

# WHO IS GAGGING WHO?

BY ROBERT JAMES

WHO IS GAGGING WHO over the Aberfan inquiry? The capitalist press and television have been warned by Attorney General Elwyn Jones against commenting on facts relevant to the inquiry into the killer coal tip which smothered over 150 Aberfan villagers in their schools and houses on a cold, foggy morning just two weeks ago.

This is a strong and unexpected warning, which has brought righteous indignation from the left and right, but is not out of character for the 'Labour' government of Harold Wilson. In fact, in parliament, Wilson quoted a Tory precedent—under Harold MacMillan's government—for the Attorney General's action.

Certainly the television interviews with bereaved parents, with which Wilson justified the gag, were obnoxious in their timing. The Labour movement will be looking forward to hearing the real voices of the villagers in the near future. Many of the statements printed and transmitted before the gag was firmly fixed on the nation's informers will certainly have to be investigated by the enquiry.

## Uneasiness

What happened at Aberfan was a national disaster. It will take much more than the visits of the Prime Minister and the Queen to remove the deep disquiet that is being felt amongst millions of Labour voters. Whilst the Attorney General's ruling complies with the law, it has added greatly to the uneasiness which is growing over the whole affair. The enquiry will not have achieved anything unless it answers all the questions which are uppermost in the minds of practically everybody.

'Sub judice' is an overpowering and frightening legal phrase in the ears of an uninitiated Welsh villager and in the legal departments of Fleet Street.

Our reporters felt and heard the villagers' growing anger, even within a day of the disaster. As one woman summed it up when leaving a recent parents' meeting:

'My sadness has turned to anger. At the first sign of independent action by the parents in setting up their own association, the police decided to step in to lend a helping hand. Officers with loudspeakers toured the streets telling parents where to attend the inaugural meeting. There, 300 of them were confronted with Merthyr Tydfil's chief constable, Mr. T. K. Griffiths, who made a statement about legal representation at the inquiry.'

A parents' committee was then set up and decided to seek legal representation. The government wants similar action. Commented Secretary of State for Wales Mr. Cledwyn Hughes:

'The government is also anxious that all those who will not be represented by any organisation who may wish to appear before the tribunal, particularly parents and dependents who have suffered loss, will in fact have adequate legal representation.'

'This is why the government will be pleased to meet the reasonable costs of their legal representation.'

This week officials from the Treasury have been touring the valley taking statements to furnish legal representatives at the inquiry—to open in Merthyr later this month—with briefs.

The main question is, then: Will these be used to gag the angry voices of the Aberfan parents at Lord Justice Davies' 'non-white-washing' inquiry?

A strong—and independent—Aberfan parents' organisation could decide that question.

## Reg Birch



## sponsors new magazine

By Newsletter Reporter

MR. REG BIRCH, executive council member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union has joined the editorial board of the 'Marxist', a new bi-monthly review. Writing, no doubt in a personal capacity, in its first issue he says:

'What is the economic significance of the July measures? They have quickly brought on a domestic recession. As this is what the foreign lenders wanted, some breathing space for sterling has been gained. But Wilson has made no change in the basic imperialist policies which have weakened sterling and which keep it weak. So his measures do not guarantee sterling against devaluation.'

The article concludes with this timely advice:

'The only salvation for the working class lies in struggle. Today it is the struggle against the Labour government policies which seek to shackle the working class, but one must always bear in mind that struggles will be continuous until capitalism is overthrown. The overthrow of capitalism should therefore be the purpose behind every action.'

We await comments from the Communist Party leaders with some interest.

## A NICE GESTURE . . .

THERE WAS a nice surprise waiting for Albert Speers—arms manufacturer and war criminal—on his release from Spandau prison, recently. To mark the occasion, a gift of flowers was sent to his daughter by Willi Brandt, West Berlin Burgomaster and leader of the social democrats in West Germany.

## Safety survey on tips

ALL PUPILS at Graig Ddu Infants School, Dinas, are to be moved by the Rhondda Education Committee to a school at nearby Penygraig. The school, overshadowed by the tip from

the now closed Dinas Colliery, will remain shut until the tip is surveyed along with some 60 tips in the Rhondda valleys. This action follows a parents' petition to the borough council.

## Call for slag safety

WASHWOOD HEATH (Birmingham) No. 2 branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union last Friday (October 28) passed a resolution calling for the compensation of former coal owners to be stopped and to be used to ensure the safety of all slag heaps. The motion also called for the Aberfan miners' lodge to be represented at the inquiry into the disaster, to be held in Merthyr Tydfil later this month.

*Especially for motor car workers*  
**This is as far as we've got brothers!**

WHILST THE THREAT of unemployment has hung over the heads of tens of thousands of car workers during the past two months, here is what the Labour and trade union leaders have been up to:

### Cabinet level

Wilson stands firm for unemployment, wage freezing and rising prices.

### 'Left' MP level

Abstain again when the vote is taken on Part IV of

the Prices and Incomes Act—must not rock the boat—flop down on government benches—waiting for pay cheques to come in—£70 a week and all that jazz. No threat of redundancy or re-deployment—at least work for four years—we hope.

### Trade union level

'Very distressed'—travel to York—meet employers—register failure to agree—home again—squat around in centrally-heated offices—snooze on until next round of meetings—see Gunter, see employers, see Prime Minister—still failure to agree—more snoozing and boozing—advice to rank and file in between yawns—must 'carry out procedure brothers'.

### Workshop level

Leading Communist says 'he will fight'—organises Brighton lobby of Prime Minister—meets Wilson—afternoon tea—meets the press—much later meets the car workers—announces he is proud to have met Wilson—thinks he's 'achieved the impossible'—men confused—more fighting talk. If Wilson can meet the car workers, says he, then so can Harriman of BMC. And so he does—Country Hotel—the boss speaks—nothing doing—meeting ends—great confusion—somebody mutters something about 'feeding cherries to pigs'—the 'impossible' is becoming 'really impossible'.

Back to Birmingham—another meeting—put your 'notice of sack in the dustbin brothers'—we're lobbying at York—home again—present whereabouts of dustbin unknown.

Four days before the sack—time is short—down to London—lobby Confederation leaders and 'Left' MPs. Meeting in the House—car men angrily interrupt MPs—boo Wilson and Gunter—leading Communist worried—says 'it is not our policy to behave like this'—Labour MPs have a job to do. MPs say 'Let's go with Labour'.

### Back to the Labour Exchange

Monday, November 7—long queues—no jobs—Christmas is coming—prices still going up.

### Back to the factory

Employers raring to go—speed up—wage freezing and the threat of unemployment to drive those at work to work harder.

### Meanwhile up in the Boardroom

Tory employers support government policy—Wall Street happy.



Some of the Midland car workers outside Parliament shouting their slogans.

## Equal pay strike in Ceylon

Newsletter Correspondent

OVER 11,000 of the Ceylon Mercantile Union's 18,000 members went on strike on Tuesday in Colombo following a breakdown in negotiations for a new pay structure.

The union, led by Bala Tampo of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), has been demanding equal pay for married and unmarried employees, back-dated to June 1.

Work at 67 firms controlling vital sections in Ceylon's trade were hit immediately the white-collared workers struck.

The strike affects a number of British-owned tea, rubber and coconut export concerns.

