

Labour 'lefts' say

DON'T BE BEASTLY TO BROWN

£1,000 fund

We still need
£570-14s.-3d.
for November

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Any falling behind now would place us in unnecessary difficulty—so rush your donations to us at once.

Monthly Fund
Workers Press
186a Clapham High Street
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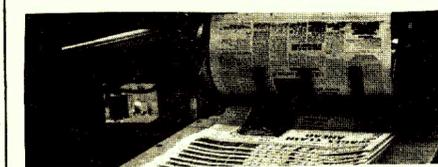
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give something towards our bazaar?

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Trotsky described the ILP as the 'Three-and-a-half' International, as they refused to break either from Stalinism or from reformism. Although they disaffiliated for the second time from the Labour Party in 1932, Jowett, Kirkwood and Maxton were aiming to build a second reformist party, while seeking a way to rejoin the Labour Party on favourable terms. (From l. to r.) Kirkwood, Buchanan, Stephen, Maxton and McGovern at a Battersea tea party.

Socialism - revolutionary or doctrinary?

A REPLY TO THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

IN ITS issue of August 1969, 'The Newsletter', organ of the Socialist Labour League, carried an attack on the policy of the ILP during the crisis of 1931, entitled 'The ILP's Counter-Revolutionary Role', and the present-day Party was dismissed as 'a sect'.

We would be the last people to defend the ambiguities, vacillations and compromises of ILP policy in the past.

But 'The Newsletter' article is distorted and biased. Worst of all, it fails to look at the role of the ILP in relation to the history of the British working-class movement as a whole, preferring to take one historical episode in isolation.

Let us look at history. When the ILP was founded, Engels welcomed its formation and urged his British comrades to join it. Lenin, while correctly attacking some ILP leaders,

who later proved to be traitors, praised the Party itself often.

And when the first imperialist world war came, it was the doctrinaire, dogmatic 'Marxists', Hyndman and Quelch, who became the social-chauvinists, while the 'anti-theoretical', 'centrist' ILP opposed the war and upheld the banner of working-class international solidarity.

In 1917, the ILP welcomed the Russian Revolution and played a leading role in forming Councils of Action to defend it. But at the same time, like many others in the revolutionary movement, the Party was critical of the strong undemocratic, bureaucratic tendency in Bolshevism.

And the criticism proved correct! All too easy, as the naive Trotskyists would have us do, to blame everything wrong in the Soviet Union on

the wicked Stalin and his successors. As scientific socialists, we saw the seeds of Stalinism at the very outset.

For where did the Bolshevik distortion of democratic centralism end up? In Stalin's murder of Trotsky and the rest of Lenin's old comrades.

And what of Bolshevism theory? See how it has degenerated 50 years later! On the one hand we have 'The British Road to Socialism', and on the other so-called Trotskyists who, despite their bombastic oratory and leftist bravado, aping third-period Stalinism, always end up urging workers to vote Labour and 'make the left MPs fight'.

And if the ILP's criticism of the Labour Party was only verbal, why did it disaffiliate from the Labour Party?

Why today do we condemn the Labour Party as an open

capitalist party, and call on workers to stop financing it? Why do we urge workers to strike and demonstrate on May Day while 'Trotskyists' trail in the wake of the Labour Party on the first Sunday in May?

If the ILP of the 1930s was so counter-revolutionary, why did Trotskyists take such pains to enter it?

Could it be that they recognised the magnificent role played by the ILP in the fight against unemployment, the Means Test, and Fascism?

Or the part played by the ILP in solidarity with revolutionary Spain? A part which included ILP comrades giving their lives in the struggle against both Franco's fascists and the Stalinists.

Unlike the pretenders to the throne of Lenin, the ILP has not stood still, petrified in 1917 or 1938. The ILP of 1969

is as different from the ILP of 1931 as that was from the ILP of 1893.

We admit our mistakes and attempt to rectify them. We do not pretend that we were always right.

The ILP, unlike the Socialist Labour League, does not intimidate its former members, or the comrades of other socialist tendencies. Unlike the sectarianism of the SLL, we favour unity in action, and fraternal discussion to discover the correct path to our common goal.

The ILP sprang not from the pages of textbooks, but from the hopes and aspirations, the day-to-day struggles of the working people. It is these hopes and aspirations the ILP today seeks to serve, this struggle it seeks to further, until the final goal of a Socialist World is reached.

Terry Little and Bill Turner.

The I.L.P. and Trotskyism

THE COMMUNICATION of Liddle and Turner is interesting only in its ability to express in a few paragraphs the poisonous essence of British centrism.

The long history of this tendency in the workers' movement is especially associated with the Independent Labour Party.

Once a powerful organization, the ILP today is best described not as a sect, but as the ghost of a sect. But as Liddle and Turner show, it continues to express the struggle against Marxist theory and principles which it carried on when it was still alive.

However violently these people may denounce the right-wing Labour leaders, they start from the same reformist method.

Since they have no intention of challenging the right wing for leadership of the working class, every pious reference to socialism only serves to cover an opportunist retreat.

Theoretical principles can never be taken seriously by them.

Hence follows their devotion to slander and gossip in their fight against revolutionary leadership. This is illustrated by Liddle and Turner's slimy allusion to 'intimidation'.

While tickling the middle-class appetite for scandal, this type of remark is well adapted to every attempt by the bourgeois press to portray revolutionaries as 'violent', 'unscrupulous', etc., etc.

We are certainly 'guilty', however, of carrying through the struggle for theoretical principles with the greatest energy and passion, for on them depend the future of the working class and of humanity itself.

While it would not be difficult to expose the distortion of ILP history contained in every sentence of this letter, we must restrict ourselves to two main questions: reformism and Stalinism.

Opportunism

Of course, both Engels and Lenin understood the working-class basis of the ILP support, but both recognized the fundamental opportunism of the parliamentary leaders.

'Independent of socialism, but dependent on liberalism', was the phrase Lenin used more than once to describe the ILP.

If Liddle and Turner try to conceal this opportunism, it is because they, and those like them, want it to continue to dominate the labour movement.

Thus, referring to the 1914 war, they exalt the ILP's 'anti-theoretical' opposition to the war. Let us see what role it really played.

The ILP leaders MacDonald, Snowden and Jowett denounced the war as a crime of capitalism, but they managed to maintain their unity with the Labour Party leaders, who joined the very cabinet that perpetrated this crime.

