production' of coal in highly mechanised pitsmany of these are scheduled for closure-is being curbed by a compensation bonus of £2 5s. per ton of coal no longer mined. which is paid for partly by the government.

The unions are saying the coal should be sold to East Germany. Among the country's 60,000 miners are several hundred Greeks who joined the demon-



LETTER -

Three groups in CP cannot answer

policy, including Cuba and the atomic test-ban treaty. He has long boasted his superior 'first-hand' knowledge of what Trotskyism was all about, only demanding from King Street a more 'subtle approach as the old Stalinist slanders about Hitler's agents were an embarrassment in the attempt to combat its ideas, which, then as now, were arousing increasing interest among YCLers.

At the 1956 YCL Congress, it was he who was the only leader to denounce Trotskyism from the platform, condemn factions and urge the delegates to keep genuine Communists off the new National Committee.

2. THE GOLLAN GROUP which leads the Party and thoroughly and opportunistic ally is attempting to make the most limited possible verbal concessions to the growing discontent by asking for more plausable explanations from Moscow about what has

happened. As with Stalin in the 1920s. they are prepared to manoeuvre from a centre position between 'right' and 'left' their key consistency being their desire to continue to control the apparatus and preserve their positions in it They hope to save the day without going as far in their criticisms as the Italians.

At present, Gollan and Matthews are in Moscow trying to get the new Soviet leaders to help them by cooking up some palatable explanation for Khrushchev's removal.

3. THE DIE - HARD STALINISTS like Andrew Rothstein, veteran Stalin pen prostitute, and Sid French. Surrey Secretary and CP parliamentary candidate.

French last week had a letter printed in the 'Daily Worker' under the headline 'Don't hurry to blame the CPSU', in which, by openly attacking Johnstone, he obliquely strictured Gollan for his mild criticisms of the way the Soviet government and Party changes were made.

In his opinion Moscow 'did the correct thing and in real life the only thing they could

This group, although not popular among the rank-andfile, enjoys a fairly wide sympathy among the old guard cadres of the Party trained in the ideology and practice of Stalinism.

They could serve as an embarrassment to Gollan by saying too openly and crudely what he really thinks.

Meanwhile the rank-and-file becomes more and more disatisfied and ask more and more questions that none of these groups can answer.

Genuine Communists in the CP and the YCL are equally opposed to all of them and are demanding a break with the whole stick-in-trade of the British Road to Socialism which unites equally Gollan, Johnstone and French, and the adoption of a genuine revolutionary and internationalist Communist policy.

A MARXIST IN THE CP

### Our comment - This letter a welcome sign

THIS letter is very wel-**1** come as a sign that one section of the British Communist Party is moving towards revolutionary politics, as the bureaucracy breaks up in crisis.

Many more rank and file members should join 'Marxist in the CP', as the crisis of the bureaucracy deepens and the dissatisfaction of the ranks

He is quite right to point out that basically, the interests of the three groups are the same, and that their different techniques are not in opposition to each other, but merely complement each other, in maintaining the dominance of Stalinism over the member-

We believe that Monty Johnstone's fake opposition is the most dangerous and pernicious of these tendencies. Everything about that man is fake. He poses as a proletarian in the party-yet was educated at Rugby public school and Christ Church, the most aristocratic college at Oxford University (we do not here condemn comrades with this background, on the contrary, we merely mean to show how fake proletarianism is part of the Johnstone tech-

He was recruited into the Revolutionary Communist Party in 1943, whilst he was still at Rugby school. In 1947 he left the Trotskyist movement, later to reappear as a full-time official in the Stalinist movement, and editor of their 'youth' paper 'Challenge'.

During this time, until 1956. he is not known to have opposed Stalinism on any major issue, or to have criticised any of the distortions of history and theory, that he knew existed, through his experience in the Trotskyist movement

Even a renegade Trotskyist knows that Trotsky was not a fascist, that Stalin liquidated the cream of the Bolshevik Party and was responsible for counter-revolution throughout the world. But Johnstone preferred to keep his mouth shut-and his job safe.

