

# The Newsletter

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Revolutionary Party  
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The Newsletter

Saturday, January, 30 1965

## YOUNG SOCIALISTS, TRADE UNIONISTS, PENSIONERS

### ALL OUT NEXT THURSDAY

# MASS SUPPORT FOR PENSIONS LOBBY

YS  
CONFERENCE  
WILL BE A  
SUCCESS  
— National  
Committee  
Majority

RESPONSE to the Morecambe conference, called by the Young Socialists National Committee Majority, from branches all over Britain has been tremendous, says a statement issued by the committee following their meeting last week-end.

The statement says the conference will be an overwhelming success and will demonstrate quite clearly how correct the Young Socialists were to fight for socialist policies at their last conference in Brighton.

'Over 100 resolutions have already been received from Young Socialists branches, including dozens still in the Labour Party,' the statement continues. 'Applications for delegates' and visitors' tickets are flowing in thick and fast even at this early date.'

#### ONLY ANSWER

The National Committee Majority had organised a pre-election rally on September 27 when many people said they were 'rocking the boat'. 'But only our policies can solve the problems of redundancy, wage restraint and bad housing. Leyton and Nuneaton have proved us right,' the statement says.

The socialist programme of the Young Socialists had proved victorious. Wilson and the right wing had not an ounce of support. Their only answer had been bans, proscriptions, expulsions and shutdowns.

'They have tried to drive the socialist youth of Britain out of the Labour Party and the working-class movement. They will never do that!

'On the contrary, we are successfully fighting for support throughout the adult movement.'

#### MEETINGS

Labour Must Stop Retreating!  
No Wage Freezing!  
Backdate the Old Age Pension Increase Now!  
Full Support for the Dockers!

#### Leeds

City Museum  
Sunday, January 31, 7.30 p.m.  
Speaker: G. Healy

#### Leicester

Co-op Hall,  
168 Belgrave Gate  
Sunday, February 7, 7.30 p.m.  
Speaker: C. Slaughter

#### Glasgow

Partick Burgh Hah  
(Lesser Hall)  
(near Merkland Street underground station)  
Sunday, February 14, 7.30 p.m.  
Speaker: G. Healy

SUPPORT for next Thursday's pensions lobby, called by the Young Socialists National Committee Majority, is mounting minute by minute in Britain's major industrial centres.

Thousands of trade unionists, Young Socialists, students, apprentices . . . and old people . . . will travel to Parliament on February 4 to answer Labour's retreat at Leyton with a demand for the immediate rise and backdating of old age pensions.

This is the only reply that a large, strong, militant and representative body of rank and file members of the labour movement must make to the retreat by Wilson and the right wing over the increases. The demand must be: Make the bosses pay. Stop the return of the Tories.

Newsletter reporters throughout Britain are continually sending reports of growing, massive support for the lobby.

Shop stewards' committees, trade union branches, factories and workers in clubs and pubs have poured in large sums of money and promised support and delegations to make the lobby a success.

Old people, from clubs and homes, are clamouring to join this their lobby—in Sheffield

#### WHERE TO GO

ON February 4, there will be a march starting at 1.30 p.m. from Marble Arch, Hyde Park, via Oxford Street and Kingsway to the Embankment near Temple tube station. The lobby will begin at 3 p.m. at St. Stephen's Entrance, House of Commons, followed by a meeting at 6 p.m. in Central Hall, Westminster.

they are so enthusiastic that one group has drawn tickets out of a hat for seats on a coach.

In London, as reported two weeks ago, the ENV factory at Willesden supports the lobby and will send a delegation in a coach. Others who have given support include the North and South London District Committees of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Woolwich Arsenal and Rotax (Acton).

Before the lobby many more factories in Enfield, Hounslow, Dartford, Wimbledon and Willesden, will be leafleted. The lobby has also been received enthusiastically by many old people in London.

In Belfast apprentices are carrying out most of the work and are preparing for their own lobby next Tuesday of the Northern Ireland Parliament (Stormont). A coachload of old people and Young Socialists will lobby MPs.

#### OAP support

The Northern Ireland District Committee of DATA and the secretary of the Old Aged Pensioners Federation are supporting the lobbies, but youth have been prevented from putting the old people's case before the Belfast and District Trades Council and workers at Short and Harland.

Youth have also leafleted factories including ICT and the Sirocco works.

The report that two Manchester branches of the AEU—Gorton and Clayton No. 7—have backed the lobby has been followed up by news of support by engineers at AEI Openshaw and Security Rock-Bits, Gorton, foundry workers at Crossley's, Gorton, miners at Bradford Colliery, Manchester, railwaymen in the Manchester No. 1 branch of the NUR, and

electricians in the Droylesden branch of the Communist Party.

Most of these workers have donated money to the lobby funds, and are passing round petitions to be signed.

The Newsletter is pleased to report the action of the CP branch. We have for some time been convinced that in this period more and more members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League would unite in action with the Young Socialists.

Busmen at Tynemouth in the North-east are sending a delegate to the lobby and have donated money. Support has come from South Shields boilermakers, and plasterers in Sunderland have given money. Youth are campaigning around building sites and shipyards in the area and expect more support.

#### Pub campaign

Publicans have allowed the campaigners to speak in the public houses before making collections.

Work on Merseyside on building sites and housing estates has produced large collections. The Plumbers No. 1 Lodge and the Arundel Ward Labour Party in Liverpool have backed the lobby and visits to factories may produce support this week-end from English Electric and Bemrose, a printing firm, as will visits to NUM branches in Bolton and Farnworth.

Wigan Tenants' Association, which was set up by the Young Socialists, has given support and will hold a jumble sale to raise money.

One woman, the mother of six, (Cont. p. 4, col. 7)



On February 4, demand an increase for pensioners like these.

#### Manchester Transport Strike

## HOPES FOR UNITED ACTION DASHED

### NUR official steps in

By REG PERRY

HOPES for a joint one-day strike of bus and railmen in the Manchester area on Thursday were dashed in an 11-hour intervention by National Union of Railwaymen officials. The decision not to strike was taken by a small majority.

This follows a move at a meeting of rank and file railmen from 17 NUR branches on Sunday to approach bus workers with a view to co-ordinating their actions to win pay claims.

After Sunday's meeting Brian Arundel, secretary of the strike committee set up by NUR members, told The Newsletter: 'The response from NUR members and from busmen, to whom we have spoken, for an alliance of all transport workers is tremendous.'

This demonstration for unity by all transport workers would have had a big effect on the negotiations which are now in progress at national level on both the claims of the municipal busmen and the train crews and signalmen.

The busmen's claim is for an increase award of 14s. 3d. a week for working split-shifts and for work before 5 a.m., which

is separate from the national claim now being negotiated.

#### BACK CLAIM

Manchester busmen have emphasised that they still gave solid backing to the national claim when it finally came to the conference table on Wednesday and Thursday.

The rail workers' dispute is a long-standing problem dating back to 1957. It mainly concerns train crews, drivers, firemen, guards and signalmen.

These grades are enraged by the refusal of the Railway Board to pay them an equivalent bonus and incentive bonus paid to other railway workers.

(Cont. p. 4, col. 6)

## Alexander appeal fixed for March 2

THE atmosphere of uncertainty hanging over the heads of Dr. Neville Alexander and 10 other non-white South Africans, owing to their not knowing the date of their appeal, has now been lifted. It will take place on March 2.

The Alexander Eleven, as they have come to be known, were sentenced last year to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to 10 years for allegedly committing 'acts of sabotage' against Verwoerd's police state.

It was anticipated that their appeal would take place last November, but it was postponed because defence lawyers were refused permission by government authorities to visit the seven men on Robbens Island where they are detained, in order to get their signatures and discuss legal matters relevant to the appeal.

An appeal was lodged because a number of irregularities took place during the trial, e.g., defendants' instructions to their

counsel were opened and read by secret policemen.