ILP chairman Fred Jowett could sign anti-war manifestoes and still declare his belief in 'national defence'. Brockway says of him:

'He acknowledged that the government, having made its

secret understandings with France, was bound to intervene in the war, but argued that this did not require acquiescence from those who had opposed this policy'. ('Socialism over 60 years').

This was the 'banner' upheld by the ILP.

The ILP's response to the Russian Revolution was as inconsistent and vacillating as its attitude to the war.

When MacDonald spoke at the Leeds Conference in June 1917, it was in support of the February Revolution, and of Soviets under Menshevik leadership.

But while there was tremendous rank-and-file sympathy for the October Revolution, the leaders were terrified by it.

To turn towards Bolshevism meant breaking with opportunism and parliamentary illusions.

Their carefully placed reservations about the 'undemocratic' character of Soviet rule and of the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky were essential to the political careers of the ILP leaders.



Despite all its left phrases the ILP remained a reformist party. In 1924 and again in 1929 its leader, Ramsay MacDonald (above), became His Majesty's Prime Minister.

When Liddle and Turner applaud the 'foresight' of the ILP on this question, it is its opportunism they are backing.

With the founding of the Third Communist International in 1919, the issue was squarely placed in front of the international workers' movement: either join the revolutionary camp of Lenin and Trotsky, or stay with the right-wing leaders of the Second International who had led the workers into the imperialist slaughter of 1914.

The ILP did neither.

In April 1920, it disaffiliated from the Second International. It sent a delegation to Moscow to inquire, in effect, whether it could affiliate with the Third International and still remain a reformist party.

At the same time, it decided to look into the 'possibility of the re-establishment of an all-inclusive International, for the purpose of formulating the basis of an International, which, while making a quite definite announcement of our socialist objective, would allow the national sections to adapt their policies to the different political and industrial conditions in their various countries'.

The reply of the Third International was made, not to the ILP leaders, but over their heads.

It called on Marxists in the ILP to break with MacDonald and company and help found a British Communist Party.

After the attempt to form the half-way house International, decisively referred to as the 'two-and-a-half', the ILP returned to the Second International.

Throughout the 1920s, despite all kinds of left phrases, the ILP remained a reformist party.

In 1924, and again in 1929, its leader MacDonald became His Majesty's Prime Minister. The 1925 ILP conference approved the actions of the 1924 Labour government.

The attacks of the second Labour government on the workers and its final collapse in 1931 made it impossible to paper over the cracks that time.

But as Geoff Pilling showed in his 'Newsletter' article on the question (August 19), the programme of the ILP was incapable of preparing the workers for the economic and political crisis or the betrayal of the government by MacDonald.

Maxton, Brockway and Jowett were themselves as far from taking up the real issues as the Labour Party leader. That was why the split between the ILP and the Labour Party was on the incidental issue of the rights of MPs and had nothing to do with the fight against reformist betrayal.

In 'Where is Britain Going?' in 1925, Trotsky had written: 'The left-wing of the Labour Party represents an attempt at the resurrection of centrism within the social-imperialist party of MacDonald.'

It thus reflects the agitation of a part of the Labour bureaucracy for a connection with the leftward-moving masses.' (Pages 130-131.)

Radical

After the betrayals of the 1926 General Strike and of the 1929 Labour government, the ILP left was free to play with radical words, confident that the right wing would always save it from the responsibility of matching them with deeds.

After the disaffiliation from the Labour Party, Brockway could proclaim at the 1932 conference:

'We must become a Party of militant Marxist socialists'. But he had no intention of breaking with Jowett, Kirkwood or Maxton.

These gentlemen were now aiming at building a second reformist party, while searching for a chance to rejoin the Labour Party on favourable terms.

The ILP had formally disaffiliated from the Labour Party; it never broke with reformism.

This is what gave the disputes in the ILP in the 1930s such a dream-like quality.

Many on the left argued for a revolutionary programme. But they could re-elect Jowett



Maxton advocated abstentionism when Mussolini invaded Abyssinia in 1935-1936. Above: Fascist troops on their way to Abyssinia.

By John Crawford

to have Maxton with a false point of view than a correct point of view without Maxton.

'That is the fate of centrism — to consider the incidental serious and the serious thing incidental. That is why centrism should never be taken seriously.' ('In the Middle of the Road'.)

If Liddle and Turner imagine they can brush aside such a record of treachery and capitulation with a brief apology, their attitude to our policies today is not surprising.

Alternative

We have fought to prepare a revolutionary alternative to the Wilson government's betrayals.

We have refused to stand aside from any of the struggles which the working class has engaged in, which brought it into collision with this government.

In these battles we worked to develop the theoretical basis for Marxist political leadership in the trade unions.

Continually reversing form and content, Liddle and Turner condemn these actions as 'leftist bravado', while in calling on workers not to pay the trade union political levy, they ape precisely the worst features of third-period Stalinism.

At the same time as they declare the Labour Party a 'capitalist party', they oppose our campaign to make the 'left' MPs fight Wilson. It is worth noting that many of these MPs learned how to cover adaptation to the right wing with left talk from the ILP itself.

But even worse than their distortions on the question of reformism are the remarks Liddle and Turner make about Stalinism.

To say that the opportunist leaders of the ILP, who opposed the workers' revolution in 1917, predicted the rise of Stalinism is a downright lie. To pretend that the ILP fought Stalinism is a joke in bad taste.

In 1933, the ILP disaffiliated for the second time from the Second International to facilitate its negotiations with the Stalinist shell of the Third.

For five years these discussions continued. When they began the CP was at the end of its ultra-left period. By the



The ILP leaders were negotiating a 'popular front' with the Stalinists at the same time as the POUM, their Spanish opposite numbers, were being murdered by the GPU. Above: A 'popular front' demonstration in Madrid 1936.

time they finished, it had swung over to the right.

The attempt to evade the issue of reformism versus revolution in 1920 was echoed 15 years later in the evasion of the struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

Appeal

Trotsky's call to the Marxists in the ILP to join the Fourth International was coupled by him with the appeal to turn away from the Stalinists and towards the surviving movement in the working class.

Instead, Brockway and company formed the London Bureau, with similar groups abroad. This 'three-and-a-quarter International' was characterized by Trotsky as 'the International of squeezed lemons'.

'But the centrist does not take anything seriously,' he wrote. 'Even when he now admits there is no longer a proletarian international, he nevertheless hesitates to build one.'

