

C.P. Congress —Monday End Warsaw Pact —say British Stalinists

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This false and dangerous formulation set the tone for yesterday's tired debate—confirming the total political degeneration represented by Stalinism—on the subject.

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'Britain', declared the opening lines of the resolution, 'faces a new challenge and a new opportunity to act on the side of peace and security in Europe.'

'The people in every European state have a common interest in establishing conditions for genuine security and peace in Europe, and in banishing the danger of a third world war. The main threat to peace in Europe arises from the aims of the US and West German ruling classes.'

In fact one speaker, Jack Dunman (Oxford County), appeared to support the resolution primarily because it gave the Communist Party a better opportunity to creep closer to Tories and Christians.

'The time is opportune', he said, 'for the ending of the Warsaw Pact and NATO... this gives enormous breadth to our campaign.'

And what kind of 'breadth' had Dunman in mind? Why, his old Tory friends in the National Farmers' Union and the Christian church!

'In playing their full part in this historic fight to win a secure peace', concluded Bourne, 'Communists will serve the deepest national interests of our people; our party will emerge as an ever more powerful national force.' No Communist worthy of the name can support this abject betrayal of all the revolutionary internationalist traditions and principles of 1917.

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THE WORKERS' PRESS

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By the foreign editor

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IN PARIS, despite the government ban on demonstrations and mass arrests on the eve of the protest, there took place the biggest demonstration since the May-June 1968 events.

These demonstrations, particularly in the United States, are preliminary indications of the crisis mounting in the advanced capitalist countries.

The giant US imperialism, seen by so many 'revisionist' socialists as the new capitalist super-power, has actually taken upon itself all the problems of world capitalism.

As for Nixon's claim to represent the 'silent majority', this majority staged a rally in New York in support of the war.

It consisted of less than 1,000 middle-aged citizens waving the stars and stripes and shouting loyalist slogans. Nixon did not, of course, rely only on the 'silent majority'.

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● PAGE 4 COL. 7 →

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'Stop knocking our own Party', Gollan appealed on Sunday. But neither he, nor Ramelson, nor McGahey, nor ex-Scottish organizer James Reid have been able to do any more than paper over the cracks.

In reality, the whole political fabric is falling apart.

Moving the main resolution before the conference, Gollan was forced to admit that despite the growing militancy of the working class, 'we have to register a 6 per cent decrease in membership and an overall decline in the circulation of the "Morning Star".'

The leadership has encouraged no serious attempt to examine the reasons for this remarkable contradiction or lay out any perspective for changing the situation. It cannot do so.

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By a Workers Press
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Neutral

'Far too much neutral material' that could never help the class struggle was printed in the 'Morning Star', thought John Tarver (Oxford).

John Hicks (London) proposed that non-Labour Party 'left' candidates should be supported by the Communist Party in elections where neither their own nor 'left'

Labour candidates were standing.

While such candidates did not exist at the moment, support for 'National Convention of the Left' candidates should be considered.

In Swindon, pointed out Andy Wilson (Surrey), the Trotskyists had come within 72 votes of the Communist Party candidate in the recent by-election.

A campaign amongst women and amongst the youth who wanted to change society and wanted a different life was needed, said Anne Comb (Blaydon).

Fire had to be brought back into the Party. Time and time again she had spoken to people who said, 'I agree with you, but it won't work.'

Criticism

There had to be constant criticism of the work, thought J. Barzey (Southall).

Claims that the Party had 'done something for a coloured worker' were patronizing and didn't hold water.

Algeria: Boumedienne announces major money deal

THE Algerian government has announced an unprecedented series of industrial contracts with private foreign companies.

They are to operate until the beginning of Algeria's four-year plan at the end of 1970.

Most of the contracts have been awarded to French firms and are accompanied by large loans and export credits. The four-year plan calls for

total investments amounting to £2,500 million, which will be devoted mainly to the development of the chemical, electrical, engineering and textile industries, together with mining.

President Houari Boumedienne admitted in a recent speech that foreign capital would play an important role in the development of the Algerian economy.

Profits would, however, be limited to a level decided by the Algerian government.

Despite all claims to the contrary, Algeria remains very much within the orbit of world, and particularly French, imperialism.

The nationalism of Ben Bella and his successors has resolved none of the basic problems of the Algerian masses.