Not much is known about the personal conditions of the prisoners although it is reported that most of the seven men are in solitary confinement and that the four women held in a mainland jail are packed two to a cell and without work or opportunity to study.

The British Alexander Defence Committee has planned a number of activities between now and

March 2 in order to raise further amounts of money to help pay the cost of the appeal.

A demonstration outside South Africa House will take place on Friday, February 26 at 5.30 p.m. sharp, followed by a march to a central London meeting hall where a public meeting will be held. Details will be announced later.

A further distribution of collection sheets is being made to student organisations, Labour

Party, trade union and Young Socialists branches as well as to other sympathetic organisations and individuals.

Supporters of the committee have found that good results can be got by making use of collection sheets. It not only brings in money, it also presents an opportunity to talk about the current situation in South Africa, the policies of British imperialism towards it and the ways in which socialists can assist in the fight against apartheid and imperialism.

An anonymous donor recently sent in a cheque for £100 making the total amount turned over to Defence and Aid £415. Money continues to come in from individuals, anti-apartheid groups, students, political organisations, Labour Party, trade union and Young Socialist supporters.

Our committee still has a lot of work to do to ensure that the Alexander Eleven are not denied legal aid because of financial reasons.

THE results of the Leyton and Nuneaton by-elections shocked the rank and file of the labour and trade union movement. Yet there is nothing very mysterious about these results.

For several years the Tory government staggered from one crisis to another as a result of the enormous and growing difficulties for British capitalism on the economic field.

A political reflection of these developments reached its high point during the Profumo crisis when the top leadership of the Tory Party split into different segments, and for the first time attacked each other in public. This was overcome temporarily through the astute behind-the-scenes stage management of the Tory Party and the collaboration of Wilson who refused to exploit the crisis and bring the government down.

The Tories, therefore, got almost a whole year's grace to prepare the General Election. During that time they deliberately obscured the real nature of the economic crisis. As the balance of payments between exports and imports got worse, they borrowed from foreign banks while at the same time encouraging an inflationary boom on the home front in order to preserve full employment.

Only the Socialist Labour League and our paper warned that the bill would have to be paid when Labour became the government. We insisted over and over again on the high price Labour would have to pay for the opportunism of Wilson and the right-wing leadership of the Party. This is exactly what has happened, only it has taken a far shorter time because of the gravity of the crisis, than even we considered it would.

Firstly, the Labour government has placed the burdens of the crisis on the backs of its own supporters, the working class. The cost of living has steadily risen. Taxation burdens have increased. The old age pensioners found that their pensions bought less during this winter than they did during last winter. They will receive their increase, which will be very much dwindled, by the end of March.

Secondly, the armaments bill goes up and the Labour leadership staggers from one day to the next, confusing and splitting the working class over such issues as the TSR2. It firmly refuses to nationalize the aircraft industry. The Leyton and Nuneaton results are the political outcome of this policy. The Labour-voting working class

are becoming hostile over the inability of the Labour leaders to take effective action against the capitalists. According to Sorenson, the ex-Labour MP for Leyton, there are 16,000 old age pensioners in the constituency, and he insists that the majority of them did not vote. Meanwhile, the Labour government has made retreat after retreat before the City of London, only to find that the day after the election, more money was made by speculation on the Stock Exchange than at any time over the last year.

This is what the Labour government's retreat to the right, supported by the centrists and 'Tribune', really means. The Tory Party puts on a big show of electoral optimism, but if they had won the General Election they would have had to face the same kind of crisis.

With a similar electoral swing in the constituencies they would be confronted with the full wrath of the working class and the possibility of a head-on collision with the unions. They are jeering at the Labour Party in public but in private they are extremely worried about the future.

After the election, the former Tory Chancellor, Mr. Maudling, made an extremely restrained speech in which he said that he agreed with several of Labour's measures, such as the import duty.

In this period of growing economic and political crisis, the growth of racialism must be anticipated. It will in fact get much worse and it undoubtedly played a role in Leyton. The only way to rally the working class against the racialists, and the fascists who want to destroy class consciousness is to provide active leadership within the workers' movement on the issues affecting the class.

We can anticipate the extreme right wing of the Labour Party going further to the right and the beginnings of a more left opposition within the unions and the party.

Inside the Conservative Party we can expect a strengthening of the ultra-right and a discreet use of racialism which in turn will encourage the fascists.

The real lesson from Leyton poses the building of the revolutionary party as the urgent need of the hour for the stormy days ahead. This is the policy of the Socialist Labour League. We are asking you as a reader to consider seriously joining us and working to build up a Marxist alternative within the trade unions and Labour Party to the present disastrous policies of the right-wing and centrist leaders.

#### SLL Meeting

## Tories need Wilson in power

DESPITE a foggy night, a successful Newsletter meeting, attended by a large number of young people, was held last Sunday at the Liverpool Walker Art Gallery.

Cliff Slaughter said it took the Leyton by-election to drive Churchill off the front page of the press. Labour spokesmen received the result by saying that Labour voters were apathetic.

This was just speculation. The danger was that they were ex-Labour voters.

The significant thing was that the Tories were not cock-a-hoop about the result. Their press expressed sympathy with Gordon Walker and concern as to how the Labour Party could get over the result.

The Tories needed to discipline the workers in industry and this was easier with the Labour leaders in power.

Cliff Slaughter said that the cost of living had gone up more than at any time for four years.

He said there was a need to nationalize coal distribution. The cost was £3 10s. 0d. at the pit head and £10 12s. to the consumer.

He mentioned 'The Militant' a Pabloite paper, as calling Wilson's government a left social-democratic government.

'What is so left about Gunter?' he asked. 'Cousins ducked out of the docks struggle. This is a right-wing Labour government,' he stated.

Peter Kerrigan, a member of the NASD, spoke of terrible conditions on the docks in the past and how the port employers wanted to impose conditions on the dockers that would have them running around like bees in order to maintain the profit rate.

The rank and file were the only barrier to imposing these conditions. He said a lobby of parliament should be organised to campaign for nationalization of the docks under workers' control and for the books to be opened to see what profits were made.

THE LAST OF THREE ARTICLES BY FRANK WILLIAMS

# Building the Revolutionary Party

**ERNEST GERMAIN** and his friends in the Unified Secretariat in Paris are constantly denouncing the Socialist Labour League for being 'ultra left' and sectarian.

They charge us with continually isolating ourselves from the working class because we adopt too sharp a political attitude towards the right wing of the Labour Party and the trade unions. This is an understandable criticism from their point of view. What is involved are two different conceptions of building the party.

## From Entry to Liquidation

They believe that work inside the Labour and social-democratic parties should consist in the main of building a broad centrist movement.

In order to do this, they believe it is necessary to concentrate on building up alliances with centrist members of parliament and publications such as 'Tribune'.

They believe that it is wrong to engage in Marxist criticism of the centrists when they capitulate to the reformists. Instead we should try to build up an alliance on the issues where 'we agree', leaving our disagreements until later.

This theory seems plausible, but is, in fact, revisionist in practice. In the end it does not, as we shall see, teach the centrists anything. Those small groups of Trotskyists who entered social-democratic and Labour parties in the late 1940s and early 1950s have, in fact, liquidated themselves into left-wing social democracy.

Years and years have gone by, during which time they have engaged in forming alliances, whilst at the same time the membership of their own organisation has remained pitifully weak.

In theory, it would appear that these alliances can produce substantial results, such as the editorship of papers with a circulation of several thousand amongst lefts and centrists.

In practice, however, they have led to a political softening up of many sections of the movement without any numerical gains.

Their young members have been frightened to recruit, lest they antagonise the 'lefts'. They have been told not to push their differences too sharply lest they frighten the centrists away. Gradually they have been drawn into an atmosphere of wishy-washy, middle-of-the-road politics.