'Why? Because he has no principles, because he can't have any. For if he but once makes the sober attempt to adopt a principled position on only one important question, he promptly receives an ultimatum from the right, and starts to climb down.'

'How can he think of a rounded-out revolutionary programme under such circumstances?'

'He then expresses his spiritual and moral helplessness in the form of profound aphorisms, that the new international must come from "the development of socialist movements", that is from the historical process which really ought to produce something one day.' ('In the Middle of the Road'.)

The Moscow Trials brought out the real nature of the ILP's refusal to face the issue of the Fourth International. When Zinoviev and Kameney were tried in July 1936, the ILP 'New Leader' denounced the trial as a fraud.

But at this time, the leaders were negotiating a 'popular front' with Stalinists and Liberals. And so it would have been 'tactless' to make a direct defence of Trotsky against the international flood

of Stalinist slander and murder. In 1937, the Stalinists in Spain began the persecution of POUM, the Spanish opposite number of the ILP, and the murder of its leaders.

Even when ILP members fighting in Spain fell victim to the GPU murder machine, the ILP 'lefts' restricted themselves to routine protests.

Brockway himself says: 'We restrained our disappointment about what was happening in Russia for many months, speaking of it only among ourselves, because we did not want to encourage capitalist attacks on Russia; but at last we could be silent no longer. The imperative urge to speak out came to me whilst at an international conference in Paris in May 1938.' ('Inside the Left'.)

Federation

Having refused in 1937 to serve on the Dewey Commission to investigate the allegations of the Trials, Brockway now wrote an appeal to Stalin to stop his policy of murder.

And when the 'popular front' negotiations collapsed, the ILP 'lefts' proposed a 'workers' front', a federation of Internationals to include everyone from the anarchists to the Labourites.

The essence of Trotsky's fight for Bolshevism after Lenin's death, and for the Fourth International after 1933, was his analysis of Stalinism as a petty-bourgeois tendency hostile to the October Revolution.

The revolution had been betrayed by this bureaucratic caste, but not destroyed.

Ultra-lefts and opportunists alike argued that nothing remained of October and that the degeneration of the USSR was the inevitable outcome of Bolshevism.

Trotsky fought them with all his power. For these enemies of revolution were striking at the very heart of the struggle to spread the October Revolution.

They were capitulating both to imperialism and to Stalinism itself.

For the centrist ILP, combining the worst features of sectarianism and opportunism,

opposition to the Fourth International and its defence of the gains of 1917 was essentially a means of avoiding the struggle for revolutionary leadership, that is, for Bolshevism.

Theory

This is the tradition upheld by Liddle and Turner. Against it, Trotskyism, the continuator of Bolshevism, struggles for the development of theory, of revolutionary consciousness, in the working class.

As a wave of struggle sweeps masses of workers into class battles throughout Europe, this fight for leadership based on Marxist theory is the vital question.

When Liddle and Turner hit at this fight, they strike a blow, however puny, at the heart and brain of the working class.

No matter what they may say about 'the final goal of a socialist world', their hands are guided by the ideological pressures of capitalism.

It is by no means surprising to hear that these very individuals were to be found last month engaged in a debate with the National Front.

The ILP is dead, but centrism remains a tendency to be fought in new forms.

The cowardice of the Labour 'lefts' and Union leaders in refusing to fight the treachery of Wilson, derives from the same tradition.

Power

But we fight these tendencies under quite different conditions from the pre-war period.

The massive strength of the working class in the midst of the deepening world capitalist crisis makes it much more difficult for centrist phrases to retain their plausibility for very long.

But there is no automatic victory for Marxism.

A constant struggle for Marxist theory and a conscious battle to draw on the historical experience of the workers' movement is the only basis for the overcoming of centrism and the preparation for the working class to take power.

CINEMA

By Brian Moore

LIKE 'Women in Love', reviewed last week, 'Kes' (directed by Ken Loach from the novel by Barry Hines, shown at the London Film Festival) is set in a mining community.

Photographed on location in Barnsley, it is the story of Billy Casper, who trains a kestrel; an inoffensive enough subject one would think. Good safe Disney territory.

Yet 'Kes' is one of the most moving and passionate indictments against capitalism made by a British director.

In following the last few months at school of Billy, the film poses over and over again human wastage, creative talents stunted by a system that demands nothing more than that they provide fodder for exploitation and industry.

For in this school, like thousands throughout the country, the unspoken recognition by pupils is that their ultimate destiny is to join the ranks of the labouring class, to become slaves to the time clock, to lose their liberty in a life sentence, where weekends and holidays are only fleeting respites from jobs that have no meaning or human reward.

That is education under capitalism for the vast majority, that only a few escape, and that is the future that is as certain as the pits that violate the landscape.

This is the context of 'Kes', and it is in retreat from it that Billy trains the kestrel, to discover, in the free flight of the bird—a bird that for all its training preserves its own predatory instincts as bird of prey—his own private world, his own outlet for what he thinks and feels.

Rarely does he communicate publicly, yet there is one moment he holds his class spellbound by explaining to them how he trained Kes.

Hesitant at first, with the usual suspicion towards the teacher and class, he becomes totally involved and eloquent about his passion.

It is the only time in the classroom that everybody is completely absorbed.

Otherwise he is constantly shouted at for not paying attention, for being late, for being elsewhere—and he is—for school is something meaningless to him, where he is made the butt of the masters' aggression.

There is a marvellously filmed sequence where the boys are playing football, completely uninterested in the game. It is cold. They shiver while the master plays out his fantasies of being referee and Bobby Charlton all rolled into one.

This is a brilliant comedy sequence which reveals an eye for detail; it completely recreates those nightmare compulsory games periods.

'Kes' is a sharp, critical and at times lyrical film. It avoids sentimentality by its honesty. It has a genuine respect for reality, for the authenticity of working-class life without glamorizing it.

Its detailed observation is absolutely echoed in the performances, which are of a kind that have never appeared in British films.

They are straightforward, rooted in reality, not people that live only on celluloid, but with all the rawness, sudden ingenuity, of life itself.

With 'Kes', Ken Loach has found himself as a film director, and one of enormous talent at that.

He has broken from some of the documentary jerkiness that marked his earlier film 'Poor Cow', and has achieved a style that is direct, controlled and fluid.

There is nothing explicitly political in the film, yet it is a political understanding that underlies the selection and context of the action.