In 1956, he suddenly emerged as an oppositionist. He created a sensation in his 'fight' with Rothstein in the 'Daily Worker', in which he accused Rothstein of covering up for Stalin-but what else did Johnstone do?

To those comrades who were taken in by this role of Johnstone's we simply ask: How did Johnstone's letters get printed in the 'Worker'? What else did this exchange of insults between two hypocrites do, except prove just how 'democratic' the party organs are?

As our correspondent points out, he then sat on the commission that drafted the British Road-a document. which, as Khrushchev revealed when he departed from his prepared text in East Berlin in Winter 1962-63, was prepared according to the ideas of the late lamented Joseph Stalin.

Johnstone will protest that the commission in 1957, changed the original Stalinist version. In fact all it did was to make it more palatable by removing the more blatant passages like the one in which it said that it was not the Communist Party but the Tory Party that was ruining the Empire!

This is what all of Johnstone's oppositional ventures are intended to do: to make the Stalinist policy more acceptable to rebellious members of the rank and file.

Look at his record: supports the leadership over the Sino-Soviet dispute, supports the United Nations as a force for peace', covered up for Khrushchev on the grotesque episode over modern art ('Well, of course, we all know that Khrushchev is just a peasant').

All his opposition leads back to support of the leadership.

Meanwhile, he attends Pollitt's wedding, is on very friendly terms with J. R. Campbell, the Kerrigans and frequently knocks in and out of the 'Daily Worker' building. What sort of an oppositionist is this?

He also spends his summers in the Soviet Union.

This man should be looked upon with suspicion by all genuine oppositionists inside

the Communist Party. Of course, he hates Trotskyism. This is the one threat to his fakery as he has discovered once - and will do again.

On the other hand, I do not entirely agree with 'Marxist's analysis, as he omits one very real difference that exists in the bureaucracy, and which oppositionists must understand if they are to fight the leadership effectively.

As the crisis deepens, the conflict between those sections of the bureaucracy which support Moscow, come what may, and those who want to adapt more to the needs of the British bourgeoisie will

These differences represent more than the differences of technique that 'Marxist' speaks about and will cause real conflict within the bureaucracy in King Street.

We welcome any further contributions on this or on any other subject from 'Marxist' or from any other CP member.

## Military coup in Bolivia

BOLIVIA has had another change of government. In the now familiar Latin American style, this was effected by a military coup.

Barrientos Ortuno was Vice-President in the ousted Paz Estenssoro government.

Barrientos is reported to have broken with Paz some weeks ago over widespread repressive measures introduced by the government after allegations of a plot to assassinate Dr. Paz.

With the support of sections of the army and police, Barrientos is now installed in power. His predecessor has taken refuge in the lush Country

Club in Lima, Peru. The chief of the armed forces has declared that there will be new elections in the near future.

#### DICTATORIAL LINE

Victor Paz Estenssoro first came to power at the head of the MNR (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement) in 1952. His government considerably weakened the power of the old tin barons and military cliques.

However, since, after a short break in office, he was again returned to power in 1960, he pursued a steadily more dictatorial line.

He lost the support of the leftist movement of tin miners, largely followers of Juan

The new leader, General Rene Lechin, his former vicepresident, and his party started to split up into numerous factions.

In this insecure position he resorted to building up the armed forces, which he achieved thanks to aid from the United

#### **GENERALS MOVE**

When this year he decided to change the Constitution to allow himself a third term of Presidential office, he found that the generals, whose power he had himself increased, were now in a position to lay down the law themselves. They have, in fact, completely removed him.

The new chief, Barrientos has not yet made his political position very clear. He has made a gesture to the tin miners by putting Juan Lechin's half - brother in charge of the nationalized tin mining industry but whether in order to pacify them or to encourage them is not known.

in U.S. government circles, it is unlikely that the workers and peasants of Bolivia will find much to gain from the new

Judging by the lack of alarm

# niushia

## Pressed steel workers call for nationalisation

From BOB SHAW

S Rootes Motors at Linwood, Scotland, resume full-time A working, 600 workers are to be sacked in the New Year at Pressed Steel, the company which supplies car bodies for the Rootes Imp car.