Direct intervention in the class struggle is replaced by work in the Labour and social-democratic party apparatus. Discussions and struggles around Marxist theory are the exception and not the rule.

Therefore, it is not possible to educate cadres who have experience in the class struggle and who, as a result, have learned to combine such experience with the fight inside the Labour parties and the building of the revolutionary party.

## The Trotskyist attitude towards Entry

The Socialist Labour League is entirely in agreement with the point of view that under certain circumstances it is necessary to send its cadres into the social-democratic and Stalinist parties to organise and lead the rank and file against their treacherous leaderships.

We do not believe that these parties can become revolutionary parties, since we hold firmly to the policies of the Fourth International at its founding conference, that it is our task to build such parties.

We are also in favour of temporary alliances with the centrists against the right wing, provided this enables us to criticise them where we think necessary.

We regard the building of revolutionary parties as a principle, whereas entry into the Labour and social-democratic parties is a tactic.

When we encourage our members to enter these organi-

sations, we insist that they must be thoroughly educated about the revisionist politics of the leaderships. We make it clear that the struggle inside such organisations is and must be related to the class struggle which only indirectly affects the apparatus.

Thus we constantly campaign on issues affecting the working class such as high rents, nationalization, more wages and so on. We relate the struggle around minimum demands with the transitional demands which help the working class to see the need for taking power.

Those who undertake entry on this basis have to be trained to think and act as Marxists. In their work they must constantly recruit new members into the revolutionary party.

If there is a danger that they are falling victim to the centrist political atmosphere of these organisations, then they must be removed from such work, retained and replaced by others.

To maintain and organise a faction is not a question of asking people to keep their mouths shut over political issues. They must know how to express themselves on the concrete developments of the class struggle in order to expose their opponents.

A left-centrist movement can never transform itself automatically into a Marxist movement. This can only be achieved through the conscious activities of Marxists.

In order to convince centrists moving to the left of the necessity for Marxism, we have to struggle against them in theory and practice in order to prove the value and strength of our movement.

It is very easy for a small number of self-styled Trotskyists to sometimes occupy positions of influence in social-democratic organisations. This, as in the case of Germain and company, can lead to dangerous illusions.

He believes that he can manoeuvre a centrist movement into becoming a Marxist party, without the independent work of training leaders and building a party.

## The Record of the Socialist Labour League

The existence of the Socialist Labour League played a powerful role in the political growth of the Young Socialists in membership. Because we provided leadership at each stage of the struggle, many centrist-moving workers were won over to Marxism as a result of the strength of such leadership.

Germain and company, in practice, adapt themselves to the centrists. We struggle to convince them and in doing so we have had much more successes in the field of practice.

When Germain and the Unified Secretariat denounce us as 'ultra-lefts' they are using this phrase in order to cover up their own opportunism.

Let us look a little more closely at the political record of the Socialist Labour League since the split from the Pabloite revisionists in 1953.

Six months after the split the right wing of the Labour Party proscribed our paper, the 'Socialist Outlook'.

At that time the Bevanites were moving leftwards. We fought to establish the widest possible unity in action between us and them against bans and proscriptions. This resulted at the 1954 conference of the Labour Party in the Bevanites' defending the right of the 'Socialist Outlook' to appear, irrespective of whether it was called Trotskyist or not.

During the dock strike of the same period, we convinced the Bevanites to support the dockers and the formation of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers ('Blue' union).

## The opportunism of Ernest Germain

This greatly strengthened the dockers' fight and assisted in creating a sympathetic feeling for them throughout the labour movement. When in the latter part of 1955 10,000 dockers were expelled by the Trades Union Congress they won their case in the High Court in the spring of 1956 for reinstatement.

On the eve of the 1955 General Election Attlee was replaced by Gaitskell, and Bevan climbed back on the right-wing bandwagon. This led to him supporting the H-bomb policy of Gaitskell at the Labour Party conference in the autumn of 1956.

We did everything possible to integrate ourselves into the ranks of those Bevanites who were brought into open criticism of Bevan on the issue of the bomb, but when it came down to planning a real struggle inside the Labour Party they refused to organise against Bevan and the right wing.

This showed very clearly the limitations of such centrists, in spite of the agreement to fight bans and proscriptions which we had with them at an earlier period.

We paid a high price for this alliance since we had to close down our paper, the 'Socialist Outlook'.

Simultaneously with these developments, also in 1956, came the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We turned our attention towards clarifying the issue of Trotskyism versus Stalinism for large numbers of dissident members of the Communist Party.

'Tribune' adopted a 'couldn't care less', cynical attitude towards these members. The English contempt for theory came constantly to the fore in their articles at that time. Yet

we persisted with this clarification and, as a result, won a very important number of cadres to our movement. We were, in fact, the only section of the international Trotskyist movement which did this.

In the temporary trade recession of 1959 these cadres were in the forefront of many of the important struggles of that period.

We launched The Newsletter in 1957 and it has continued as a weekly ever since. We supported the bus strike of 1958 and our members led the Norton motor cycle strike in Birmingham.

Then the Labour Party, under Gaitskell's leadership, began to witch-hunt leading members of the League.

Their first of all prevented us from standing as parliamentary candidates. Here and there they expelled members on trivial issues and expelled them. In all this they enjoyed behind-the-scenes support of 'Tribune'ites who at that time were once more clinging to Bevan's coat-tails.

We were faced with an impossible situation where leading members were unable to play a role inside the Labour Party because of the witch-hunt. We were accused of being an illegal faction when, in fact, we wanted to have the same rights as those enjoyed by the Fabians and the 'Tribune'ites inside the Party.

In March 1959 we launched the Socialist Labour League as an organisation which would openly fight on a Marxist policy within the Labour Party and the trade unions.

We wrote to the Labour Party National Executive Committee and asked them for affiliation to the Party. They refused, and instead, expelled us.

Germain and company denounced our activity as ultra-

left, but anyone familiar with the situation in Britain will know that this is just phrase mongering.

When Brian Behan and others proposed an ultra-left course and suggested that the League become an open party in 1960, they were rejected by the overwhelming majority of our membership after a political struggle, which took place over several months.

During the same period, when the Labour Party started up its youth section, supporters of the Socialist Labour League became the most prominent fighters within that organisation for the rights of youth. Over the past four years, as is well known, they achieved the leadership by a substantial majority.

During these four years (1960-1964), the right wing constantly witch-hunted the Young Socialists. In the summer of 1964, they expelled a number of its leaders.

Germain would have had us retreat then, as he wanted us to do in 1959, but this would have led to confusion and defeat for the youth. The action which they have since taken resulted in the formation of what promises to be the only mass socialist youth movement to be built in Britain since the war.

We believe that in the next period substantial numbers of young members and cadres will join the Socialist Labour League from the Young Socialists.

These developments have not in any way altered our conception that it is necessary to build up a strong movement in the Labour Party to fight the right wing.

We believe that this movement can only be built under Marxist leadership and at the

moment the forces who will do it are mainly in the youth movement.

By joining the trade unions and working in the Labour Party they will learn, as they learned over the past four years, that their most decisive task is to build a revolutionary party and leadership, which involves, from time to time, working in mass reformist organisations.

We have repeatedly challenged Germain and the rest of them to discuss these issues objectively. There is not the slightest taint of ultra-leftism or sectarianism about the struggles of the Socialist Labour League in Britain.

The circulation of the The Newsletter is now very close to 15,000 a week. We have branches in all the main industrial centres. Our members participate in all important struggles of the working class.

We challenge Germain and the Unified Secretariat to show us another section in any part of the world that has made the same progress as that of the Socialist Labour League. These are the facts, now well known to many people all over the world.

## The Record of the Unified Secretariat in Britain

Now let us look at the record of the Unified Secretariat. In 1953 after the split they launched a section in Britain, led by John Lawrence. This man supported their policy of conciliation to Stalinism because he was, in fact, preparing to leave the Trotskyist movement and join the Stalinists.