It also involves the nationalized Port (Cargo) Corporation and Insurance Corporation, and the important Tea Administration in the port of Trincomalee, which ships most of Ceylon's tea exports.

Armed police took up positions at key points in Colombo as the strike began.

## Wilson booed—Etheridge upset

MOTOR WORKERS from Birmingham and Oxford lobbied parliament on Monday as their union leaders in the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions met government representatives. As they waited outside the St. Stephen's entrance before entering to see MPs, many shouted: 'Redundancy—Out! Wage Freeze—Out! Wilson—Out! Workers' control—In! Socialism—In!'

Earlier they had visited Downing Street and booed Harold Wilson and Labour Minister Ray Gunter.

This upset Communist Party convenor Dick Etheridge from Austin's Longbridge (Birmingham) factory. He told the press as he left parliament that he disassociated himself from the booing.

'It is not our policy in BMC. We don't even do it to Tories,' he said.

The workers did not want to boo Wilson and Gunter. 'We want to influence and discuss with them,' he added.

But his influence was as strong as on his visit to Wilson's Brighton hotel during the September Labour Party conference.

Wilson made it quite clear to the Confederation—and Callaghan told the bosses on Monday—that the government was not changing its policy in relation to the motor industry.

By Newsletter Reporter

Etheridge claimed the support of five Midland Labour MPs on work-sharing and for a relaxation on hire purchase terms; one of these same MPs told motor car workers at Brighton that he would never vote against the government's policies.

In fact, our reporter was told, Etheridge spent most of the time defending these MPs from the car workers during a noisy, one-and-a-half hour meeting in a Westminster committee room.

Communist Party members among the car men said they were disgusted with Etheridge's performance.

## AEU motions say workers' control

MANY Amalgamated Engineering Union branches, whose members are involved in sackings from the motor industry, have been making demands for the nationalization of the industry.

The Pilton (Edinburgh) AEU branch has passed this resolution recently:

'This branch views the mounting redundancies in the British Motor Corporation with concern and demands that the Labour government nationalize the basic industries, including the car industry, without compensation, as the first step in the solution of Britain's economic problems.

'We further demand that all nationalized industries be placed under workers' control.' This resolution is being submitted to the Edinburgh City Labour Party and Trades Council.

Birmingham No. 11 AEU, noting that the short-time working and redundancy demonstrates that the 'elementary right of workers to earn a living is in jeopardy under the present system,' calls for the nationalization of the engineering and car industries.

Their resolution is to go to the union's Birmingham district committee.

Washwood Heath (Birmingham) No. 2 branch of the union passed the following

motion on October 7:

'That this branch, having once again seen the callous way in which the BMC and other engineering firms have sacked workers, demands that the union takes up a campaign for the nationalization of the motor and engineering industry, bringing it under workers' control, without compensation.'

This resolution was read to branches in the district delegate's report on October 21.

## 'WET' MONEY STRIKE ENDS

NEWSLETTER REPORTER

AS THE government's 'freeze' policies begin to bite, some local councils, finding it harder to borrow money from the banks, are beginning to attack the wages and conditions of the employees.

The Labour-controlled Borough of Lambeth, London, is no exception. The dustmen, who have led many militant fights in the past, have just ended a two-week strike to defend some of their hard-won gains.

After a dispute over the amount of money they were entitled to for working in heavy

rain, their steward was informed by the council that an existing agreement over 'wet-time' payments was not legally binding, and the council would have to consider limiting these payments in future.

### Sackings hint

The steward claimed that the men have been trying for nine months to get proper drying facilities, without success, and

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## PUBLIC MEETING

## Long live the Hungarian Revolution of 1956

CAXTON HALL (nearest tube St James Park) Thursday November 17—7.30 p.m.

Speakers will include

MICHAEL BANDA, Editor, 'Newsletter'  
CLEMENT of the PCI  
and Members of the Young Socialists.



1956  
1966

# TEN YEARS AFTER

BY  
CLIFF  
SLAUGHTER

## Anti-union laws in Soviet Union

BY ROBERT BLACK

FOLLOWING THE RECENT attacks by 'Pravda' on Trotskyism (dealt with in the October 22 issue of The Newsletter) comes yet more evidence of the sharpening conflict between the Soviet working class and the bureaucracy. A recent session of the Supreme Soviet has enacted legislation forbidding the following acts:

One: 'Systematic dissemination in a verbal form of deliberate fabrications slandering the Soviet State and public structure.'

Two: 'Preparation and dissemination of works of this kind in a written, printed or any other form.'

Three: 'Any insult to the state coat-of-arms or the flag of the USSR.'

Four: 'Organisation and participation in group activities violating public order or connected with apparent disobedience to the legal demands of the state officials, as well as those that involve the disruption of transport or the work of the state enterprises.'

The penalties for these offences range up to a £38 fine, one year in a labour camp, or three years in prison.

The first point to be made is the classical Stalinist fashion in which the bureaucracy lumps together right and left opposition to its rule, thus hoping to pass off all genuine socialist movements which aim at the restoration of workers' democracy as anti-Soviet and therefore pro-capitalist.

### Rights usurped

Attacks on the Soviet flag and coat-of-arms are arbitrarily linked with opposition movements amongst the working class and intellectuals, which far from being anti-Soviet, seek to restore rights established by the revolution of 1917 but long since usurped by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

That such oppositional groups exist is obvious from the nature of the laws enacted, being designed specifically to deal with organised circles that use both verbal and written propaganda. Far from being isolated amongst student and writers' groups, as has largely been the case up to now, the bureaucracy appears to anticipate a drawing together of these long established centres of resistance to the bureaucracy (centres which showed their hands at the time of the Soviet writers' trial) with the industrial working class. Hence the reference to disruption of transport and state enterprises.

The Stalinist device of creating an artificial bloc between left and right-wing opposition to the bureaucracy has a long history, dating back to the days of the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

In order to compromise the opposition in the eyes of the Soviet working class, Stalin planted an ex-White Guard officer from Wrangel's army in a cell of the opposition—and then arrested the group on a charge of collaborating with a White Guard.

The Moscow Trials saw the development of this method on a far vaster scale, which became the blueprint for dealing with all future persons or factions that attempted to challenge the rule of the bureaucracy from a communist standpoint.

Similar frame-ups swept Eastern Europe following on the break of Tito from Stalin, innocent party leaders such as Kostov in Bulgaria, Slansky in Czechoslovakia and Rajk in Hungary being executed on charges of treason and collaboration with imperialist powers.

**Bogus alliance**

After all, they could hardly be charged by a bureaucracy that claimed to be socialist, with the crime of organising a struggle for workers' democracy and equality of relations with the Soviet Union!

Today, the bureaucracy prepares itself for the radicalisation of the Soviet and East European working class by creating in advance such a bogus alliance.

It is also significant that proof of actual opposition is not required for persons to be sentenced: 'group activities violating public order or connected with [a blanket term that has served the bureaucracy for nearly 40 years in its many frame-ups] apparent disobedience to the legal demands of the state officials.' (Emphasis added.)

This law is clearly aimed against the enforcement of the so-called right to strike that the Soviet working class possesses—on paper.