Rootes workers have been on a four-day week for some months and the Imp line workers at Pressed Steel are to start a four-day week in a fortnot likely to happen we can only night's time.

cite the case of Fords who

closed a whole factory at Don-

caster so that it could rational-

ise its production. The same

firm sacked hundreds from its

RUTHLESS

which Rootes fortunes are now

tied will ruthlessly assess the

profitability of the Linwood

plant and decide in the interests

Pressed Steel workers must

draw up the balance sheet on a

year's working of the Emerson

plan and throw it out. They

have to prepare for a tough

fight with the Pressed Steel

management. Only militant

policies will serve in this struggle

linked with demands that the

Labour government nationalize

Motor

exports

affected

by strike

OLLOWING a decision by

the 270 strikers at the

Witton, Birmingham, works of

Salisbury Transmission Ltd. to

continue their official stoppage

over a claim for improved

piece-work rates, factories

throughout the motor car

trade were affected by Monday

This stoppage, now in its third

week, must be the cause of some

anxiety to the car monopolists

whose export trade has suffered

The men, all members of the

Amalgamated Engineering Union

Laid off

two-day lay-off of 950 and

Jensen Motors have resorted to

making their vehicles without

the rear axles which will be

added just before they are

It can be expected that in the

near future both the local press

and the management will start

to bring pressure to bear on the

union officials about the hun-

In every strike where the

laying-off of men not involved

in the strike occurs, the union

officials have given in to the

Support

mission must not allow this kind

of blackmail to weaken their

stoppage. The only way that

they can hope to win their

piece rate demands is, in fact,

to call for the active support

of car workers in other parts

They must not be hoodwinked

by talk from the management

about the laid-off men. After

all, the only thing that the car

bosses are interested in is the

profits they are losing in the

highly competitive car export

Strikers at Salsbury Trans-

dreds of men laid off.

management.

of the industry.

business abroad.

exported.

because of the lack of axles.

creases in piece-work rates.

this week.

the car industry.

The Chrysler combine to

Dagenham plant.

of profit.

Pressed Steel management plans in January to take off the night shift on the Imp line and to operate only a five-day day shift, resulting in a redundancy of 450 track workers and 150 other workers.

In both the Rootes and Pressed Steel factories during the last year the shop stewards leaderships have adopted a policy of collaboration with the management.

At the Pressed Steel factory they headed a move to collaborate with the management in introducing the notorious Emerson bonus plan which ties earnings to sales of the company's products.

They claimed that by this plan pay would go up and up

#### **EMERSON**

The Newsletter examined the Emerson bonus scheme in its issue of June 27 this year. The article pointed out that the object of the scheme was to scientifically exploit workers.

Dissatisfaction with the collaborating line of the convenor at Pressed Steel has led militants within the factory shop stewards' committees to press for the adoption of a policy linking a fight for a reduction in the working week without loss of pay with a vigorous campaign that Labour nationalize the car

The demand that Pressed Steel be nationalized was put to the MP for West Renfrewshire, Mr. N. Buchan at a works' committee last week-end. His reply was that nationalization of the car industry was extremely remote and, in fact, not possible within the next two or three years.

Buchan, MP for West Renfrewshire, is newly returned to Parliament and is known to many as an occasional contributor to the centrist paper 'Tribune'.

At a meeting in Linwood before the election, Buchan stated that the question of the nationalization of the car industry was irrelevant. Militants at Pressed Steel intend to make it very relevant for car workers.

#### **40-HOUR WEEK**

The Pressed Steel works' committee has demanded that the firm should immediately introduce the 40-hour week and proceed to the operation of a four-day week without loss of pay to stop the sackings.

This is very different to supporting the Emerson plan which says that workers' pay and conditions can only improve if the profits of the company improve.

Pressed Steel management has replied to the shop stewards' committee that the operation of a shorter working week is out of the question.