Their new section began its work in January 1954 and wound up in the autumn of the same year. Most of its members joined the Communist Party.

Between then and 1956, Germain had no section of his movement in England.

Early in 1956 they advertised in 'Tribune' for people interested in forming a section. A man who was once prominent in the

Trotskyist movement, who had been expelled on a motion from Germain at their Third World Congress in 1951, answered the advertisement and was immediately reinstated and appointed leader of their section.

This man is today a close collaborator of S. Mani, who recently supported the right wing in calling in the police to expel alleged supporters of the Socialist Labour League. When in 1954 a prominent member of the League associated with the 'Socialist Outlook' was being expelled from the Labour Party this same man abstained on the motion for expulsion.

Small wonder the Pabloite organisation in Britain has never been able to function. Recently it was joined by a small number of people, some of whom for various reasons dropped away from membership of the Socialist Labour League some time ago.

They have now split away from the so-called official group and significantly one of the reasons given is that they are opposed to the actions of S. Mani and those who support him.

Before Ernest Germain starts criticising the Socialist Labour League and denouncing us as ultra-left, we ask him to explain politically the fate of the organisation he has been supporting in this country since 1956.

It is little use mouthing phrases. Explain what has happened to those who support the Unified Secretariat? They have been following the line of the Unified Secretariat. Look what happened to them in practice.

In September 1964, you had a unification between the groups who supported the Unified Secretariat and another group. Now they have split, only three months later.

Your first section formed in 1953 joined the Stalinists. Your second section has never been able to get started apart from some of its members giving support to the right wing against the Socialist Labour League.

Here is a record of opportunism that would be hard to equal.

You use the word 'ultra-left'

because you are anxious to cover up your own failures.

Now look at their international record. Posadas, Pablo's lieutenant in his Latin American group, split in the 1960s on an ultra-left basis.

You are now expelling Pablo, whose politics are drawing him closer and closer to the Soviet bureaucracy on opportunist grounds. Last year, the overwhelming majority of your Ceylon section, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party joined up with a capitalist coalition government.

All these trends from your movement are to the right and in an opportunist direction. That is the reason why your conception of entry into social democracy leads to liquidation.

The Socialist Labour League stands for the training and development of a revolutionary leadership based on participation in the class struggle.

In order to carry this out we fight continuously inside the mass reformist organisations of the working class, but we do not liquidate ourselves within these organisations.

We are in principle occupied with the building of the revolutionary party and the training of its leadership. We are concerned with the building of our press and the education of our youth movement.

This, we believe, is the way that Trotsky wanted parties of the Fourth International to function. Your way is not the Trotskyist, but the revisionist way.

## Volga Germans rehabilitated

THE Soviet press announced recently that the Volga Germans had been rehabilitated.

The Volga German Autonomous Republic, one of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union was dissolved by Stalin after the Nazi invasion. The reason given for this was that, as these Soviet citizens were of German origin (they had emigrated to Russia in the 18th century), they must have been in collusion with Hitler!

The Volga Germans—over half a million of them—were dispersed throughout Siberia and other remote parts of the Soviet Union. The same fate was meted out to other Soviet minorities like the Chechens, Kalmuks, Ingushi and the Crimea Tartars.

The rehabilitation notice admitted that the Volga Germans had not been responsible for Hitler's invasion. However, they are still forbidden to return to their homes on the Volga.

By refusing to deal with the problems facing the working class, the right-wing Labourites prepare the way for racialist poison . . . and fascism.

# Racialism and Leyton

By JOHN CRAWFORD



Ridley Road, Dalston, 1962, Mosley's meeting begins

WHO prepared the way for the victory of the Tories at Leyton? Was it the Socialist Labour League, which warned constantly of the coming treachery of Wilson? Was it its paper, The Newsletter, which fought every week against the illusion that electing a Labour majority would in itself resolve the problems of the working class?

Or was it those 'left' gentlemen, like the producers of 'Tribune', who denounced us for 'rocking the boat' when we attacked Wilson and Brown?

Or the Communist Party, preaching the possibility of a 'parliamentary' way to overthrow capitalism?

Or even the Pabloites, telling anyone who was listening that Wilson was really a 'left social democrat'?

The Labour leaders pretend that racialism had nothing to do with Leyton. This is rubbish and they know it.

The direct intervention of fascist groups was nationally reported. Even more significant is the growing volume of 'background' racialism put out by



Ridley Road, Dalston, 1962, police viciously attack anti-fascists who finally rout Mosley and his supporters.

many national newspapers. According to 'The Observer', 40 per cent of the Labour voters in Leyton thought that racialism was responsible for the swing in votes.

The policies of Wilson and company, carrying out the needs of the banks and monopolies, lead to divisions and demoralisation in the working class.

### Pernicious ideas

A section of workers rejects these policies, but, without a clear socialist alternative, they fall victim to the most pernicious and anti-working class ideas put out by the extreme right.

When Labour leadership, in the name of the labour movement, allows prices to rise while holding down pensions and introducing a wage freeze, it prepares the ground for racialist poison to spread and split working-class solidarity.

Its policy repels the middle class from the labour movement, at a time when it has lost confidence in the Tories.

When it refused to repeal the Tory Immigration Act, it strengthened the racialists.

Racialist ideas, and the rise of fascist organisations which exploit them, are inevitable products of the decay of imperialism.

While automation makes possible a tremendous rise in living standards, its capitalist organisation turns it into a threat to millions of workers.

At the same time as unemployment drives workers from colonial countries to Britain, the employers prepare for a showdown with the labour movement and use every means to disunite the working class.

Without a determined struggle against these tendencies, a fascist movement will grow in Britain.

Only a clear socialist lead can provide an answer to racialism. By uniting all workers in struggle against capitalism, a Marxist leadership can expose the racialists as the bosses' agents that they are.

Those do-gooders who advise us to ignore the questions or

who preach against racial discrimination on moral grounds, or call for legislation to stop it, help to prevent a real class fight being developed.

These issues are nothing new for the Socialist Labour League and The Newsletter.

### For all

In 1958, when fascist groups stirred up racial disturbances in Notting Hill, we issued a pamphlet, 'Sweep the Racialists off the Streets' in which we said:

'Socialists are neither pro-black, nor pro-white. They stand for jobs for all, better housing for all, the tearing down of slums, the ending of the social system which gives rise to unemployment and overcrowding.'

'These aims . . . can be achieved only through the united action of white workers and black workers against the common enemy—the employing class.'

We called for the labour movement in each area to set up defence squads to meet the attacks of fascist thugs. We

THE letter to bourgeois job Ceylon Univ Lanka Sama on the Unifi revisionist S formed he r resist the gre Fourth Inte campaign of rest of his m the reformis [it was the s of the LSSP Jayaratne's Secretary s Bernard Soy Germain - H advocating c stand why the on the politio the coalition coalitionists. they gave a describing i arguments of Since the Un R. de Silva Jayaratne was despite, or r leaders of the latest deserti in Brussels, International

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It is cl Jayaratne skyism in fa Until rece with respect Trotsky, w Fourth Inter world social for which ho

warned that not be riled In May 19 were only to when a you Kelso Cochra in Notting Hi To this day never been fo derful police. 'The Guar Telegraph' p warnings that not and woul for us.

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'Can the and its pol fascist men

'Never in The Tory agency by businessmen London rul

'When the inadequate, can no lo Parliament, millions of building c ments.'

In 1961, rea threat to the 'The Newsle series of artic reprinted in a ism, a Dange

These exar demand for the gration and s really a racial articles inv examples of r labour movem

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en and 1956,  
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ngland.

5 they advertised  
section interested  
equal. A man  
prominent in the

Trotskyist movement, who had  
been expelled on a motion from  
Germain at their Third World  
Congress in 1951, answered the  
advertisement and was immedi-  
ately reinstated and appointed  
leader of their section.