TEACHERS' PAY

Selective strikes are inadequate

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Secretary Bernard Mawby announced that 1,000 teachers would be involved 'as an absolute minimum'.

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With the exception of one local women's association all Merseyside teachers' organizations co-operated in the meeting.

Burnham Committee representatives Mr Homer (NUT) and Mr Jones, National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS) stressed the importance of joint action and clearly recognised the bitter feeling of many teachers towards the £50 Burnham committee offer.

'This is not just an interim claim', said Mr Homer. 'We are fighting for our national scales over the next 10 to 12 years.'

'We're going to demonstrate to the local education authorities that we're in no mood to be trifled with.'

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By our education correspondent

arrangements for protracted strike action in selected schools.

HALF-DAY

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It was necessary to learn from workers such as the miners, dustmen and car workers that the wage freeze could be beaten.

Militant statements that teachers have 'seen the other side's point of view for long enough' are meaningless if productivity strings are accepted at a later stage.

Both the Labour government's incomes policy and productivity deals must be opposed in principle and smashed in united action.

● PAGE 4 COL. 7 →

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But many defied the warning and marched to the grave of Jan Palach, the student who burned himself to death in protest against the continuation of the Soviet occupation.

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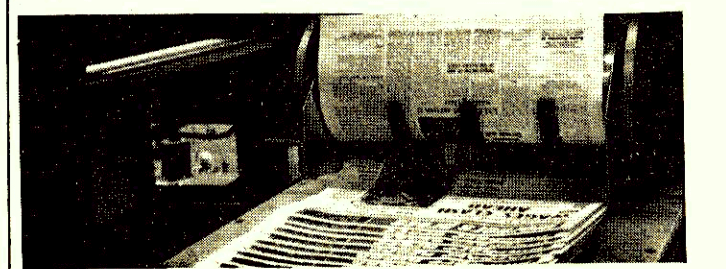
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No statement has yet been issued on the purpose of the visit.

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at three public meetings

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Speakers at all meetings will be:

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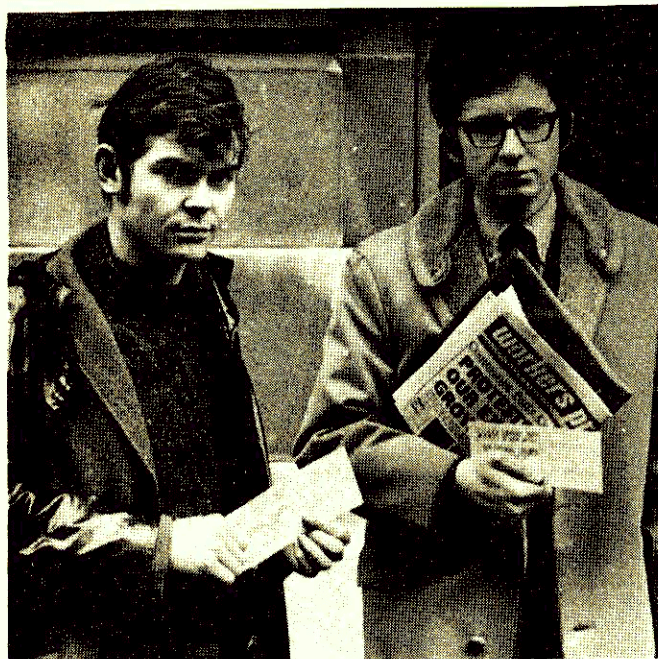
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School meals up by 3d.

SCHOOL meals are expected to rise by 3d to 1s 9d a day from April next year—an 'economy' measure by the government. The last rise was in April 1968 from 1s to 1s 6d.



How we got our credentials for C.P. Congress

WORKERS Press photographer Rex Henry (left) and industrial reporter David Maude hold up their press tickets for the Communist Party Congress outside St Pancras Town Hall on Saturday morning.

The Communist Party press office finally climbed down and handed over the credentials just before the start of the congress, having previously claimed the Workers Press could not be admitted because of 'lack of space'.

The full story of our struggle to get credentials for this congress begins on page two.