The factory is then faced with a clear choice, either prepare for a fight with the management for the operation of a reduction in working hours with no loss of pay, or face wholesale sackings and a possible closure of the factory should Rootes motors decide to withdraw their production from Scotland.

To those who say that this is

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Lessons of the November 2 strike

# Apprentices have to organise to win

**Newsletter Industrial Reporter** 

VERY serious trade union member should study carefully the present struggle of apprentices to improve their wages and working conditions. It embraces a new generation of young workers, the vast majority of whom are involved in their first experience of a major class struggle.

Most important of all it involves a sharp conflict between those apprentices making a serious attempt to work out a strategy and tactics with which to defeat the employers, and a section led by Stalinists and Pabloites blindly relying on the unthinking kind of crude militancy to carry them through, which has done so much

union movement in the past. Attempts made by the Stalinists (under the cloak of a body calling itself the National Apprentices Wages and Conditions Campaign Committee) to involve apprentices in a strike during the past two weeks have met with little success.

serious damage to the trade

The strike which began on November 2 has so far affected about 1,300 apprentices in the Manchester area, 250 in Liverpool, 300 in Dundee, 150 in Sheffield and probably 300 in Stockport, Bury, Accrington, Bolton, Oldham and Rochdale.

#### One day

Those in Bury, Accrington, Bolton, Oldham, Rochdale, and many in Manchester struck for only one day. In Liverpool and Dundee they voted to return to work at the end of the first week.

As we go to press only 600 remain on strike in the Manchester and Stockport area. The vast majority of apprentices in the North-West and other industrial areas have either refused to become involved in what is obviously a disorganised shambles, or they have supported the decision taken on October 31 at the National Apprentices Conference to oppose this strike and prepare more thoroughly for a fight next March.

But although this strike has failed it has, no doubt, created much confusion and if it is dragged on, can seriously damage the apprentices movement.

Many apprentices in Manchester who have joined the strike did so in the belief that other factories and other areas were either on strike or would be joining the strike the next day.

to the lowest levels in deceiving of apprentices. workers about the numbers on been repeated in the reports chester Direct Action Committee appearing in the 'Daily Worker'. and its national body.

ists have played upon the genuine frustration of apprentices over wages and conditions in the most dishonest way. It is time that these lies were answered and the issues behind the strike exposed.

From the beginning the Stalin-

It has been reported that at the national committee meeting of the Young Communist League, held on Sunday, November 1, Jimmy Reid, its National Secretary, stated: 'The apprentices strike due to start on Monday is doomed to failure before it begins.'

Why then was the strike called? No worker will disagree with the demands for which the apprentices are fighting. They are not only vitally necessary, they are long overdue.

It is also well known that apprentices in the Manchester area have been preparing to take action over these demands for some months.

#### Showdown

But throughout this year, as the Manchester Apprentices began to prepare for a showdown with the employers, the CP and YCL members saw the leadership slip out of their hands, as more and more apprentices soberly and determinedly began to extend the campaign on a national scale.

Into the strategy and tactics of trade union strike struggles must be worked the experience and lessons of previous class struggles, economic and political strengths and weaknesses of the employing class which today has to take into account the centralisation of the state, the growing integration of the trade unions and the state and the intentions of the Labour bureaucracy. All strikes are political.

Those apprentices who have seriously sought to prepare for such a struggle have been correct The strike leaders have sunk and have acted in the best interests

All apprentices would do well strike. These distortions have to heed the advice of the Man-

## Brown acts for big business

Wants private enterprise to 'flourish'

PEAKING at Derby on November 7, Mr. George Brown, Economic Minister, declared: 'Labour's sensible plan for the proper allocation of our scarce resources will sometimes mean taking harsh decisions like the one I had to announce on the subject of office building in the London

Mr. Brown picked a very instructive example of 'harsh' decisions. The government announced a curb on new office building in the London area and who suffered? Who felt the harsh end of the decision?

Building contractors? The 'Financial Times' declared that 'the immediate order book for further offices in London does not seem to have been very heavy apart from work already in progress'.