It would be a mistake to overestimate the tempo of developments within the Soviet Union. They are very much dependent upon the success of the workers' revolution in its many imperialist states, of which the political revolution in the workers' states is an integral part.

While the twin reformist bureaucracies of Stalinism and social democracy are able to check or divert the development of the revolution in the capitalist world...

TEN YEARS AGO the workers, students and peasants of Hungary rose up in armed struggle against their Stalinist masters. They forced a change of government, and all over the country workers' councils sprang up to become the real power in the towns and regions.

After this first success, the occupying Red Army forces withdrew, but it was only in order for Khrushchev and the Kremlin bureaucracy to mobilise and send in tens of thousands of fresh troops, armed with modern tanks and supported by aircraft, to bloodily suppress the revolutionary people.

The present regime of Kadar in Hungary is the policeman of this counter-revolutionary reaction of the Stalinist bureaucracy to the political revolution of the Hungarian workers.

Kadar relies on the presence in Hungary of 60,000 troops; so much for the wretched Stalinist apologists and their 'progressive' friends who tell us that Kadar returned to Hungary, and that the Kadar government has the confidence of the people.

Kadar was one of those who formed the new government of Imre Nagy following the uprising of workers and students in Budapest in October 1956.

But, behind the backs of this government, hiding behind speeches to mass meetings in which he told the Budapest workers that their revolution had been justified, he went over to the Russian Stalinists, left Budapest and emerged as the head of a puppet government which set up shop in a provincial town and gave its blessing to the massive Red Army intervention.

For this betrayal Kadar was made head of the Soviet-backed counter-revolutionary government, and remains so today.

All the newspaper talk about settled conditions 10 years after the revolt is rubbish. The Kadar government, backed by the Soviet Army, has only recently imprisoned the leaders of strikes and former participants in the Revolution of 1956.

The Stalinist press in Budapest carries denunciations of Trotskyist propaganda in Hungary.

In many towns the Hungarian workers have struck against increases in the cost of living during the last year, despite the repressions of Kadar.

### LESSONS OF 1956

The truth about Hungary in 1956, and the lessons of that revolution, are a vital part of the struggle of Marxists in the Fourth International today.

In the October 15 socialist youth demonstration against imperialist war in Liege, Belgium (see The Newsletter, October 22), not only were the forces of the International Committee easily the biggest in number, but they carried out a fight on a much more advanced programme than other participants.

When the Young Socialists (Britain) and the supporters of the youth paper Révoltes (France) raised in this demonstration the banner 'Long Live the Hungarian Revolution of 1956', they were insisting that the fight against imperialism was necessitated by an alliance of workers in the capitalist world and in the countries controlled by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and that only a revolutionary struggle of these workers against Stalinist bureaucracy, which sells out to the imperialists, will permit this alliance to be forged.

The Trotskyist youth fought successfully against Stalinists and revisionists to keep this banner flying in the demonstration. This success was a powerful blow for the Hungarian workers and their revolutionary struggle.

It was in the International Committee of the Fourth International, and among the forces who understood that they must rally to its programme, that the lessons of the Hungarian Revolution were learned and built upon.

It is for good reason that Kadar's press rants and raves against Trotskyism in Hungary today, 10 years after 1956.

It is the work of the Hungarian section of the Fourth International which is preparing the revolutionary leadership for the Hungarian workers to finish with Kadar, finish with Stalinism, and restore proletarian democracy.

This was the meaning of the struggle in 1956: the workers, students and peasants did not fight for the restoration of capitalism, but to defend the gains of a socialised economy by driving out the bureaucracy and their Kremlin backers, placing the power in the hands of the people through their own workers' and peasants' councils, equivalent of the Soviets of 1905 and 1917, and the Councils of

Action in Britain in 1920 and 1926.

Only the Trotskyist programme of building independent revolutionary parties, political revolution against the bureaucracy, and the building of the International, could provide correct leadership for such a struggle. These bitter lessons began to be learned by Marxists in Hungary after the defeat of 1956.

They found their answers in the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The revisionist ideas of those who followed Pablo, Frank, Germain and others after the split of 1953 in the Fourth International, were in fact a direct support for the Stalinist bureaucracy.

These revisionists had promised a liberalisation of the bureaucracy, an 'irreversible process' towards socialism, a forcing of the bureaucracy to the left, which obviated the need for the construction of independent revolutionary parties.

But it was precisely the absence of an independent party on the programme of Trotskyism which left the Hungarian revolutionaries unprepared for their defeat.

It was precisely their failure to understand the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism internationally which disarmed them before, during and after the uprising.

Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy had imposed upon Hungary a regime of bureaucrats like Matyas Rakosi and Erno Gero. The Hungarian landlords and capitalists had been expropriated as a measure to ensure the defences of the USSR and the Stalinist bureaucracy after the deal they made with imperialism on the morrow of the Second World War.

From the beginning, the gains of this socialisation of the economy were endangered because they were associated with the suppression of all working-class rights, politically and in the trade unions, and because this regime was backed by Soviet troops.

Unequal economic treaties plundered the industry of the Eastern European 'People's Democracies' to the advantage of the USSR.

For this reason the revolt was also a revolt for national independence and self-determination.

The workers and peasants of Hungary could not carry out a political revolution against Stalinism only by wiping out the Hungarian secret police and removing the government: they had also to drive out the military forces of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and then the fight against them, was therefore at the core of the revolution.

Only those who have quite un-Marxist ideas of some 'pure' revolution chastise the Hungarian workers for regarding the Red Star and the hammer and sickle, in some cases, as signs of Soviet domination rather than emblems of Communism. For such confusion the Stalinists, and not the people, are to blame.

The Stalinist attempt to portray the Hungarian revolution as a fascist coup aimed at capitalist restoration was one of the vilest slanders in Stalinist history, and it never had an ounce of evidence behind it.

Those Stalinists who complain about the struggle of the Hungarians against the AVH (secret political police) and against the Red Army must answer the question: how is it that not a single body of Hungarians was produced, before, during or after the rising, to pledge its support and to fight on behalf of the regime of Gero or of Kadar?

How do the Stalinists explain that for months after the suppression of the rising the industrial workers fought a stubborn General Strike in the mines and the factories, and that when troops entered these factories to enforce discipline these workers fought literally to the death?

Are these the methods of fascism and counter-revolution?

Did the Kadar regime, in the subsequent trials and imprisonments, find it possible to provide a shred of evidence to show that the leaders of workers' and students' councils whom they persecuted were in the pay of fascists or foreign imperialists? For all the talk about the revo-

lution being inspired from the West, the Stalinist police and judges produced no weapons from that source, because the revolutionaries had armed themselves by storming the barracks of Budapest and winning many of the Hungarian soldiers to their side.

The Stalinists must also answer the question: why was not the Hungarian army, the army of a 'People's Democracy', entrusted with the suppression of the so-called fascist coup?

The fact is that this was a spontaneous popular uprising.

Its demands, more and more clearly formulated by the revolutionary workers' and students' councils, were the demands of the political revolution, whose aim is to restore the framework of proletarian democracy to the nationalized factories, mines and land, to give the working class control of the economic plan and the political life of the nation, and to remove by force the bureaucratic obstacles to this path.