By insisting that 'this is how it is' with a relentless truthfulness, 'Kes' poses also that it must be changed.

There can be no questions of reforms in education, because the relationship between education and class exploitation is a direct one.

The one teacher in the film who shows some interest in Billy remains against his will a do-gooder, who can make no real change for Billy, for the problem involves the totality of society.

It is with the Billies acting as a class in revolutionary struggle that the future resides.

From all accounts it is uncertain whether 'Kes' will be given a general release.

It would be an outrage if this film is not shown and the strongest possible pressure must be applied to ensure that it is.

And after the Festival?

ANOTHER film in the Festival again probably will not be seen by a mass audience.

It is called 'Mandabi' (the 'Postal Order') and is made by a Senegalese director.

To my knowledge it is the first film made by an African director specifically about life in Africa.

It is a far cry from much of the western bourgeois rubbish that has appeared in this festival.

For this is a film from the grass roots of Africa that lays bare the glaring inequalities of wealth, the economic backwardness, the raw need of survival, financial and cultural impoverishment.

Its story is simple and its style of presentation is similarly direct and unvarnished.

Tontan, a Senegalese in his fifties, a man who lives by the book, by his religion, by his culture, who has two wives and a family as decreed by his religion, lives in a shanty community in Dakar.

Like most of his neighbours he has been unemployed for years.

One day a postal order arrives from his nephew who has gone to Paris to find a job. The job he has is sweeping the roads and just from the lines of the letter one glimpses the isolation from his family and friends, the loneliness in the metropolis, that unemployment has forced upon him.

Immediately the whole community is curious. The tradesmen he owes money to see a chance of recouping their debts; the other unemployed see a new source for survival; his wives see the chance of stocking up food and buying some clothes.

But Tontan has to cash the postal order first and it is here that his nightmare begins, for unless he can produce an Identity Card the Post Office will not hand over the money.

He begins his long trek around the various officials, completely at the mercy of the petty functionaries who speak to him in French, who show him forms that he cannot read.

He is hustled, conned, cheated at every turn, until finally the local schoolmaster promises to cash the order for him.

By now Tontan is even more in debt; the creditors bang on the door, his nephew's mother demands her money, and the final straw comes when the schoolmaster announces that a pickpocket has stolen the money.

Tontan breaks down, crying: 'It is impossible to be honest in Senegal'.

Mandabi gives insights into life in underdeveloped countries that are rarely glimpsed in the West.

For what is foremost in the experience is the total pre-occupation with money, with survival.

Everybody is driven to it, where hustling becomes a full-time occupation.

The film reveals whole layers of exploitation with an unpretentious honesty and often humour.

For us it should be a reminder that this is life in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, that this is the price of imperialism paid for in total impoverishment, that on the backs of Tontans the imperialists have plundered and massed their wealth.

Two thirds of the globe live like this, in poverty, illiteracy and sickness.

'Mandabi' reminds us of it.

WHEN BETTY REID wrote her pamphlet attacking British Trotskyism, she used the classical Stalinist tactic of combining political distortion with slanders on individuals and organizations.

But within this long-established Stalinist framework there are important changes. Until at least 1956, all tendencies claiming to be Trotskyist were slandered with equal vigour.

Before and during the last war, even groups such as the ILP were roundly condemned as fascist together with the Fourth International simply because certain individuals within these organizations came close to Trotsky's views on specific questions of policy.

But as we pointed out in part four of our reply to Reid, the crisis of Stalinism and the revisionists has created a situation where anti-Trotskyist hacks such as Mrs Reid are forced to discriminate between genuine Trotskyists and those that use the name of the Fourth International as a cover for their own capitulation to Stalinism.

Politely

The only organization singled out by Reid for this special type of Stalinist slander is, of course, the Socialist Labour League.

The anti-Soviet 'International Socialism' group and the openly anti-Marxist 'Solidarity' are treated quite politely in comparison with Reid's series of slurs on SLL methods and leadership.

With one exception, the National Secretary of the League is referred to as either 'Mr Healy' or just 'Healy'.

But when Reid turns to the various revisionist groups, her tone softens. Instead we have Ted Grant (twice) and the highly familiar Ernest Tate (also twice).

A small point? No.

The style is also the politics. Mrs Reid's politics are Stalinist, and cannot but be full of hatred for the principles of Trotskyism.

This hatred is expressed in a subjective form through the habit of addressing her revisionist allies by their first names and her most bitter and long-standing Trotskyist enemies as 'Mr Healy'.

Come To It: The World of James Thurber.

10.20 Doubts and Certainties USA: Interview with Senator Edmund Muskie.

10.45 News Summary and Weather.

10.50 Line-Up.

I.T.V.

11.00-11.57 a.m. Schools. 1.40-2.55 p.m. Schools. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 The Tingha and Tucker Club. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Lift Off. 5.20 Sexton Blake. 5.50 News From ITN.

6.03 Today.

6.30 The Ghost and Mrs. Muir.

7.30 Coronation Street.

8.00 The Champions.

9.00 Special Branch.

10.00 News At Ten.

10.30 Lonnie.

11.00 Professional Wrestling.

11.45 The Papers.

12.00 midnight Father D'Arcy's Friends and Contemporaries.



Betty Reid: Still uses old Stalinist slanders against Trotskyism.

Betty Reid and the Socialist Labour League

By Robert Black

Reid also seeks to draw a contrast between Stalinist methods of political persuasion, which operate 'by argument and discussion and participation in struggle', and those of the Socialist Labour League.

According to Reid, 'its finances, rules, conferences are all private. It faithfully maintains the atmosphere of conspiracy, feuding, public attack upon individuals and blow-by-blow accounts of controversies with rival groupings'. (p. 22.)

This is perhaps the most impudent slander of all. The Stalinist Reid, who endorsed all the crimes of Stalin, has the audacity to lecture the Socialist Labour League on the conduct of its internal affairs!

The political struggles that have developed between opposed tendencies within the Trotskyist movement have always revolved around questions of basic principles.

As far as our conferences are concerned, they are private for the obvious reason that we prefer to hammer out our strategy free from the scrutiny of the capitalist press and

other representatives of the class enemy.

We take our opponents seriously, and therefore conduct our internal affairs with a corresponding sense of responsibility to our membership and the working class as a whole.

As for our funds, all our financial support comes from our members and supporters in the working class.