#### FOR THE RECORD

In fact, complaints from the building contractors are mainly for the record. One more quote from this 'Financial Times' article makes that clear:

'Some control has long been expected, which explains why so much office building has already been started. By many companies this has been a conscious precaution.'

Building contractors have already raked in fat profits. The office building boom got its last spurt from an expectancy of these measures announced by Brown-which are temporary in any case.

And what about the big property companies - already bloated with post-war property speculation and 'development'?



Brown: Labour's sensible plan

They positively gain from Mr. Brown's 'harshness'.

The 'Sunday Times Business News' last Sunday had a headline — 'Mr. Brown's ban stops the London rent slide.'

Underneath this headline an article declared: 'Rents asked for empty London office blocks have been dropping as much a. 25 per cent because they could not be let. Now they will be pegged, if not raised.'

Commercial estate agents look forward to higher rents for both old and new property.

So much for Mr. Brown's 'harshness'. But he, like other Ministers, went out of his way last week to reassure the businessmen of this country that when he talks of harshness they need not be worried.

Workers will have to tighten their belts-as Brown declared in the House of Commons on November 4:

'We in the government want private enterprise to flourish.'

#### Docker's letter

From page 1

with the unmandated 25s. But it won't be for long

because when the full significance of The Newsletter's report that the brains behind the decasualisation scheme were those of Cousins and Sir Andrew Crichton, then all the conning of the dockers and continuous stalling by the TGWU bureaucrats over the past nine months will become clear. The Newsletter warns-it is

time the 'Blue' (National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers union) acted and organised now against decasualisation and for £15 basic wage . . . the majority mandate.

#### Every occasion

The dockers in all the northern ports look to the 'Blue' and have backed eit on every occasion it called for and went into action.

There is absolutely no point in waiting for the TGWU to lead a strike or to see what the next move will be.

There should be a call to prepare and organise for a national strike in the New Year for £15 basic wage and the abolition of all overtime and a real 40-hour week.

Most important of all it must be a campaign to make the Labour government carry out the nationalization of the entire docks transport industry under workers' control in each port.

The 'Blue' should say clearly: We reject the imposed 25s. and most of all the imposed enquiry which will come in favour of decasualization.

We reject a strike call by the TGWU at our weakest time. We will choose our time for

action and it won't be the case of giving the employers eight months to make up further profits at our expense. If the Labour government are

serious about modernising the docks, then they must nationalize lock, stock and barrel.

To do anything else is to do a job for the Tories and employers against and at the expense of the working class.

Make the employers pay.

'Sold down the river' say Welsh miners

AST week the Stalinist 'leadership' of the National Union of Miners in the South Wales area managed, against a tide of rising militancy, to maintain its record of never having called an official strike since 1947.

As reported in last week's Newsletter, delegates from 19 local lodges met their area executive in Cardiff on Monday, November 2, and called for an official strike against the Coal Board's threatened closure of the Rhigos and Glyncastle pits.

A special coalfield conference met on Thursday, November 5 to discusss the strike call. Beforehand Will Whitehead, NUM area president, and a member of the Communist Party said that his executive would have 'certain proposals' to make to the conference.

#### **PREDICTABLE**

Whitehead's proposals were all too predictable: the issue of the closures would be pursued at national level and taken up with the union's national executive.

Support would also be sought from Jim Griffiths, Labour's Secretary of State for Wales and other Welsh MPs.

Thus the local leaders tried to sidetrack the miners from the struggles against closures into the wearying routine of the official machinery that has betrayed the rank and file time after time.

According to Whitehead, miners should put their trust in local patriotism and parliamentary careerists. He also hinted on a call for the 'direction of industry' which is nothing but a substitute for the real fight facing the miners.

The proposals were accepted by a majority of the delegates which, of course, now enables the executive committee to say that the whole thing was done very democratically, should any complaints be made by the rank and file.

#### UNOFFICIAL

Those lodges that issued the strike call were considering unofficial action. They held a meeting at Aberamman on the night after the conference and decided to defer the stoppage until the future of Rhigos pit is better known—the closure has been delayed, but only temporarily.

The area leaders of the men in favour of unofficial action bear some of the responsibilty for this decision to defer strike action and let the matter go through the official channels.