### INTERVIEW

When the 'Daily Worker's' reporter Peter Fryer reported to this effect, his dispatches were suppressed, and for a few days the 'Worker' resorted to reports from Charlie Coutts, who had been three years resident in Budapest, editing the international Stalinist youth magazine.

Despite the fact that Coutts

lent himself to this misuse, he himself had given an interview to Fryer before the second Soviet intervention. This completely refutes the idea of a fascist-inspired coup.

"The people," Mr. Coutts explained, "did not oppose everything that happened in their country since 1945. They had wanted to build Socialism in Hungary. They established the basis—but they were never allowed to build their own Socialism on it."

"After the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party everyone expected there would be a complete change."

"There were some timid changes but nothing that met the needs of the situation," said Mr. Coutts.

"In both the Communist Party and its youth organisations there were people who had not joined either on principle or because of political understanding but to advance their careers. They had joined for money and for power."

"There was no free discussion at all inside the Party. It follows from this" Mr. Coutts went on, "that in order to maintain its position the Party leadership had to use the security police which was created in 1948. The Party as a whole, and Parliament of course, had no control over the secret police at all. They had copied the worst features of the Soviet security police as it was under Beria."

Ferencs Meray, spokesman of

the Budapest Students' Revolutionary Committee, told Coutts that they were fighting for 'a really independent democratic Hungary building Socialism'.

Figures like Cardinal Mindszenty, friends of the imperialists, naturally wished to use the revolutionary situation to their own advantage, but they had no part in the leadership of the masses.

Coutts' mention of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is important if we are to understand the impact of the Hungarian Revolution in the world Stalinist movement.

Not only in Hungary but all over the world members of the Communist Parties were astounded by the 'revelations' of Khrushchev in March 1956, in which he admitted the repressive, police-state character of the Stalin regime.

But many of the best of these Communist Party members regarded Khrushchev's speech as the beginning of a new period in which the Communist Parties and the workers' states could be reformed and restored to the path of Lenin.

It took the brutal shock of the bloody Soviet intervention to persuade them that a revolutionary struggle must be fought against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Henceforth there could be no question of compromise, of reform of Stalinism, but only acceptance of Trotsky's perspective: the bureaucracy is counter-revolutionary; a new revolution-

ary leadership must be constructed in struggle against it.

To defend the Soviet intervention would not have been an act of solidarity with the gains of the Russian Revolution, as the 'Daily Worker' claimed, but to line up against the working class of Hungary.

The imperialists were not in support of the revolutionary people of Hungary against the Red Army.

They would have liked to take advantage of the chaos caused by the revolution but only for their own purposes.

Reporting for 'The Observer', Philip Deane wrote from Washington on November 11, 1956: 'High Administration sources say that the United States has tried to let the Russians know, without being provocative, that Berlin and Austria will be defended by American forces. Hungary, meanwhile, has been officially and finally abandoned to its fate.'

In other words, the imperialists and the Stalinists had defined their spheres of control after 1945, and they were going to stick to them, without giving an inch either way. What both sides feared was the proletarian revolution in both East and West Europe.

Another worshipper of the status quo was R. Palme Dutt of the British Communist Party, who wrote in the 'Daily Worker' of November 10, 1956:

'The Soviet armed forces were legally in Hungary by agreement under the Warsaw Pact. Indeed the "Daily Worker's" treatment of the Hungarian uprising was so abjectly subservient to its Kremlin masters that it undoubtedly played a major part in the departure of 11,000 members of the British Communist Party.'

At the first news of the uprising, the 'Worker' followed the Kremlin in denouncing it as 'counter-revolution'.

### NO COMMENT

After the establishment of the Nagy government, when 'Pravda' and the East European press decided that the insurgents had genuine revolutionary complaints against the bureaucracy, so the 'Worker' followed suit, and decided the workers and peasants were 'revolutionary'.

However, as soon as the Red Army was sent in again, and the Kadar puppet government established, so the 'Worker' once more found the Hungarians 'counter-revolutionary'. What comment is necessary?

Between the uprising on October 24, when the Budapest workers began the fight against Soviet troops which established workers' control of the city, and the second Soviet intervention November 4, there existed a kind of dual power in Hungary.

Imre Nagy and his ministers were the only political forces known to the people as an alternative to Gero and the worst of the Stalinists.

The real power however was in the hands of the workers' councils who placed Nagy in office.

The development of the revolution, like that of 1917 in Russia, would have seen a struggle of political tendencies inside the Councils, with the Marxists having the responsibility of developing a revolutionary alternative to the centrist politics of Nagy, once the dangers of his 'neutralism' were exposed to the masses.

In that struggle the banner of the Fourth International would have come forward as the only revolutionary rallying-point of our era. This represented the real danger to the bureaucracy internationally, the acceptance by the workers of a new revolutionary leadership.

This is why Stalinists all over the world, from Britain to China, rallied behind Khrushchev against the Hungarian Revolution.

Trotskyists are proud to have supported the struggle of the Hungarian and Polish workers of 1956.

Their revolutionary heroism against the Stalinists is an inspiration to every one of us, and their actions are the most important of the confirmations of the founding programme of the Fourth International.

The revolutionary workers of Eastern Europe will soon take up once again the glorious banner of Budapest 1956.





# PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

**THE HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, and before it the Left Opposition inside the Soviet Union, is devoted entirely to a defence and application of revolutionary Marxism. This is not an abstract question. It is one which has required the concrete investigation of all major happenings inside the international labour movement over the past 30 years. But the success of such investigation could not have been achieved, above all by Trotsky, without a continuous study of all the day-to-day happenings in his own organisation, the Fourth International.**

The most important Marxist analysis of the origin and role of the Soviet bureaucracy is undoubtedly 'The Revolution Betrayed' which appeared in the late 1930s. At the time when Trotsky was writing this book he was also actively intervening and seeking solutions to the hundred and one different problems which affected the various sections of his movement.

It was a period of entry into the centrist and social-democratic parties, and the difficulties were numerous. But all this was in the political day's work so far as Trotsky was concerned.

It was, in fact, intimately bound up with writing the 'Revolution Betrayed', as well as the dozens of other articles which appeared in his name during those years.

So far as circumstances would allow, he was an active participant in the building of revolutionary parties until the day he was assassinated by Stalin's agent.

This was his greatness, and it was the crowning achievement of his political life, because it fused his whole thinking, being with Lenin and Leninism.

No revolutionary fighter ever got closer to applying the real meaning of Lenin's teachings than Trotsky. He was Lenin's great disciple, because at all stages he fought to fuse theory with practice. To him the theoretical analysis of Stalin's bureaucratic degeneration was inseparable from building the sections of the Fourth International.

## Centrists and Theory

As usual, he came under fire from the centrists of the Independent Labour Party and the London Bureau. Since the hallmark of centrism is contempt for theory, they rounded on Trotsky for 'splitting hairs'.

Today the ILP has been reduced to the status of a small sect. The London Bureau disappeared long ago and with it any connections it had on the international field. Its old leaders who are still alive, such as Lord Brockway, have for some time come to terms of co-existence with the Establishment.

In comparison to the fate of these anti-theory specialists, the Socialist Labour League goes forward amongst the youth and industrial workers and has established itself a much more influential position than ever the ILP enjoyed, even in its hey-day.