This man is today a close  
collaborator of S. Mani,  
who recently supported the  
right wing in calling in the  
police to expel alleged sup-  
porters of the Socialist  
Labour League. When in  
1954 a prominent member  
of the League associated  
with the 'Socialist Outlook'  
was being expelled from the  
Labour Party this same man  
abstained on the motion for  
expulsion.

Small wonder the Pabloite  
organisation in Britain has never  
been able to function. Recently  
it was joined by a small number  
of people, some of whom for  
various reasons dropped away  
from membership of the Social-  
ist Labour League some time  
ago.

They have now split away  
from the so-called official group  
and significantly one of the  
reasons given is that they are  
opposed to the actions of S.  
Mani and those who support  
him.

Before Ernest Germain starts  
criticising the Socialist Labour  
League and denouncing us as  
ultra-left, we ask him to explain  
politically the fate of the organi-  
sation he has been supporting  
in this country since 1956.

It is little use mouthing  
phrases. Explain what has  
happened to those who support  
the Unifed Secretariat? They  
have been following the line  
of the Unifed Secretariat. Look  
what happened to them in  
practice.

In September 1964, you had a  
unification between the groups  
who supported the Unifed  
Secretariat and another group.  
Now they have split, only three  
months later.

Your first section formed in  
1953 joined the Stalinists. Your  
second section has never been  
able to get started apart from  
some of its members giving  
support to the right wing against  
the Socialist Labour League.

Here is a record of opportu-  
nism that would be hard to  
equal. A man  
prominent in the

You use the word 'ultra-left'



Dalston, 1962, police viciously attack anti-fascists who finally rout Mosley and his supporters.

newspapers.  
'The Observer',  
the Labour voters  
ght that racialism  
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When it refused to repeal the  
Tory Immigration Act, it  
strengthened the racialists.

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workers in struggle against  
capitalism, a Marxist leader-  
ship can expose the racial-  
ists as the bosses' agents  
that they are.

Those do-gooders who advise  
us to ignore the questions or

because you are anxious to cover  
up your own failures.

Now look at their interna-  
tional record. Posadas, Pablo's  
lieutenant in his Latin American  
group, split in the 1960s on an  
ultra-left basis.

You are now expelling Pablo,  
whose politics are drawing him  
closer and closer to the Soviet  
bureaucracy on opportunist  
grounds. Last year, the over-  
whelming majority of your  
Ceylon section, the Lanka Sama  
Samaja Party joined up with a  
capitalist coalition government.

All these trends from  
your movement are to the  
right and in an opportunist  
direction. That is the  
reason why your conception  
of entry into social democ-  
racy leads to liquidation.

The Socialist Labour League  
stands for the training and devel-  
opment of a revolutionary  
leadership based on participa-  
tion in the class struggle.

In order to carry this out we  
fight continuously inside the  
mass reformist organisations of  
the working class, but we do not  
liquidate ourselves within these  
organisations.

We are in principle occupied  
with the building of the revolu-  
tionary party and the training  
of its leadership. We are con-  
cerned with the building of our  
press and the education of our  
youth movement.

This, we believe, is the way  
that Trotsky wanted parties of  
the Fourth International to  
function. Your way is not the  
Trotskyist, but the revisionist  
way.

## Volga Germans rehabilitated

THE Soviet press announced  
recently that the Volga  
Germans had been rehabilitated.

The Volga German Autono-  
mous Republic, one of the con-  
stituent republics of the Soviet  
Union was dissolved by Stalin  
after the Nazi invasion. The  
reason given for this was that,  
as these Soviet citizens were of  
German origin (they had emi-  
grated to Russia in the 18th  
century), they must have been  
in collusion with Hitler!

The Volga Germans—over  
half a million of them—were  
dispersed throughout Siberia  
and other remote parts of the  
Soviet Union. The same fate  
was meted out to other Soviet  
minorities like the Chechens,  
Kalmuks, Ingushi and the  
Crimea Tartars.

The rehabilitation notice ad-  
mitted that the Volga Germans  
had not been responsible for  
Hitler's invasion. However, they  
are still forbidden to return to  
their homes on the Volga.

THE letter below was written in reply to an article in a Sinhalese  
bourgeois journal by Dr. Osmund Jayaratne, a professor in the  
Ceylon University (Peradeniya) and until recently a member of the  
Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) and its representative on  
the Unifed Secretariat. For more than two years he served the  
revisionist Secretariat in Europe loyally. After the coalition was  
formed he returned to Ceylon, not to fight the reformists, but to  
resist the growing influence of the International Committee of the  
Fourth International within the ranks of the LSSP (R). His  
campaign of lies and innuendo failed. He then carried out the  
rest of his mandate by deserting the LSSP (R) openly and joining  
the reformist LSSP without waiting to submit his point of view  
[it was the same as that of the Unifed Secretariat] to the Congress  
of the LSSP (R).

Jayaratne's desertion is not surprising. It is in keeping with all  
the previous desertions by leading supporters of the Unifed  
Secretariat such as Colvin R. de Silva, Leslie Goonewardene and  
Bernard Soysa. It is the logic of betrayal propagated by the  
Germain-Hansen-Frank clique of revisionists who have been  
advocating coalition politics for many years. We can now under-  
stand why the Unifed Secretariat never made a public declaration  
on the political situation in Ceylon during the entire life-span of  
the coalition. It was because they supported the politics of the  
coalitionists. It is a well-known fact that within their inner councils  
they gave unequivocal support to the Press take-over Bill—  
describing it as an 'anti-capitalist measure'—and rejected the  
arguments of the LSSP (R) as 'sectarian'.

Since the Unifed Secretariat has steadfastly refused to expel Colvin  
R. de Silva and his accomplices, we can be certain that Dr.  
Jayaratne will continue to remain within the Unifed Secretariat,  
despite, or rather, because of his overt treachery. We urge the  
leaders of the LSSP (R) to draw the proper conclusions from this  
latest desertion by breaking decisively from the opportunist traitors  
in Brussels, Paris and New York, and joining the ranks of the  
International Committee.

The Editor.

# Dr Osmund Jayaratne

(Translated from the Sinhalese journal 'Sama Samajaya', weekly organ of the LSSP (R).  
The author is a worker member of the Central Committee)

I HAVE asked you  
to publish this reply  
to Dr. Osmund Jaya-  
ratne's article 'On Giving  
Life to Class Conscious-  
ness' which appeared in  
a recent issue of 'Jana  
Sathiyā' [a Sinhalese  
bourgeois weekly] be-  
cause I know only too  
well that the Editors of  
that paper do not  
tolerate oppositional  
ideas and therefore will  
not publish this reply.

It is clear that Doctor  
Jayaratne has rejected Trot-  
skyism in favour of Stalinism.

Until recently, he would recall  
with respect the name of Leon  
Trotsky, who founded the  
Fourth International to lead the  
world socialist revolution, and  
for which he was slandered by

the Comintern, which has a large  
and important section of the  
working class in its ranks.

Does he now call this sectar-  
ian?

Is it not a fact that the  
Reformist LSSP is now going  
the way of the defunct Comin-  
tern which also degenerated  
under imperialist pressure?

The majority of the Ceylonese  
workers are class-conscious but  
at present this consciousness has  
not risen above a trade union  
level. In order to raise this con-  
sciousness it is necessary that  
the vanguard of the class be  
trained theoretically.

★

This has not been done. The  
main responsibility for this  
omission rests on the shoulders  
of the leaders of the Reformist  
LSSP whom Jayaratne still con-  
tinues to venerate.

These people did little or  
nothing to train and educate  
advanced workers in the theory  
and practice of Marxism. The  
amount of Marxist literature  
that they translated and pub-



'The Ceylonese working class have not forgotten their capacity to fight.' These are pickets outside the Velona mill where a strike occurred after the Ceylon Coalition.