Spokesman for the miners in favour of the unofficial stoppage, Mike Griffin said: 'We were influenced by the tone of today's Cardiff conference and were satisfied with the expressions of opinion there, against the closure of Rhigos.

'. . . Mr. Whitehead clinched the matter with an appeal to us to defer any drastic action.'

It is doubtful whether Whitehead will have clinched the matter in the minds of the 200 Rhigos men who stopped work in order to lobby the conference in Cardiff.

They claim that Rhigos has ample coal reserves and is breaking even financially.

#### QUITE CLEAR

One of the delegates made the view on the executive quite clear: 'I think that the executive has sold us down the river.

'The men felt it was necessary to take a stand on colliery closures now, so that the board would think twice before coming to similar decisions in the future,' he said.

Miners at Rhigos, Glyncastle and elsewhere must now build an alternative leadership among the rank and file of the union. The fight against the policies of their union officials is an essential part of the fight against

## Cadco — a lesson on direction of industry

are demanding 25 per cent in-ASHING in on the development of a new town at Glenrothes, Fife, where they Figures published in the hoped to run a profitable national press at the beginning enterprise by exploiting a corof this week stated that Interporation contract and local national Harvesters have laid off 200 men and another 350 were labour, a firm known as Cadco expected to be sent home on has come badly unstuck. Wednesday; Jaguar cars had a

One of the directors of the firm is George Sanders, the film actor. The firm is reported to have taken its name from his autobiography 'Memoirs of a Professional Cad'.

In 1962 Cadco announced ambitious plans for expanding food production in Glenrothes New Town and creating employment for 2,000 workers.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

It sounded like good news for Glenrothes where Rothes pit was closed in April 1962 and many miners were put on the dole. The local population were looking to the New Town development and new industry to diminish unemployment and provide workers in the area with reasonable living standards.

The Corporation granted Cadco Building a £1 million contract to build a piggery and factory complex. Payments were made to Cadco by the corporation at various intervals on the basis of work completed.

The idea behind the project was that Cadco Building would build the piggery and factory premises and, when completed, other firms in the Cadco group would lease or buy the factories from the Corporation, operating Our Scottish Correspondent

them for their various profitmaking ventures.

Altogether five factories were to be established for food production and the manufacture and printing of food cartons.

Now it has been discovered that Cadco Developments, whose registered office is in Fleet Street, does not even possess a telephone. The paid-up capital of the Cadco group is reported to be only a few pounds. Cadco Building has a capital of £2 and a bank overdraft of £430,000. The firm has gone into liquidation with a net de-

ficiency of £611,000. So ends a beautiful dream of bringing prosperity to Scot-

So much for the efforts of the Scottish Council (Development and Industry) who organised the press conference through which Cadco first announced their development programme for Glenrothes.

#### LESSON

This should be a sharp lesson for all those who shout so loudly about directing industry to Scotland and constantly attempt to entice employers to exploit the resources of Scottish

Instead of an industry the people of Glenrothes have been left with three empty factory buildings and the unemployed are still without

#### This follows the situation which arose in Dumbarton last year when an entire shipyard, owned by Dennys, was closed

Now the motor car firms-Rootes and Pressed Steel are on a four-day week and redundancy is expected by the wor-

kers in these factories. Last week, Sternes of Hillington, who manufacture refrigerators, declared over 100 workers redundant.

#### RESULT

direct result of capitalist economy and the employers' mad scramble for profits. Fiascos like Cadco and Dennys, and the ups and downs of the car industry and manufacturing firms like Sternes, place jobs in jeopardy and result in real hardship and impoverishment for thousands of workers.

This can only be prevented by nationalizing industry: by introducing socialist planning under workers' control. Only in this way can the development and expansion of industry take place in a way which will result in real material benefit to the

All the talk of the Labour and trade union leaders about developing industry in Scotland, and Mr. Wilson's promises of far-reaching technological advance are meaningless unless the Labour government implements a programme which includes the nationalization of all major

These situations are the

working class.

industries.