Anti-theory methods take different forms. There are those who try to place themselves on a moral pedestal 'above disputes' by playing upon the weaknesses of people who just want to carry out practical activity, without bothering about reading and thinking.

In countries such as Britain where, in the past, the development of the class struggle has been slow, such people have sown confusion, invariably winding up in the camp of the opportunists around the Labour Party.

Their spokesmen are to be found chiefly in the ranks of the fake Parliamentary 'left'.

## The role of Stalinism

The Stalinists in the Communist Party are constantly denouncing the Socialist Labour League as 'sectarian'. By using this term, they endeavour to prevent a serious discussion on the political differences.

Close on their heels come the Socialist Workers' Party of the USA, the Pabloite Unified Secretariat in Paris, the state capitalist group of Tony Cliff in England and the small gang of Pabloites, Messrs. Jordan, Tait, Coates, etc., who worship at the shrine of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

On every conceivable occasion they take time out to explain the SLL away as 'sectarian'.

When the SLL and the Young Socialists mobilise 1,500 trade unionists and youth in a demonstration, they say it is 'sectarian and unimportant'.

When 500 Young Socialists travel to Liege in Belgium, they look the other way and say it doesn't matter—yet they themselves only represent a tiny handful.

However, this does not at all mean that such groups are Stalinist in their complete political outlook.

For the Stalinists, the use of the word 'sectarian' is merely a continuation of their description of the Trotskyist forces as fascist agents of Wall Street. Between Trotskyism and Stalinism there can be no compromise.

Although Stalin has been dead for over 13 years, the basic revisionist ideas for which he stood still dominate the thinking of the Communist parties all over the world. Stalin represented the most privileged bureaucratic caste ever to arise in the international workers' movement during the history of capitalism.

This bureaucratic caste in turn reflected a profound opportunist degeneration in the Soviet Union which is today expressed in the policy of the 'peaceful road to socialism'.

This policy emphasises that the bureaucracy wants peace with capitalism at all costs, which means that it is constantly in conflict with the working class, whose problems can only be solved by the overthrow of capitalism.

So far as the Soviet bureaucracy is concerned, their privileges come first and in order to protect them they are constantly prepared to do a deal with the imperialists at the expense of the working class.

Trotsky fought for the establishment of international socialism, which was Lenin's policy. In doing so he came into violent conflict with the Stalinists who persecuted, framed and murdered the majority of Lenin's Central Committee during the 1917 Revolution because they opposed them. They murdered some of the most prominent of Trotsky's secretaries, and, in the end, Trotsky himself.

For us today, Stalin is dead, but the ideas of Stalinism live on. Any revisionist tendencies which in one form or another adapt themselves politically to the Stalinists are, in our opinion, mortal enemies. This is the essence of our split from the Pabloites and other revisionists.

Let us start with the Pabloite Unified Secretariat.

They broke from Trotskyism in 1951 by developing the after Stalin's death meant a theory that de-Stalinisation decisive change in the Stalinist bureaucracy. Five years later the Stalinist chieftan, Khrushchev, drowned the Hungarian Revolution against the Rakosi-Gero bureaucracy in a

sea of blood.

At that time the Pabloites formally criticised Khrushchev's intervention, but at the international youth demonstration in Liege, Belgium, on October 15, they called in the police to remove banners from the French and English contingents who advocated support for the Hungarian Revolution on the occasion of its tenth anniversary.

Herein lies the difference between the Stalinists and the Unified Secretariat-revisionist capitulators to bureaucracy.

During the Hungarian revolution there was a powerful outburst of imperialist propaganda against the Soviet Union which took full advantage of the criminal actions of Khrushchev.

The gentlemen supporters of the Unified Secretariat found little difficulty at that time in condemning these actions. Today, it is different.

Now Johnson needs the Soviet bureaucracy to help to strangle the Vietnamese revolution, as well as the rising

The last of a series of articles by G. HEALY National Secretary Socialist Labour League

## The Socialist Labour League



1,500 trade unionists and youth march—'sectarian', according to the revisionists!

movement to the left amongst the middle-class intelligentsia and the university youth. Unfortunately, this movement still remains isolated from the working class.

The policy of the Communist Party of the United States is to turn it politically towards the capitalist Democratic Party, by taking advantage of this isolation.

However, it faces certain difficulties in the forthcoming Congressional Elections. Because there is widespread opposition to the Democratic Party, the Communist Party, has, especially in New York, to arrange a stepping stone to

manoeuvre United States radicals towards the capitalist Democratic Party.

By exploiting the use of the word 'critical support for Aptheker', the SWP is merely covering up the fact that it is initiating a sly, stage-by-stage orientation towards the Democratic Party itself.

If the SWP were really seriously inclined towards an exposure of Stalinism, and warning those who will be confused by Aptheker, then it should openly expose him and the counter-revolutionary policies of the Communist Party of the United States today.

The SWP will not take long to find out that revisionism must ultimately lead towards political capitulation to the politics of the capitalist parties.

On the experience of Liege, the weekly paper 'Militant', published by the SWP, remains silent, although it had a number of leading members present who were aware that the police were called in to take down the banners of the British and French Young Socialists.

So be it, gentlemen. When you say A. for Aptheker, you will be soon shouting P. for the police.

The state capitalist group of Cliff characterises the Soviet Union as a capitalist country. On the surface this group is supposed to be very hostile towards Stalinism, but this is purely superficial.

By designating the Soviet Union as a capitalist country it contemptuously dismisses the economic conquests which remain as a result of the 1917 revolution. Over the past few years, this position has enabled it to cuddle up closer to the Labour Party right wing in the struggle against the Young Socialists.

Now that these same Young Socialists have emerged as a powerful force against the Prices and Incomes Act, the state capitalists weigh in whatever support they can muster behind the Stalinists.

From serving the social-democratic bureaucracy, they now embrace the agents of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Up until recently this change of ally

tide of revolutionary opposition from the working class in the metropolitan capitalist countries.

The youth, who perhaps more than any other section of the working-class movement enter politics as a result of a struggle against bureaucracy, are proving a real danger to the Soviet bureaucracy, which is moving steadily towards agreement with the arch-imperialists.

The Pabloite Unified Secretariat senses this rapprochement, and now emerges as the 'left cover' for bureaucracy and imperialism, and calls in the police to deal with the Young Socialists who commemorate the Hungarian Revolution.

## The SWP covers up for the Stalinists

One of the most spectacular developments in the USA in recent years has been the vast

wards it.

That is the reason why Aptheker, a leading United States Stalinist, is standing for office in Brooklyn. He supports to the hilt the Democratic Party orientation of the Communist Party. A vote for Aptheker today is an invitation to be led by the nose to the Democratic Party tomorrow.

At this point the Socialist Workers' Party intervenes and gives critical support to him. Whilst it criticises his attitude towards the Democratic Party, it nevertheless advocates voting for him. The significance of such a decision cannot be estimated solely within the geographical boundaries of New York.

Aptheker is an old Stalinist hack who has toed the Party line at all times, especially over Hungary. He is prepared to support not only the Democratic Party but any deal which the Soviet bureaucrats cook up with Johnson to betray the Vietnamese revolution. He is deliberately trying

to manoeuvre United States radicals towards the capitalist Democratic Party.

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did not bring them into open alliance with the Pabloites. However, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has established the bridge-head.