No secret

This is no secret, as Reid tries to make out. We have published all the relevant details of our funds for the launching and maintenance of our press.

Collections were held at public rallies and the sums collected announced both at the meetings and in the columns of our press.

Donations from the Young Socialists towards the development of our press have also been publicly announced and published.

By reviving the old Stalinist

bogey of 'secret finance', Reid harks back to the days when Stalinists, taking their cue from the Moscow Trials, accused the Trotskyist movement of taking money from Hitler.

We warn Reid and company that any attempt to peddle an updated version of this myth around the labour movement will be dealt with in the same way as we dealt with the futile Stalinist attempts to exclude the Workers Press from the CP Congress.

Remember, Reid, Gollan and company, this is not 1937.

Unable to take on the SLL politically, Reid has to resort to slanders such as these:

No truth

'The techniques of keeping members at a high pitch of activity and excitement, promising them the leadership of the revolution as an immediate perspective, and launching them into battle against a sea of enemies, has its own hazards. The casualty rate is very high, the average length of membership very low, the effect upon leading figures totally decimating, as is seen by the high rate at which these names disappear, and by the absence of any influence in the adult movement.' (pp 21-22.)

There is not a truthful statement in the entire quotation.

We do not mobilize our youth comrades on the basis of 'instant revolution'. As Reid admits elsewhere in her pamphlet, we won the majority of the Labour Party Young Socialists to Trotskyism during the period from 1960 to 1964, and successfully launched an independent youth movement in the midst of the opportunist stampede surrounding the election of the Wilson government.

The Labour Party bureaucracy cannot be defeated on its own ground by the mouthing of a few crude slogans and cliches, and Reid knows it.

We had a long-term perspective of building a revolutionary youth movement when we broke from the Labour Party in 1964. From that foundation have come the Trotskyist daily paper and all our advances in the trade unions.

Rapid growth

When Reid claims that we have no influence in the adult movement, she is whistling in the dark to console herself and her Stalinist friends.

It is precisely the rapid growth of the League in the trade unions that has forced the Stalinists to come out with this latest attack by Reid.

But the slander most calculated to discredit the leadership of the Socialist Labour League and divert attention away from its policies and principles is Reid's reference to our allegedly high 'casualty rate'.

The opposite is the case. Especially since the split from the 'state capitalists' and Pablotite revisionists (the groups led by T. Cliff and J. Lawrence) the Socialist Labour League has built up a basic cadre that is constantly being strengthened by political

developments in the Young Socialists and amongst our supporters in the adult movement, now organized in the All Trades Unions Alliance.

There is in the leadership of the League a combination of many generations and layers of the working-class movement, blended with intellectuals who have broken from Stalinism and social democracy.

It is the political striking power and principled firmness of this leadership that Reid hates and slanders.

When she lyingly refers to the decimation of 'leading figures', she is really protesting against the principled way in which we have always carried through our splits with revisionist and opportunist elements. Lawrence was one.

He joined Mrs Reid and the Stalinists.

Cliff became an apologist for imperialism by adopting a 'neutral' position in the Korean War.

Brian Behan became an advocate of the type of policy Reid ascribes to us—'instant revolution'—and openly went over to syndicalism.

In each case, the break came on questions of principle, in which the membership were educated in the struggle against opportunism and encouraged to take up the fight for Marxist theory.

Splits and unifications have always been an integral part of the Marxist movement.

When Stalinism undergoes splits, the result is not greater clarification and the development of principle, but greater confusion and the further debasement of Marxism.

The great split in the international Stalinist movement between China and the Soviet Union was first of all dismissed as the creation of 'Kremlinologists'.

Moscow line

Then, when it could no longer be concealed, the leadership of the British Party did all it could to secure the membership for the Moscow line.

When the Kremlin began to slander Mao, Gollan and company chimed in with their own special variety of abuse. As always, the principled basis of the crisis was obscured from the membership.

So when the defections to the various Maoist grouplets began, the degeneration of those looking to Peking for an alternative to Gollan and Kosygin was if anything accelerated.

The real test of our principles comes with their application to the task of building revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement.

This is after all their sole purpose.

Reid sees something comic in Trotsky's claim that the Fourth International is the only revolutionary current on this planet worthy of the name.

The most effective answer to this, and all her other attacks on Trotskyism, is to build the British section of the Fourth International, the movement that Reid and her fellow Stalinists fear above all else.



Ken Loach talks to the young Barnsley schoolboy who plays Billy Casper, before shooting a scene for 'Kes', shown at the London Film Festival and still doubtful for general release.

B.B.C.-1

9.15 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 12.25 p.m. Appa Hi Ghar Samajhiye. 12.55 Disc A Dawn. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weatherman. 2.05-2.50 Schools. 3.45 Representing the Union. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 There Was This Dog. 5.15 Tom Tom. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 News and Weather. 6.00 London-Nationwide. 6.45 The Doctors. 7.10 The Laugh Parade. 8.50 The Main News and Weather. 9.10 The Wednesday Play: 'Double Bill' starring Marty Feldman. 10.24 24 Hours. 10.40 Sportsnight With Coleman. 11.25 Weatherman.

All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Midlands Today. Look East Weather. Nationwide: 11.27 News Summary and Weather for the Midlands and East Anglia. Northern England: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Look North. Weather. Nationwide: 11.27 Northern News Headlines. Weather.

TODAYS TV

Wales: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Wales Today. Nationwide. 6.45-7.10 Heddidi. 10.40-11.25 European Soccer: Cardiff City v. Goztepe Imit of Turkey. Scotland: 2.30-2.50 p.m. Schools. 6.00-6.45 Reporting Scotland. 10.40-10.55 Sportsrel. 10.55-11.10 Made in Britain. 11.10 Epilogue. Scottish News Headlines. Weather. Northern Ireland: 10.25-10.45 a.m. Schools. 6.00-6.45 p.m. Scene Around Six. Northern Ireland News. Weather. Nationwide: 11.27 Northern Ireland News Headlines. Weather. South and West: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Points West. South Today. Spotlight South. West. Weather. Nationwide: 11.27 South and West News Headlines. Weather.

B.B.C.-2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.00 Expecting A Baby. 7.30 Newsroom and Weather. 8.00 Man Alive: 'Cease Fire'. 8.50 Know Your Onions. 9.10 Show Of The Week: Vera Lynn and guests. 9.55 My World... And Wel-

ATV MIDLANDS:

4.00 p.m. News Headlines. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 News Of Ivy. 4.40 The Tingha and Tucker Club. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 8.00 Department S. 11.45 Pulse. Weather Forecast.