## A reply to

# Dr Osmund Jayaratne

(Translated from the Sinhalese journal 'Sama Samajaya', weekly organ of the LSSP (R).  
The author is a worker member of the Central Committee)

lished in the native language was  
disappointingly small and negli-  
gible.

After 1956, these leaders  
thought that there was no  
necessity to educate or to train  
any leaders in the party. Con-  
sequently, any understanding of  
the fundamentals of Marxism  
was confined to a small number  
of English-educated intellectuals.

Dr. Jayaratne will agree,  
albeit reluctantly, that not more  
than one out of a hundred  
advanced class-conscious work-  
ers would know how to analyse  
the condition for a socialist  
administration.

Dr. Jayaratne laments the fact  
that the two LSSP MPs last  
December used their vote in  
Parliament to bring down the  
coalition government.

He does not have the honesty  
to admit that the coalition col-  
lapsed because the leaders of  
the government did not under-  
stand, and moreover, refused to  
solve, the crisis which con-  
fronted them.

Dr. Jayaratne must realise  
that our comrades did not vote

for an anti-socialist administra-  
tion (which was what the other  
opposition parties wanted), but  
because they recognised the  
formation of the coalition as a  
betrayal of socialism.

It is obvious that no honest  
socialist, no worker with an  
atom of class-consciousness  
would endorse or defend the  
three principal objectives of  
government policy outlined in  
the second Throne speech,  
namely, the creation of a  
government press dictatorship,  
the penalising of religious mi-  
norities by making Buddhism a  
state religion and the exclusion  
from political life of a large  
section of the working class  
from Ceylon under the Indo-  
Ceylon agreement.

★

He points out that after the  
defeat of the coalition, only two  
alternatives are probable in the  
next General Election: either  
the election of the United  
National Party or the victory of  
the LSSP-SLFP coalition.

Dr. Colvin de Silva, speaking  
at the mass rally at Galle Face  
Green on December 9, put it in  
a different way.

He stated that the choice  
facing the Ceylonese people was  
the same as that which the  
American people had faced  
recently when they were asked  
to vote either for Goldwater or  
Johnson.

Your leader accepts the fact  
that the differences between the  
UNP and the LSSP-SLFP are  
as narrow as those which distin-  
guish the Republican from the  
Democrats.

Then why do you indulge in  
all this gabbling rubbish?

Didn't your leaders tell the  
workers at the mass rally on  
December 9 to go home quietly  
and use their vote to return a  
coalition government?

But did your leaders promise  
to reward the working class by  
enhancing their political power  
and influence?

'You give us your votes . . .  
and we will govern'. Is this not  
your idea? Is it towards this  
end that you hope to persuade  
revolutionaries like ourselves?

Did not the leaders of the  
coalition send armed police and  
troops to guard 'Lake House' on  
December 9? Whom were they  
protecting and against who?

Were they not defending  
'Lake House' against those sec-  
tions of militant workers who  
came to the defence of the  
'egalitarian policies of the coali-  
tion government'?

★

Isn't it a disgraceful insult to  
the consideration shown to the  
coalition by militant sections of  
the workers?

Generally speaking, it is true  
that the workers have two sides  
to choose from in the next  
election. The popular enthusias-  
m generated by a General  
Election is not a bad thing.

Nevertheless, it is not true  
that those people who try to  
show, falsely, that the whole  
nation is pulsating with mili-  
tancy in anticipation of a

General Election, do so only in  
order to prove that the ballot  
box is the only way to socialism?

The low level of conscious-  
ness amongst the workers pre-  
vents them from seeing that real  
enthusiasm and militancy will  
arise only when the working  
class recognises the class nature  
of parliament as a weapon to  
defend the power and property  
of the capitalist class, smashes  
the rotten parliamentary system  
and establishes democratically,  
the organs of proletarian dic-  
tatorship.

When Dr. Jayaratne was in  
the United Kingdom at the time  
of the split in the LSSP, he did  
not move around in the en-  
vironment of the party leader-  
ship and cultivate these con-  
nections.

★

But when he came back to  
Peradeniya and fell into the  
company of the Party leaders,  
his attitude began to change  
considerably.

Marxism teaches us that con-  
sciousness is a product of being  
and environment.

It is with some regret that I  
must now reveal how Dr. Jaya-  
ratne has made clear his two-  
faced nature and his positive  
hostility to the very same ideas  
which he elucidated to a group

## PRICE 'STABILISATION' LEADS TO SACKINGS IN FRANCE

NUMEROUS factories  
in the French textile,  
rubber, leather, paper box  
and metal industries have  
been shut down over the  
past few months. This is  
accompanied by a severe  
reduction of working hours  
in those industries and  
arbitrary sackings of hun-  
dreds of militants.

The rise in unemployment,  
which threatens to increase  
sharply, is the means by which  
the government plans to  
stabilize prices.

### NO COMPENSATION

Once again, workers have to  
pay with their jobs and wages  
for the instability of capi-  
talism.

Several hundreds of thou-  
sands of workers are already  
suffering from partial unem-  
ployment. There is absolutely  
no compensation available to  
make up for wages lost  
through reduction of hours.

The 'plan' of price stabili-  
zation was introduced a year  
ago as an attempt to cool off  
the overheated French  
economy.

But this has led to a degree  
of stagnation which now  
threatens to develop into a

of young intellectuals from the  
university some weeks ago in the  
humble little room from which  
I address this letter.

There is nothing new in  
reminding us that the primary  
task of the LSSP (R) is to  
prevent the establishment of a  
UNP administration.

We know very well that only  
we can, and must, shoulder the  
responsibility for creating a  
leadership that will win the  
confidence of the working class  
and lead them in the struggle to  
liberate themselves from the  
bondage of capitalism.

★

We know, too, now that on  
this tortuous road we shall have  
to keep a vigilant eye for the  
snares and pitfalls made by  
traitors such as you, Dr. Jaya-  
ratne.

At this moment, the Ceylonese  
working class have not forgotten  
their capacity to fight.

At the time of writing I know  
that many work places have  
become the scene of bitter  
struggles.

The treachery of the coalition  
government and its attempts to  
blunt the fighting capacity of  
the working class today evokes  
the memory of Goonesinghe\*  
and the same feeling of revul-  
sion which he generated in the  
working class.

It is very clear now how the  
LSSP leaders got to power on  
the basis of the 21 demands and  
then contemptuously kicked  
them aside.

Before long the workers, after  
a few more such experiences,  
will abandon their leaders. Then  
they will understand that the  
only revolutionary party ready  
to lead them is the LSSP (R).

Dr. Jayaratne and the rest of  
his kind, because of their trea-  
cherous leadership, have for-  
feited the confidence of the  
working class.

(P.V.P. Kulatilleke)

\* Goonesinghe was a labour  
leader who took up an anti-  
Indian position and got a por-  
folio in the 1947 UNP govern-  
ment—the first labour leader  
to do so.

warned that the police should  
not be relied on to 'keep order'.

In May 1959, our arguments  
were only too well confirmed  
when a young West Indian,  
Kelso Cochrane, was murdered  
in Notting Hill.

To this day, his murderer has  
never been found by our won-  
derful police.

'The Guardian' and 'Daily  
Telegraph' protested at our  
warnings that the police could  
not and would not beat fascism  
for us.

'The Economist' accused us of  
wanting to set up 'a para-  
military nucleus of trouble-  
makers'.

In a pamphlet 'Workers'  
Defence Squads for Notting  
Hill', Gerry Healy wrote:

'Can the Tory government  
and its police force fight the  
fascist menace?'

'Never in a million years.  
The Tory government is the  
agency by which the big  
businessmen of the City of  
London rule this country.'