On that Committee the three open supporters of the Paris Unified Secretariat joined hands with the state capitalists recently in an attempt to prevent a speaker from the Socialist Labour League from exposing the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy in relation to the war in Vietnam.

Thus all of those revisionist forces, no matter what their reservations about the role of Stalinism, inevitably find themselves in the same camp when it comes to providing a left cover for imperialism. Trust Bertrand Russell to thoughtfully provide the platform for such united action.

These anti-Marxists reject the principle that the working class can emancipate itself and overthrow capitalism through the building of a revolutionary party. They are turned exclusively towards the politics of the petty-bourgeois revisionists.

As a result, they constantly tend towards liquidation into Labour and social-democratic parties in some countries, and the Stalinist parties in others.

The Socialist Labour League has taken its stand clearly against these parties and their counter-revolutionary role. We politically oppose them and have set our course firmly towards the building of the revolutionary party, within the framework of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

This does not at all mean that we will not carry out an entry into their ranks in order to do battle against them as we have done in the past. It means that our principled conception of the struggle to develop Marxism against revisionism and its reformist and Stalinist allies is inseparable from the day-to-day struggles to build the revolutionary party.

The Socialist Labour League follows in the footsteps of Lenin and Trotsky in the constant struggle to develop Marxist theory.

## CP faces age crisis in unions

By PETER JEFFRIES

**AN INTERESTING ARTICLE in the current issue of 'Business' underlines the rapid decline of the Communist Party in industry and the unions. Although written from the point of view of the industrialist, this material nevertheless emphasises some of the problems which are now beginning to worry Party militants.**

The article draws attention to the age of most of the Party industrial members.

Victor Feather, assistant general secretary of the TUC, is quoted: 'The Communist Party has been very much on the wane. The prominent communists in industry are veterans; you can't find any under the age of 35, and the old ones are mellowing with time.'

The author goes on to examine the coming power struggle in the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Again he points to the deep divisions within the Party on this question, especially in relation to Reg Birch.

As Feather points out: 'The Trotskyists have been growing in influence and importance, and competing actively against the communists in all their efforts.'

### 'Different animal'

Jock Haston, himself a renegade from the Trotskyist movement, and now educational officer of the Electrical Trades Union, comments:

'The communist today is a different animal from the dedicated man he was before the Hungarian debacle. That and the split between Russia and China have done the party enormous damage. It is now being out-manoeuvred on the left wing by the Trotskyists.'

Birch was also interviewed for the article and makes a scathing attack upon the Party leadership in the trade unions.

'There's no strategy behind the

Communist Party any more. Bert Ramelson, its industrial organiser, and the centre are no longer in the know. . . . As for campaigning, there's no real work being done by the party to contest the five executive council positions in the AEU.'

The comments of Will Paynter, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, are extremely revealing of the degeneration of the Stalinists and should be taken as a warning to all party members in this and other unions.

'I'm not the same kind of communist I was 20 years ago; you mature when you accept responsibility.'

Feather's comment on Paynter and Harry Watson of the Lightermen:

'They're good reformist trade unionists. There are some areas we'll never agree upon, but they're people I like very much.'

As Paynter frankly admits: 'I've belonged to the Communist Party since 1929. I've been against its line many times and I don't take directions from King Street.'

Harry Watson, one of the 'named men' in Wilson's Red Scare during the seamen's strike, reflects a similar position to Paynter.

According to this gentleman the TUC is tremendously useful as a national forum in which the rank and file can express their feelings. But I wouldn't like to see it become subordinate to reactionary policies, particularly when those are aligned to pressures from foreign governments' (sic!).

This article in 'Business', although superficial and unable in any way to explain why the Party has declined to its present state, gives a glimmer of the crisis in the Party.

The Party leaders, basing themselves on the 'peaceful road to

Continued page 4, column 7 →



500 Young Socialists march in Liege, Belgium—the tiny revisionist handful say it doesn't matter!



# Clydeside meeting welcomes YS views

## Nationalize shipbuilding motion passed

FROM MICKIE SHAW

YOUNG SOCIALISTS made up approximately a quarter of 50-60 people attending Clydebank Trades Council's conference last weekend called to discuss growing unemployment in the area.

Speakers were James Jack, secretary of the Scottish TUC, and a district official of the Amalgamated Engineer in g Union and Communist Party member Bro. Sherriff.

Without anger or emotion, they spoke of growing unemployment and factory closures.

As part of the trade union bureaucracy, they were incapable of displaying any class feeling at the calamitous situation facing Scottish families thrown out of the factories on to the dole queues.

They talked vaguely about 'government responsibility' and the need for MPs to fight with the unions against unemployment. But their statements soon revealed their real positions.

Sherriff, recounting Clyde closures and difficulties encountered by some engineering firms, said that in one case AEU officials accompanied a boss to an interview with his bank manager to assure the latter gentleman that workers would increase their productive effort if financial backing for the firm was maintained.

### DEGENERATED

Such an admission, made without the faintest hint of criticism, from a public platform by a member of the Communist Party, indicates how far the CP has degenerated.

But this is in line with the actions of leading CP shop stewards in the Fairfield shipyard, who a few months ago were feverishly seeking financial backing to keep the Fairfield Company going.

No longer are the unions regarded by these gentlemen as organisations through which the working class can begin to struggle to end the system of exploitation.

Sherriff is at present conducting negotiations with Mirrieles Watson, an engineering firm which proposes to shut down one of its factories.

He gave no indication to the meeting how he intended to fight to organise workers to oppose the closure. He merely made general statements to the effect that 'this generation would fight unemployment.'

### 'MEET THE PM'

All that the secretary of the STUC could offer the meeting was a policy for: Local authorities to build advance factories and then to go out and find people to fill them, to secure a meeting with the Prime Minister, thus giving the trade union movement the opportunity to 'discuss the situation'; and to call regional conferences 'to demonstrate the uneasiness' felt by the trade unions at government policy.

Both speakers were reminded in contributions from the floor that within recent weeks big pay-offs had taken place at Bathgate and Linwood motor factories without a vestige of struggle from the union leadership.

Young Socialists and their trade unionist supporters pointed out that meetings with Wilson were useless. As one speaker said:

'Wilson has joined the enemy class—it is no use appealing to the enemy. The working class must be organised to attack against the Labour government. Will Bro. Jack and the STUC support open demonstrations on the streets and strike action against unemployment?'

Taking up the demand of another speaker that it was time the unions gave real leadership, YS members pointed out that their organisation had already given a lead on the anti-union legislation and wage freeze and in Glasgow were preparing to hold a demonstration against unemployment on December 11.

### NEXT TURN

They asked for Trades Council backing.

Many delegates referred angrily to the announcement in the Sunday newspapers that direction of labour was likely to be the next turn of the screw by the Labour government.

When Mr. Jack said this could not happen in democratic Britain, he was reminded that every-one who voted Labour at the

last election would have said the same thing a few months ago about the legislation making it illegal for workers to defend their living standards by strike action. If the Labour government could do that—it could introduce direction of labour too.

Only one speaker from the floor supported the platform. Overwhelmingly the delegates insisted that there must be a fight, and that it must take place whilst the workers were still organised in the factories and shipyards.