YORKSHIRE:

4.00 p.m. Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Survival. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.30 Hogan's Heroes. 8.00 The Saint. 11.45 Late Weather.

GRANADA:

3.45 p.m. Encore. 4.25 The Short Story. 6.00 The Beverly Hillsbillies. 6.25 Newsview followed by It's Trueman. 6.50 Department S. 11.45 The Papers.

TYNE TEES:

4.09 p.m. North East Newsroom. 4.11 News Headlines. 4.13 Torch. 4.30 Freud on Food. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Police Call. 6.35 Castle Haven. 8.00 Man In A Suitcase. 10.30 Face The Press: Caroline Coon. 11.45 Late News Extra. 12.02 a.m. Once Upon A Time.

SCOTTISH:

4.20 p.m. Scotland Early. 4.30 Crossroads. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 Legend Of Jesse James. 8.00 The Saint. 10.30 Sports. 11.45 Late Call.

GRAMPIAN:

4.30 p.m. Castle Haven. 6.00 Gramplan News. 6.10 Gramplan Week. 6.35 Crossroads. 8.00 The Baron. 8.55 Police News.



The Labour Party bureaucracy was defeated by the Young Socialists on its own ground. In 1964 at the height of the right-wing witch-hunt 4,000 Young Socialists march in an anti-Tory rally in London.

Enfield smelters reject TUC ruling

THE MEASURE of the Trades Union Congress's Croydon betrayal can be gauged from its disputes committee's ruling on the dispute at Johnson Matthey's smelting works at Enfield, London.

The TUC told AEF members—on strike since June 9 for union recognition—to return to work and join the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC).

Johnson Matthey is one of the largest processors of precious metals.

The majority of its trade union members are in the ISTC.

Maintenance workers, predominantly AEF, are refused all negotiating rights. The management discusses only with the right-wing ISTC. Engineering union members are refused admission to section meetings called by the ISTC and consequently denied any voice in the election of shop stewards or the ratification of agreements.

The management, needless to say, has not been slow to exploit this situation.

More pay

ISTC mates, for example, have in the past been upgraded and paid more money than AEF fitters.

But the situation really came to a head when the management negotiated a productivity agreement with ISTC under which washing-time and tea-breaks were abolished, the dinner-break slashed to half an hour, fitters' mates made to do fitters' work as required and the sick-pay scheme under which workers were paid on production of a sick note—abolished.

In return, the management offered a magnificent... 41d. an hour.

The AEF members had no say in this agreement. What is more, they know of no meeting where ISTC members themselves voted on it.

Following this, the AEF members insisted on recognition and when it was refused withdrew their labour on June 9.

There have been numerous incidents throughout the strike and police have, on several occasions, escorted drivers through the picket line.

Shortly after the strike began, Esso drivers were persuaded not to deliver oil supplies.

Management then purchased two old oil tenders and allegedly used ISTC shop stewards to drive them.

This manoeuvre was defeated when the strikers followed the tankers to a supply depot and persuaded workers there to refuse to fill them.

Guard mounted

Supplies are now being delivered by rail and left at nearby sidings where a guard of ISTC members is reported to have been mounted.

Management found this was necessary when the wagons were found to be running dry overnight.

Pickets have been attacked by gangs with hammers and piping and their hut has been demolished by a lorry.

The dispute was referred to a TUC disputes committee, which ruled that the men should go back to work, resign from the AEF and join ISTC.

The men have rejected this. The productivity agreement referred to above is a model for the Prices and Incomes Act. A fight against it is necessarily political.

Although the AEF's Enfield district committee—mainly centrist and 'Tribune'-ite in composition—has supported the strike, organized a district levy and circulated a blacklist of suppliers and contractors, it is now faced with entirely new problems.

Whilst there is now talk of a district stoppage of work, this must be seen as part of the struggle inside the trade unions to build a new revolutionary leadership.

Principles

Big principled questions are at stake.

The right of a worker to belong to the union of his choice; the right to representation and defence of working conditions.

But a victory will mean more than that.

It will be a big blow against the plans of Wilson and the employers.

It would also be a slap in the face for those 'lefts' who cover up for Wilson. Strikers are already angry at the alleged apathy of the two local AEF-sponsored MPs.

Other sections of workers in the area must be mobilized.

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Vauxhall's, Luton Stewards warned in union letter

IN YESTERDAY'S Workers Press, we dealt with some of the actions of union officials in helping to push through Vauxhall's latest pay and productivity proposals.

BY DAVID MAUDE

Since that article was written, a duplicated letter sent out to several of Vauxhall's Luton Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers (AEF) shop stewards has been brought to our attention. This illustrates very well many of the points made in yesterday's article and also emphasises a point made previously in this paper: that attempts by union officials to discipline shop stewards may well become a feature of the new deal in practice.

As is well known, an appendix to the proposed Vauxhall deal agrees that letters will be exchanged between union district officers and the company's area managers agreeing to clamp down on unofficial strikes.

The letter says the following, before the deal has even been signed (spelling and punctuation as in the original). 'It has come to the notice of district committee, that you ignored the instruction issued to you on 30th October, relative to the wages situation at Vauxhall Motors on that no useful purpose could be served, at this late stage in attending a mass meeting and fermenting opposition when already the decision of your district committee, having ascertained the viewpoint of the membership, was that the agreement should be signed.'

'The forward policy concerning wages at Vauxhall Motors was conveyed to you in that letter and that policy requires loyal support from every shop steward, as well as, membership plus complete trade union organization if it is to be brought to fruition.'

'Instructions'

'Your district committee has directed, that you receive a warning as to your behaviour as a shop steward and instructions must not be disregarded in the future.'

'We trust, therefore, that you will devote your time and attention behind the policy as defined and conform to the only known method of achievement which is by 100 per cent organization within the recognized machinery of the movement.'

'Copy of this letter has been sent to your branch secretary, that this warning can be recorded at your branch, as well as, on the official records of district committee.'

Is this the shape of things to come?

Liverpool men join B.R.S. strike

THE British Road Services strike spread yesterday when 500 drivers, porters and loaders at the main parcels depot in Liverpool voted to come out.

The strike started on Monday with a one-day stoppage by 4,000 drivers and loaders, mainly in the Midlands and London.