'When this agency becomes  
inadequate, and the employers  
can no longer rule through  
Parliament, they will pour  
millions of pounds into the  
building of fascist move-  
ments.'

### For all

In 1958, when fascist groups  
stirred up racial disturbances in  
Notting Hill, we issued a  
pamphlet, 'Sweep the Racialists  
off the Streets' in which we said:

'Socialists are neither pro-  
black, nor pro-white. They  
stand for jobs for all, better  
housing for all, the tearing  
down of slums, the ending of  
the social system which gives  
rise to unemployment and  
overcrowding.'

'These aims . . . can be  
achieved only through the  
united action of white work-  
ers and black workers against  
the common enemy—the em-  
ploying class.'

We called for the labour  
movement in each area to set  
up defence squads to meet the  
attacks of fascist thugs. We

colour propaganda on a  
substantial scale.

Baker wrote:  
'During all these months  
there has never been any  
public statement by Smeth-  
wick's Labour MP on this  
issue. . . It is reported, how-  
ever, that he attended a meet-  
ing of the Smethwick Com-  
mittee of the Control Associa-  
tion on June 2 last and that  
he had promised to speak  
at a meeting they are  
organising in September.'

'One may ask what a  
Labour MP is doing in such  
company. But Mr. Gordon  
Walker has also agreed, it is  
said, to speak at a meeting  
organised in Smethwick by  
the Co-ordinating Committee  
against Racial Discrimination.'

'Those who are interested in  
political prestidigitation will  
make a special point of  
attending both meetings.'

### Evasion

This is how the defeats of  
Labour at both Smethwick and  
Leyton were prepared. By a  
combination of evasion and  
adaptation, the right-wing  
leaders hope that they can  
escape from the racialists.

Then, during 1962, The News-  
letter continued the fight against  
Mosley and Jordan in many  
articles between July and  
November when Young Social-  
ists and members of the Young  
Communist League joined to-  
gether in the streets to fight  
Mosleyites, anti-fascist leagues  
were set up, and the police  
showed their true colours in  
defending Mosley in Trafalgar  
Square, Dalston and Bethnal  
Green by brutally attacking and  
arresting anti-fascists.

These examined the growing  
demand for the control of immi-  
gration and showed that it was  
really a racialist campaign. The  
articles investigated many  
examples of racialism within the  
labour movement itself.

Some attention in par-  
ticular was paid to Smeth-  
wick. Four years ago an  
Immigration Control Com-  
mittee was already active  
there. Backed by prominent  
Tories, it put out anti-

### Control

In 1961, realising the growing  
threat to the labour movement,  
The Newsletter published a  
series of articles by James Baker,  
reprinted in a pamphlet 'Racial-  
ism, a Danger to Labour'.

The working class came  
nearer to the 'defence  
squads' advocated by the  
Socialist Labour League in  
earlier struggles, the same  
'squads' that the do-gooders  
and centrists had attacked.

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# Midland busmen strike against rejection of pay claim

## North-east discontent over wages

From BILL HUNTER

GO into any bus garage or depot in the North-east and you will find discontent about the wages and conditions of busmen.

The union leaders have refused to organise a real national fight for the wages demands of municipal busmen and those bus crews employed by private companies.

A result of this refusal has been that the men have resorted to isolated action and the mounting frustration has been expressed in other issues.

For example, Newcastle busmen say that recent action against a ban on drinking in uniform was a result of the general discontent.

### OVERTIME BAN

Likewise the overtime ban imposed by Northern Company employees over the Christmas period was ostensibly against 'hooliganism'.

In fact it was the result of frustration over wages and conditions and the failure of the unions to take speedy action.

In all the big towns of the North-east the busmen have made demands for local increases.

Middlesbrough busmen recently ended a three-week overtime ban, which began as a protest against the national offer of a 7s. increase. During this ban they raised the demand for a local bonus.

Like all the busmen in the North-east they complain that new and longer buses have been introduced with no extra payment for crews.

Busmen employed in the private companies were offered 8s. 6d. increase last week. The rank-and-file busmen are overwhelmingly rejecting this paltry offer.

### CRITICAL

Bus workers generally are bitterly critical of the right-wing union leadership. The strength of the union could have ensured an increase weeks ago.

Instead the delays have meant that busmen, like other workers, are suffering a cut in wages as the cost of living rises.

Union leaders are at one with the employers in opposition to militancy. They try to use the union machinery to cage that militancy in isolated garages.

The lesson of isolated action is clear. There is a big need to break down the isolation of depots and garages, there is a need to build a link-up of militants in bus garages, to develop united action amongst all busmen and to struggle in the union against the betrayal of the leadership.

## Aberdeen dockers win pay dispute

ABERDEEN dockers won an important victory last week when they came out on strike after being laid off for half a day.

Fourteen dockers working on a cargo ship were informed that they would not be required for work on Friday afternoon. The men stated that they were not given notice before 11.30 a.m. and therefore claimed that they should be paid for an afternoon's work.

Support for the men in dispute came from 180 dockers and 16 ships were affected.

Work was resumed on Wednesday morning when the employers agreed that in future, notice of non-availability of work in the afternoon would be given before 11.30 a.m. and that the money claimed by 14 dockers would be paid.

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By SYLVIA PICK

**A**N unofficial strike by 3,500 Midland busmen, 'spontaneously showing their displeasure' at the rejection earlier in the week of a union pay and conditions claim, last Saturday paralysed most Midland 'Red' bus services.

The initiative for a series of Saturday strikes came from the Black Country garage at Oldbury. The Transport and General Workers' Union committee at this garage was under strong pressure from the 164 bus workers not only to hold Saturday strikes but also lightening strikes on surprise dates.

Oldbury bus workers received prompt support from all Black Country garages. Meetings were held in other centres in the Midlands, and workers decided to strike in 24 of the company's 34 garages.

At towns as widely separated as Leicester, Hereford, Nuneaton, Worcester, Sutton Coldfield, Stafford, Evesham and Ludlow, the strike was 100 per cent effective. 1,200 of the company's 1,786 buses were off the road.

The union claim for provincial busmen, applied for last September, was for a substantial wage increase, a sick pay scheme, a cut in the working week to 40 hours without loss of pay, additional pay for two weeks' holiday and an incentive bonus scheme.

The employers' offer was 8s. 6d. a week in full settlement of all the claims. Busmen were indignant at receiving such a wretched offer.

### Backdated

As compared with Birmingham Corporation drivers, who earn a basic £15 a week, top-grade Midland 'Red' drivers get £11 11s. 5d. for a 42-hour week. They want a satisfactory offer from the employers, and they intend to get it backdated.

Mr. A. Silcox, district organiser of the TGWU, described the strike as spontaneous, unofficial action, due to the fact that the men consider themselves to be badly treated. London busmen have had a substantial increase.

There was some indignation at the attitude of the Digbeth, Birmingham, garage—the biggest of the Midland 'Red' garages—which worked as usual on Saturday, running buses down the Warwick, Coventry and Stratford roads of the city.

Officials here stuck by a statement that Digbeth garage was to hold no meeting till February 7, though there was a report on the day of the strike that in fact there had been a mass meeting the previous night.

A garage committee official at Digbeth, asked on Friday if the garage meant to support the strike, de-

clared: 'I'm not interested in this strike. We stand by a recent resolution to carry on working, and personally when I'm working I'm not interested in a strike.'

### Support

Eleven months ago there was a single Saturday strike involving most of the Midland 'Red' garages. Feeling then ran high and the call for strike action received tremendous support and solidarity on the part of the workers. A settlement was then reached for a 14s. increase for drivers and 10s. 6d. for other bus workers.

Busmen's pay and conditions have worsened seriously compared with those of other workers and speed-up is increasing rapidly. Responsibility for these poor conditions rests with bad trade union leadership.

Midlands bus strikers must learn the lesson of earlier sell-outs. However strong their solidarity, they will face repeated defeats unless they prepare a new leadership which will fight more resolutely in their interests.