A resolution holding the government responsible for the growing unemployment and calling for nationalization of shipbuilding and marine engine building industries was carried.

Jack wound up the discussion with an attack against the revolutionary policies of the Young Socialists.

### YS WELCOMED

But the chairman of the conference in his final remarks welcomed the Young Socialists to the conference and defended their right to express a revolutionary point of view.

These sentiments were in keeping with the support given by members of the Clydebank Trades Council to the Young Socialists over the past period. It is now vital that support is continued.

By responding to the lead given by the Young Socialists the Trades Council can open the way for workers in Clydebank and the whole of Clydeside to fight back.

## 'Wet' money strike ends

From page 1

after a day's rain the men often have to start work next morning in wet clothes.

### Mass sacking

The dustmen were eventually driven back to work defeated, and the council has hinted darkly at mass sackings if any further strikes take place.

Because of the amount of refuse which piled up during the strike, the council is now employing private contractors at the weekends to clear up the backlog.

The steward complained that when he asked to see the drivers' union cards, he was refused permission.

He claims that scab labour is being used by the council, rather than pay the dustmen—all members of the Transport and General Workers' Union—over-time for weekend work.

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## THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

ON FRIDAY 12,000 car workers were thrown on the dole by the British Motor Corporation, with short-time working for a further 30,000, and fears at all car factories of more redundancies to come. This is the size of what has been done to car workers by the Labour government they helped to vote into power.

For this disastrous situation a heavy responsibility must rest with the trade union leaderships, who have remained obstinately blind to the clear implications of the government's economic policies. Throughout they have supported Wilson and connived at his anti-working-class measures. Even when the July 'freeze' was followed by short-time working and the threat of massive unemployment in car industry, they offered no leadership whatever to their members in a fight to defend their jobs. They have, in fact, deserted at the very beginning of the battle.

Of the 12,000 redundant workers, half are from Birmingham factories. Last Monday Dick Etheridge, leading member of the Communist Party and convenor at the Austin factory, Longbridge, took 400 workers to London for yet more fruitless lobbying of MPs and talks with Wilson. Predictably, nothing came of either.

Etheridge is still talking in terms of 'changing the government's policy in relation to the motor industry'. Have the events of the past three months not yet convinced him that no lobbying or 'pressures' can change the policy of a government acting as the

## Bold leadership needed now!

agent of world capitalism, in a time of acutest crisis of the world capitalist system?

Throughout this situation Etheridge has substituted gimmicky gestures for resolute leadership. He has squandered the previous weeks in which a real fight might have been organised against unemployment. As a result, the frustrated militancy of the workers is now finding its vent in sporadic strikes against redundancy in certain factories.

Now, instead of giving leadership in an all-out official campaign to resist the sacking of even one single worker, in implementation of the recent 'failure to agree' decision at York, what does Etheridge propose? That on Monday all BMC workers, including those who have been sacked, should turn up for work as usual, with the object of forcing the management to agree to work-sharing!

He is taking the same line as BMC chief Sir George Harriman in 'pressing' the government to lift hire purchase restrictions for the motor industry. This fact has struck the local Tory press as headline news, and they have featured an article with the title 'When the Capitalist and the Communist Agree'.

No communist can in fact agree under any circumstances, on this or any other political or industrial issue, with a capitalist. Any self-styled communist must have moved a long way from Karl Marx if he can stand alongside a capitalist boss and call for measures to 'save the car industry', instead of seeing this as a fight of workers in all industries against the anti-working class policies of the Wilson government.

No turning up at the factory on Monday in order to 'persuade' the BMC to adopt work-sharing can help sacked workers now. The company has already declared that redundant workers doing so will be regarded as trespassing. The bosses have full government backing for refusing to accept work-sharing. The workers themselves are sick of Etheridge's ineffective gimmicks.

The bold leadership needed now, which neither the right-wing nor the Communist Party union 'leaders' will offer, is for a well-organised official struggle against the Wilson government. The demands should be for no sackings, and for the nationalization of the car and engineering industries. Leading this struggle and posing these demands are the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League.

## BLIND WORKERS SEEK PARITY

Newsletter Reporter

BLIND WORKERS in 'sheltered workshops' are feeling the freeze like the rest of the working class. Their union, the National League of the Blind, is asking for the support of other trade unionists in trying to get a wage increase for their members in workshops in the Greater London area.

Speaking to delegates at the Brent (London) Trades Council on October 26, the National League of the Blind's London district organiser described some of the activities and struggles which his union had carried out.

They had fought for the principle that blind workers in 'sheltered workshops' should have their wages linked to those of municipal employees.

In January 1947 this policy was adopted by the Middlesex County Council, but was resisted by the London County Council and the workshop managers.

For a period, blind workers living in Middlesex, but working in London workshops, were drawing the £3 8s wages in the shops and getting their extra pay by cheque from the Middlesex authority; so there was a disparity of wages with money depending on where a person lived.

### Ejected from Council

The London organiser claimed that he and another blind worker were thrown out of County Hall at that time when they interrupted an LCC meeting in protest against this attitude.

Eventually their demands were recognised and it was established that blind workers in 'sheltered workshops' would receive wages, holidays etc., in accordance with whatever local council employees received.

This was broken recently when a 14s a week increase given to workers employed by Greater London boroughs was denied to the blind.

In one case, the organiser claimed, the West Ham workshops, run by the Newham Borough Council, paid the increase one week, but then deducted it.

He asked Brent Trades Council to urge the local borough council to grant the increase.

'We realise that our strength is to tie up our wages with those of the National Union of Public Employees' members and others,' he said. 'We don't want to create a National Joint Industrial Council for the blind workshops either—it would separate us from our source of strength, which is our link with other workers.'

He also criticised Minister of Social Security Margaret Herbyson for refusing to accept the blind workers' demand for a higher supplement for blind people on National Assistance.

Originally this had been 15s. Now it was to be 24s 6d, but, according to the official cost-of-living index, it should be at least 28s 6d to be worth its original value. Miss Herbyson had refused to recognise this.

Brent Trades Council has decided to take this up with her and other MPs, and to continue pressing Brent Council for the wage increase.

### STOOD FIRM

However, as in many similar instances all over the British Isles, and on the Continent, the YS stood firm and continued to express their support for the Vietcong.

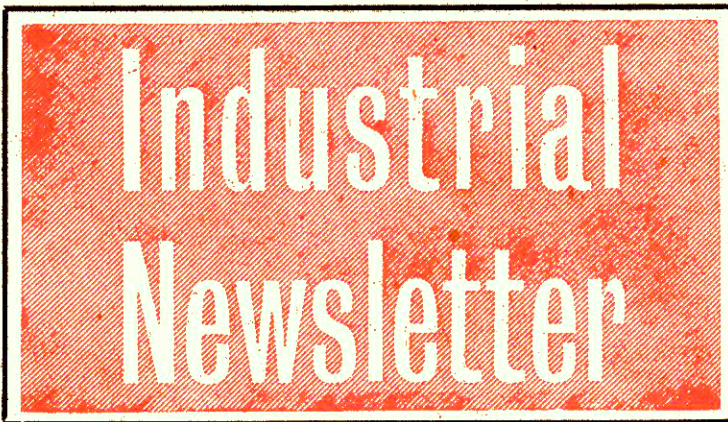
A significant feature of the march was that numbers of Dublin demonstrators left their places behind the pacifist banners and fell in behind the YS.