Drivers' delegates from 52 depots meeting in Birmingham, then decided to extend the strike indefinitely and to call for support from other areas.

Mr Alan Law, a T&GWU regional trade group secretary, said that the men earned an average £20 for a 50-hour week and were demanding a substantial increase on the basic rate.

They had rejected a management offer of a bonus scheme tied to increased productivity.

'The men are not interested in productivity schemes until they get a realistic basic rate', Mr Law said.

A BRS Parcels Ltd spokesman said that the strike was the more serious because it came at the start of the Christmas rush.

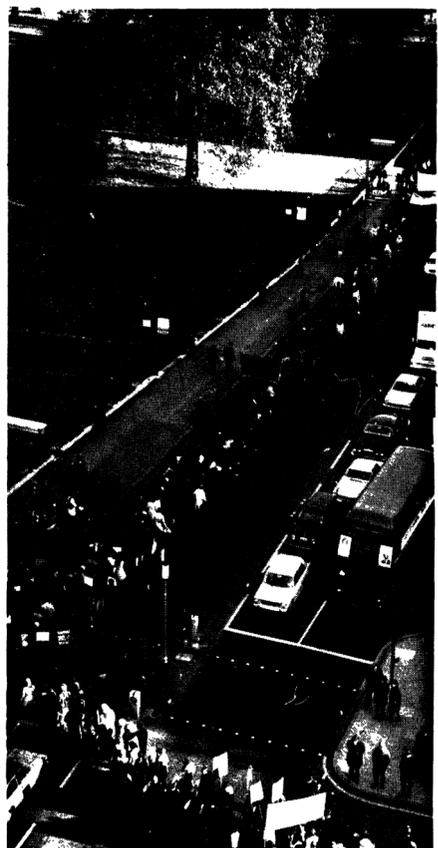
Workers at the BRS Petteril Bridge depot in Carlisle staged a one-day strike yesterday in support of the rest of the country.

Genes... only a beginning

A TEAM of scientists from Harvard Medical school in the United States have succeeded in isolating a group of genes from a bacterium.

An understanding of genetic material—which determines what characteristics are inherited by living organisms—is essential if inherited physical disabilities and diseases are to be eliminated in plants, animals and humans.

A more extensive article will be published in 'Scientific World' in Workers Press on Thursday, December 4.



Many Outer London teachers followed the example of their colleagues in the capital (seen above) in militant marches to back their demand for a £135-a-year rise. They reject the derisory £50-a-year offer by the Burnham Committee.

Crabtrees, Leeds Engineers strike against shifting pay award

ENGINEERING workers at Crabtrees, Leeds, on strike against the management's attempts to put the bulk of the engineers' pay award onto bonus instead of basic earnings, meet today.

By our Industrial reporter

blacked all work from Crabtrees. I understand Manns have offered machinists 10s. on the basic and Howsons have offered 17s.

This is a clear attempt to split workers within the combine.

Committee formed

Apprentices at Crabtrees cannot strike because of their indentures, but an apprentices' committee has been formed and a ban placed on overtime and piecework.

No concession

On Friday, November 21 local AEF official John Binns, convenor Arthur Benn and senior shop steward Terry Jacques met employers' representatives, including a leading official from the Crabtrees combine, Mr Farmer, but the management would make no concessions.

George Manns and Howsons—local factories which, like Crabtrees, are in the Vickers combine—have

Teachers

FROM PAGE ONE real show of united action for many years.

This must not be thrown away by the direction of teachers' feelings into purely professional, 'protest' channels.

Reasons

One of the reasons given at Hounslow by the NUT for not calling out more teachers in the planned two-week strikes was that the size of the response to this call would 'prevent the executive dealing with this in the way it intended'.

In other words, it would not be able to pay the teachers involved if more than a relatively small number—the figure mentioned in the latest issue of the NUT's journal is 'at least 1,000'—came out.

Is this approach going to win the teachers' claim? More and more teachers are coming to realize that it is not.

Only a firm decision for all-out, protracted action on a national scale is going to convince the Burnham Committee and the government that the teachers mean business.

More backing for Grangemouth boilermakers

BIRKENHEAD No. 2 Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers has condemned the national executive and seconded the resolution put forward by the union's Glasgow No. 11 branch calling for a national stoppage in support of the Grangemouth B-P site strikers (reported in last Thursday's Workers Press, November 20).

A similar resolution has been carried by Liverpool's No. 2 ASB branch.

This condemns all productivity deals and calls for the resignation of the executive committee.

Both resolutions were carried unanimously.

Five hundred boilermakers were sacked from the site nine weeks ago after they rejected a productivity deal.

The ASB last week called off all 'blacking' action in support of the men, who have continued manning a picket line.

Coventry Radiators suspend press operators

TWO HUNDRED press operators at Coventry Radiators were suspended on Monday for allegedly going slow on their daily schedule.

The men claim that the firm is violating an agreement made with them when they accepted a new productivity deal.

By a Workers Press correspondent

must be thrown out before the whole factory is placed on it.

Workers must fight for the right to control their pace of work.

The productivity deal is along Measured-Day Work lines. A standard quantity of production per day yields a wage of just over 8s. an hour.

On top of this standard quantity the firm sets a target to be achieved on that day, yielding, in theory, a 4s.-an-hour bonus.

Added to the national award this gives an average total rate of 16s. an hour.

The men claim they have the right to dispute the daily targets and, when in dispute, to work to the basic standard quantity producing the wage of 8s. an hour plus national award.

The firm is now trying to enforce its daily targets.

Same issue

The suspension follows a three-day strike last week of press operators and other production workers over the suspension of a group of workers on the same issue.

A more militant leadership has recently been elected in the factory, reflecting the desire of the men to fight for decent earnings without having to knuckle under a killing pace.

This latest suspension should be a warning to all Coventry Radiators workers.

The productivity scheme

Vietnam war 'could last 200 years'

-U.S. GENERAL INTERVIEWED

By a foreign correspondent

ACCORDING to Lieutenant-General Julian Ewell of the US forces in Vietnam, the war there will go on 'for the next 50 to 150 years'.

After making routine boasts that the liberation forces were on their last legs—this has been the

official line for at least the last four years—Ewell gave his own view of the real prospects for US imperialism in an interview at Long Binh on Monday:

'In my personal opinion, if you have a cut and run in Vietnam, it is going to be awfully tough sledding for the next 150 to 200 years, whereas if you manage your way out of it with some reasonable arrangement your future problems may be much less.'