**IN LEICESTER**, the union secretary of the TGWU branch refused to comment on the strike, but pickets claimed he was against the strike.

At another Midland Red garage in Leicester men worked on Saturday, because they were not adequately informed about the strike. Many of them said that if they had known the strike was on, they would have supported it.

They have pledged their support for any further action. Strikers at the Southgate Street station said they were determined to continue one-day strikes if a meeting of branch secretaries in Birmingham did not produce results.

The local Tory press attacked the busmen, saying they showed a nasty streak of meanness by inconveniencing the public who should not show any sympathy to the busmen.

This is an attempt to isolate the strike—the busmen should reply by organising a rank-and-file committee, with representatives from all garages, which will be able to call a 100 per cent strike in all garages in the area.

## Improved coal figures but no improvements for miners

From BOB SHAW

**T**HE Scottish Division of the National Coal Board reported recently that steady progress had been made in the Scottish area during 1964. Output per man shift increased to a record figure of 28.8 cwt. Compared with 1963, productivity increased by 5 per cent.

The improved production figures, however, did not spell out any benefit for the miners. Eleven pits were closed during the year and although the Coal Board claim that all except 220 of the men affected had been placed in other jobs, the fact remains that there was a drop of 41,000 in the number of men employed, compared with 1963.

### FUTURE

In a statement on the problems facing the coal industry Lord Robens said that on the decision of the Minister of Fuel may rest the future of 43 Scottish pits employing 25,000 miners.

On the same day, Will Paynter, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers also made a lengthy statement in the 'Daily Worker' in which he said 'miners were demonstrating with their

feet their lack of confidence in policies that have created an uncertain future for them'.

Presumably here Paynter is referring to the policies of the National Coal Board. Elsewhere he refers to the policy of the National Union of Mineworkers being firmly opposed to closures.

He did not cite one single example where this policy has been seriously fought for by the leadership of the union. Neither does he state by what means, under his leadership, the union will fight against the new phase of pit closures with which he says the miners are now faced.

He states that many miners are critical of the union's attitude to closures; that they believe the more militant stand taken by the rail unions has resulted in the decision that closures will be decided by the government and not railway management.

This development, says Paynter, 'increases the likelihood of fiercer resistance to pit closures, particularly at local level'. Of his own fierce resistance he remains silent. He makes no mention of any intention to mobilise the powerful mineworkers' union in organised resistance to further attacks on the miners. His statement is a complete abdication of

## MINERS CONFRONT ROBENS OVER PIT CLOSURE

**A**NGRY miners from the Lambton D pit, scheduled for closure, in Durham in the North-east confronted Lord Robens, Chairman of the National Coal Board, when he arrived in Seaham to open a training centre this week.

Lord Robens stated that 'uneconomic pits' had to be closed. But in answer to this statement the miners at Lambton say that they had previously warned that when recent projects, involving heavy expenditure had been carried out at the pit, they would be a waste of capital.

It is obvious that more than just lobbying Robens is needed if the miners are to safeguard their jobs.

### PROFITS

The employers are only interested in those pits which make the most profits in the shortest time.

Trade unionists in the mining industry must fight to see that the introduction of automation in the pits does not mean that thousands of them will end up on the dole queues. With socialist planning this need not happen.

Two hundred and fifteen men at the Harraton Colliery, County Durham, are to be given notice of the possibility of transfer to other local collieries.

Men at the Clara Vale pit Ryton-on-Tyne have also been threatened with the closure of their pit.

## LOS COE TENANTS TAKE LEGAL ACTION

By A Newsletter Correspondent

**F**EATHERSTONE, Yorkshire, Council have denied a report in the 'Pontefract Express' that the council has 20 new council houses (at 50s. a week) in Loscoe which they cannot find tenants for. The denial came when Loscoe people visited the council.

There, they were told by one councillor that they had let him down by not fighting hard enough for houses.

He said that if 50 people left the village, tenants would be given council houses. But people who live in the terrible conditions of private houses in the

## Industrial Newsletter

## Trade unionists support tenants' fight

By BETTY HEALY,  
Secretary, Streatham Tenants' and Residents' Association

**S**EVERAL trade union branches are supporting the campaign to keep Mr. and Mrs. Swole and their two children in their flat at 104 Sternhold Avenue, Streatham, London, after the family downstairs were evicted. Signatures are coming in for the petition to Wandsworth Borough Council, asking them to buy the house.

Devoted practical help in picketing has been given also by workers who have been evicted in the past, and know how it feels.

During the campaign two members asked us to their 'homes' in Leigham Vale.

### DAMPNESS

On the first floor we met Mrs. Scott and the three children (playing quietly on the bed) in a small 'furnished' room with a kitchenette. For this and another room which was out of use through dampness, the family pays £6 5s. a week.

Upstairs we met Mrs. Belmour and her three children, in a 'furnished' attic room with kitchenette, for which she pays £4 a week.

These members are factory workers, and both families come from India.

Last autumn the gas supply began to leak, so the gas was cut off and the tenants used their own oil heaters. Then the landlord objected to these and removed one belonging to Mr. Belmour. The only heating now is by electricity. The meter consumes a great number of shillings in a week.

Both families received notices to quit, which expired on December 14, but rent was accepted after that date. With the new Act the landlord will still have to apply to a court for possession.

### REASSURANCE

The mere existence of a Tenants' Association gave some reassurance to the families. The landlord referred the matter to his solicitor, the Sanitary Inspector went over the place, and Mrs. Belmour and Mrs. Scott went to the Rent Tribunal.

The Tribunal was evasive so we wrote to Richard Crossman, Labour's Housing Minister, for clarification, and are going back to the Tribunal.

Sometimes the wives wonder whether they would be better off in a residential centre.

In two months' time this part of Streatham will be transferred from Wandsworth to the Borough of Lambeth, where there are enormous housing problems already.

We do not know what will happen to these families. But they illustrate a point. Landlords, employers and manufacturers between them are putting an impossible three-way bind on workers, especially those from abroad, who have no 'in-laws' to fall back on.

In the unions there is some defensive organisation; in the homes and shops there is none.

We feel that unity of workers, as tenants and ratepayers, will have to be built in every street and estate, in the union branches and trades councils, and every case taken up and fought through.

## Manchester transport strike

From page one

**A** scheme, which includes provisions for single manning of trains and the delegation of firemen and any other grades, for whom there is no work available, to jobs like sweeping and cleaning is being formulated by union and Board representatives.

Unity which has been forged at rank-and-file level this week between busmen and railwaymen in Manchester is a significant omen for the future.

The division which has been created in the past by employers and by trade union officials between different sections of workers employed on the transport industry is being broken down in struggle.

If this unity can be extended on a national scale and given the support of all bus workers and railwaymen it can add real strength to the demand for a national transport plan along socialist lines.

**LATE NEWS—Perry reports that NUR District organiser, Turnock, surveyed the railmen to vote 49-46 against striking, following attack on strike committee in 'Manchester Evening News'. Men say they were confused, but further meeting refused.**

## MASS SUPPORT FOR LOBBY

From page one

said at a recent meeting: 'Only now that the cost of living is going up so much and I find how difficult it is for us to manage do I appreciate even more the plight of old people.'

In Scotland the Linwood and Albion Motor AEU branches have supported the lobby and sent their resolutions to the Paisley District Committee.

Edinburgh busmen allowed a Young Socialist speaker to attend a shop stewards' meeting and there is a large amount of support in the area.

Collections have been made in public houses and at factories in Glasgow, at Starnes, a washing machine company and J. and P. Coates, the cotton manufacturers, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and further support is expected this week-end from the Old Aged Pensioners in Lanarkshire.

### AEU backing

The Sheffield, Yorkshire, district committee of the AEU was one of the first union branches to pledge support for the lobby.