A highly successful meeting was held by the YS after the march and throughout the weekend they came into contact with many militant, young Dublin workers, who showed a keen interest in YS policies.

This intervention of the Belfast youth on the Dublin political scene is very important.

### DEVELOPMENT

For some time the YS has exerted considerable influence in Northern Ireland, and last Saturday's demonstration will no doubt accelerate the development of a powerful socialist youth movement in the Irish Republic, closely allied to the YS, both in Northern Ireland and Britain.



## Stewards in ENV's sacking list

NEWSLETTER INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

THE FIRST DISMISSAL notices were handed out at the north London engineering firm of ENV last week—and six shop stewards are on the sacking list. Chairman of the shop stewards' committee Geoff Carlsson is claiming that this is a 'deliberate and calculated move' to attack the union.

## Belfast YS in Dublin march

Policy scares pacifists

Newsletter Reporter

A COACHLOAD of Belfast Young Socialists made a significant intervention in a Dublin demonstration, consisting mainly of students, against the Vietnam war last Saturday (October 29).

The organisers of the demonstration intended it to be limited to pacifist appeals for negotiations and the observance of the notorious Geneva Agreements of 1954.

But the Belfast YS, by their positive intervention in support of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, made a tremendous impact, not only on those participating in the 300-strong march, but also on many onlookers.

As the demonstrators marched through Dublin's main streets, the banners of the YS and their shouts of 'Victory to the Vietcong' enraged the middle-class organisers of the march to such an extent that they demanded the youth stop shouting and take down their banners.

## FARMERS IN PRICE PROTEST

LAST SATURDAY'S (October 29) intervention by the Belfast Young Socialists in a Dublin Vietnam demonstration was preceded a few days earlier by a large demonstration of small farmers from the 26 counties demanding better prices for their produce.

The immediate reason for the poverty of the Irish small farmers is the profiteering middlemen. A recently quoted example exposes the role of these parasites: Farmers just outside Dublin were being paid 4d a pound for tomatoes, which were then sold in the city for 1s 9d a pound.

The present Irish government relies on such middlemen for support.

It is useless, therefore, as the present leaders of the National Farmers' Association persist in doing, to demand that the government guarantees better prices for the farmers. Only a government representing the workers and small farmers can expropriate the parasite middlemen.

### Leadership need

The plight of the small farmers, some of whom have to raise a family on not more than £5 a week, together with the attack on working-class living standards, which is inherent in the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, underlines once more the need for a new working-class leadership in Ireland.

The intervention of the Belfast YS marks an important step towards the building of that leadership.

An American-owned firm, ENV Willemsen announced earlier this year that it would close following the management's failure to impose new agreement in the factory, which would have virtually wiped out any union organisation.

The stewards still feel there will be a decision to keep the factory open, and that this will come after all the stewards have been sacked.

The first list of sackings, they claim, break the company's assurance of a last-in, first-out arrangement of phased redundancy.

Strike action against the redundancies has not been ruled out, but the stewards will probably wait for a decision of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which is giving 'urgent consideration' to the situation, before taking any action.

### 135 TO GO

The first sackings involved 135 of the firm's 1,500 workers and include one man who has been in the tool room for 26 years. The six shop stewards under notice form 20 per cent of all stewards at the factory. One has been at ENV for at least 14 years, another for seven years.

One of them said he was worried about ENV men getting jobs in the area—he felt that other firms were discriminating against ENV men.

But with the government's economic measures affecting the motor car industry and other major engineering firms, there will be little chance of permanent jobs in the north-west London industrial belt anyway.

A local employment exchange official denied this and added that firms up and down the country had asked specifically for ENV men. But how many of these men will want to move to Newport (Monmouthshire), or Barrow-in-Furness, where some of the demands are said to come from?

Convenor at ENV, Mr. Geoff Mitchell, was seeing 30 Labour MPs on Monday night about the Willemsen situation.

## Anti-union laws

From page 2

talist states, the workers under the rule of Stalinism will draw back from the task of its overthrow, realising as they do that such a struggle, undertaken without effective class solidarity from their fellow workers in the West may create for the imperialist powers the opportunity of intervention and the liquidation of all socialist gains.

The key to the political revolution, as developed by Trotsky and confirmed by the Hungarian revolution of 1956, rests with the building of the Fourth International, a task that has now become immediately realisable only through the struggle against the pernicious idea that the bureaucracy is capable of self-liberalisation and is sensitive to the pressure of the working class.

The recent turn by the inter-

## CP's age crisis

From page 3

socialism' and compromise with capitalism, are more and more the servants and hangers-on of the reformists, whether 'left' or 'right'.

In the unions this has taken the form of greater and greater adaptation to left sections of the bureaucracy and the abandonment of any independent policy and strategy. Thus the Party becomes more and more simply an instrument for vote gathering at union election times, with this work divorced completely from any politics.

The economic crisis has pushed the Stalinists rapidly to the right, along with all the other bureaucratic forces.

Thus they prevented a real fight in the seamen's strike by insisting, against all the developments, that this was merely an industrial dispute, and did not involve a fight against the Labour government: they have proved incapable of leading anything in the unions against the Prices and Incomes Act; their main energies have been devoted to a futile attempt to prevent the Trotskyists from leading such a campaign.

### Fear gains

Above all the Stalinists fear the gains made by the Socialist Labour League amongst the youth.

Most of their cadres in industry come from the pre-war or immediate post-war years.

They are a rapidly ageing Party, losing their grip in the NUM, the AEU, as well as in the ETU. This is why the Stalinists have such fear of the Young Socialists: here lies the threat of a real alternative communist movement to their waning influence in the unions.

Hence their desperate attempts to revive the sagging Young Communist League, which is dominated by petty-bourgeois layers from around the 'peace movement'.

But the Stalinists should not be underestimated. Nor should their strength be judged simply by their numbers.

The Stalinists have the 'record' as the most powerful counter-revolutionary force on behalf of imperialism during this century.

### Endanger conquests

Not only did Stalinism endanger the conquests of 1917 in the Soviet Union; more than this, the main weapon which the capitalists used after 1945 to restore European capitalism were the Communist Parties of France and Italy who used their strength in the working-class movement in both these countries to stop the working class from taking power in the post-war crisis.

In Britain, despite the verbal attacks made on the Communist Party by the right wing, in practice they prove most valuable allies.

Certainly it is now impossible to distinguish Party policy from that of the fake 'lefts' in the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The real answer to Stalinism is not simply to watch its decline. The only answer is to develop the forces of Marxism embodied in the programme and organisation of the Socialist Labour League and Fourth International.

national Stalinist movement towards an organised campaign against Trotskyism, both in the Soviet Union through the press and in the capitalist world via its national Stalinist parties, is proof of the rotten and opportunist nature of this theory.

Both in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, as well as in the capitalist states, the working class has now to fight for its independence as a class against Stalinism whether re-enforced with state power or as miserable apologist for those reformists who wield it on behalf of capitalism.

This unified struggle against bureaucracy now becomes the material force that will thrust forward the reconstruction of the Fourth International, cleansed of all theories that sought to adapt it to bureaucracy.