Ewell's 'reasonable arrangement' appears to be the creation of Saigon-based puppet forces that can take over the war.

But everybody knows, most of all the Saigon leaders themselves, that the creation of such a force is impossible.

Nixon also knows it. That is why he has elected to maintain 500,000 troops in the South to bolster up his Saigon puppets.

LIE TO ILLUSION

When leaders of the US army begin to talk seriously of a 200-year war against the Asian masses, this really gives the lie to all pacifists, Stalinists and liberals who spread the illusion that this war can be ended by negotiations.

US imperialism cannot afford to retreat from Vietnam.

It must be defeated, both militarily and politically, by the international action of the working class.

AMBULANCE STRIKE

SEVENTY ambulancemen at Stoke-on-Trent (Staffs) are holding a one-day strike today to back their £2 pay claim. They were answering only emergency calls.

DON'T BE BEASTLY TO BROWN

FROM PAGE ONE

pedency and contempt for principle and support of the labour movement shackled to the capitalist class and makes the 'left' betray over and over again.

It is the same cretinous belief that led Tribune in its editorial 'January 6, 1967' to state:

'There is no need to doubt the sincerity of George Brown's desire to see the Vietnam war brought to an end.'

How touching! Nobody, of course, doubts the sincerity of Mr Brown. At his belated support of the H-bomb attacks on the unions; support of immigration control etc.—are sincere.

The question was—and is—on whose terms does Brown and for that matter Mr Foot want the war concluded?

On this fundamental issue very little separates the right from the 'left'.

They all agree that 'peace' can come only through negotiation and through the good offices of the UNO—the thieves' kitchen of imperialism.

None of them ever conceived of the possibility that an enduring peace will come only through the military defeat of US imperialism as a result of the solidarity of the Vietnamese, European and American workers.

Rejecting the path of class struggle and active solidarity 'Tribune' and the 'lefts' now find themselves in the blind alley of imperialist diplomacy and Soviet subterfuge.

Electric fence

Nothing exemplifies this cynicism better than the article of Russell Kerr MP in 'Tribune' (September 29, 1967) called 'A glimmer of hope in Vietnam' in which he supported unreservedly the creation of an electrified fence across the de-militarized zone.

Kerr, arguing more like a logistics expert for Johnson than a Labour MP, concluded his article in the most sinister way:

● Stop Wilson's visit to the US!

● All out on January 11!

● Victory to the NLF!

● Down with secret diplomacy.



Editor Mike Banda



YS secretary Sheila Torrance

Scotland greets our press

FROM M. SHAW

'WE HAVE launched the Workers Press, which will help us to win the revolutionary leadership of the working class', Editor Mike Banda told an enthusiastic rally of supporters of the daily paper in the Partick Burgh Halls, Glasgow, on Sunday November 23.

Referring to productivity deals being introduced in industries up and down the country, he warned against the agreement reached between the Labour leaders and the TUC, the result of which could be seen in the BSR and Grangemouth disputes.

At BSR, when workers thought after 15 weeks of struggle that victory was in their grasp, they found it was a fraud.

At Grangemouth the unity of the working class was broken through inter-union disputes engendered by productivity deals.

Political issue

Productivity was not just an industrial issue, but also a political issue.

The capitalist class decided the question of productivity, not the working class.

The only solution was expropriation of industry and to operate it according to a national plan for the benefit of the working class.

'We want a new kind of leadership which will fight for all the interests of the working class—for socialism—not only in Britain but throughout the world. We fight to make the Workers Press an instrument for the liberation of the working class in Britain and abroad', he said.

Sheila Torrance, national secretary of the Young Socialists, spoke of the tremendous part played by young people in achieving the daily paper through building the Young Socialists and forging a unity with older workers by helping to build the All Trades Unions Alliance.

Plans were now being laid

Near future

'We believe in socialism in the near future. We intend to see the working class take the power in our lifetime. That is what the Young Socialists is pledged to do', she said.

Pat Howden, convenor of Sunbeam Electric, East Kilbride, speaking in a personal capacity, condemned the sell-outs which had been carried out by union leaders.

He was particularly concerned about the new industries introduced into new towns like East Kilbride where men found it difficult to obtain employment and women had to work in non-union factories.

He quoted the example of BSR and outlined the history of the present four-month-long dispute.

He paid tribute to the tremendous struggle fought by the women and girls in the face of the resistance of the employers, union leaders, and police brutality.

Abie Courtney, member of the boilermakers' society, also complained of police brutality against pickets at the BP site at Grangemouth.

He warned against the acceptance of any productivity deals which, he said, were imposed on the working class because of capitalism's crisis.

The Grangemouth agreement contained a clause which, in effect, was a strike-breaking clause designed to break the unity of the various sections of workers on the job.

No confidence

He warned also against placing confidence in the Communist Party and stated that the 'Morning Star' reporter had said he could not go down to report the Grangemouth strike because it

Rail productivity deal on January 1

THE NEW stage of the productivity deal for railway workers which comes into force on January 1, 1970, is a declaration of war on the rank and file by management and union leaders.

The Workers Press has always opposed productivity deals.

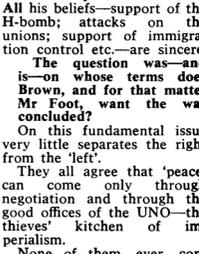
As 'The Newsletter' we opposed Frank Lane, the ex-president of the NUR, when he said in the first stage of the deal that railwaymen could sell conditions to buy wage increases.

Now this thinking is carried to its logical conclusion.

In the latest stage of the deal for a lousy 5 1/2 per cent the officials sell away the rank-and-file's right to strike.

The latest stage contains a clause granting 100 per cent trade unionism, but this is to be used against the membership.

Those workers who come out on unofficial strikes will have their trade union cards



Foot

nay, paralysed, in the face of the massacres in Vietnam and the crisis in the Labour Party?

It is only the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists who have not been caught unawares because they remained true to proletarian internationalism and the programme of world revolution.

We insistently warn the working class to place no trust in the Foots and Kerrs in the Labour Party and urge all workers to demand that Wilson and Brown be made to resign and that Wilson should not be allowed to go to Washington.

We say once again: ● Stop Wilson's visit to the US!

● All out on January 11!

● Victory to the NLF!

● Down with secret diplomacy.