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● PAGE 4 COL. 7 →

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● PAGE 4 COL. 1 →

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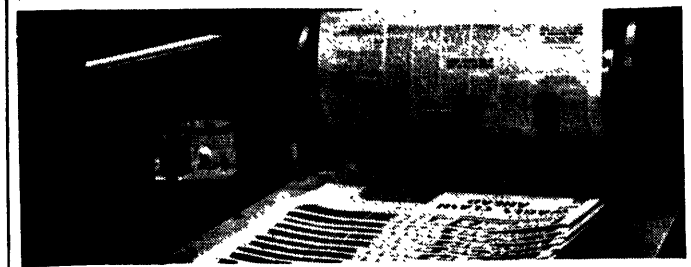
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HO CHI MINH AND THE REVISIONISTS

BY CLIF SLAUGHTER

How the Workers Press got its credentials for the C.P. Congress

STALINISM is in deep and downward crisis. This is because the Stalinist bureaucracy, being a parasitic growth on the first workers' state which reflects an accommodation to imperialism, inevitably itself goes into crisis along with imperialism.

From the Marxist standpoint, the only defence of the gains of the October Revolution is through the evolutionary struggle for power of the working class in every other country.

Because the Communist Parties are agencies of the Soviet bureaucracy, they adopt political policies of compromise which are calculated to make imperialism easier for the bureaucracy to negotiate and to exist with.

As soon as the working class moves towards the overthrow of imperialism, then the Communist Parties devote themselves to blunting and thereby preparing major defeats for the working class.

In France in 1968 the Communist Party led the workers away from the fight for power that was in their grasp.

In Czechoslovakia, the working class was moving towards the political revolution, the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Soviet leaders' reaction was to suppress the workers by force, and to accelerate their open return to all the worst methods of Stalin.

Thus Stalinist parties, while appearing to be the scene of debate and 'freedom of criticism' unprecedented in Stalin's day, are poised to play their most counter-revolutionary role.

That is the meaning of the British Stalinists' support for the 'left' opportunist trade union leaders who are helping the TUC right wing and the Labour government to cripple the working class.

Cover-up

Revisionists are those who employ the use of Marxist and Trotskyist phrases in an idealist, empiricist way to cover up the betrayals of the opportunists.

Purdie, of the 'International Marxist Group', instead of seeing Stalinism's present role as we have described it above, concluded that '... the new dominant features of these [Communist] Parties' is '... their organizational fragmentation and political diversification', so much so that in this respect '... the term Stalinist has lost its usefulness'.

In other words, precisely when a new international generation of workers can and must be trained as Marxists in bitter conflict with the counter-revolutionary actions of Stalinism, Purdie and the revisionists insist that the Communist Parties are not 'dominantly' Stalinist, but are arenas of 'fragmentation' and 'diversification'.

The role of these revisionists is exactly this: to allow Stalinism once again to help capitalism over its crisis, despite the revolutionary upsurge of the working class.

They represent the pressure of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy on the revolutionary movement and on the youth who turn to revolution.

This was the role of the revisionists in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. From 1967 onwards thousands of students and youth in many countries were attracted by the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The revisionists of Purdie's group led the VSC into a series of demonstrations, many of them irresponsible adventures, along a political line which capitulated to Stalinism and ended in the virtual dissolution of the VSC's following.

On the death of Ho Chi Minh, the politics of the IMG, and of Purdie in particular, were thrown into sharp relief, and it was a clash with the 'state capitalists' which produced this clarification.

Divisions amongst them began by 1968, and have already been analyzed in 'The Newsletter'.

At the London memorial meeting for Ho Chi Minh, attended by all sorts of revisionists and opportunists, chaos followed a speech by Chris Harman, representing 'International Socialism'.

VIETNAM

STALINISM & TROTSKYISM



the rotten, anti-communist politics of the 'state capitalist' group, suddenly erupted with a frenzy of accusations against Harman for making an isolated correct point!

The IMG journal, 'International' (October 1969) describes the September 20 memorial meeting in an editorial article 'Unity and Vietnam'.

According to the editorial, 'Harman's speech was provocative and in complete contradiction with united front principles'.

This was, of course, their argument against the Socialist Labour League at the very start of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

For years we had campaigned for 'Victory to the National Liberation Front', but when the revisionists set up the VSC they tried to ban us from criticising Stalinism!

The essence of the matter was—and is still—that without the fight for the independent revolutionary party against Stalinism, there can be no fight against imperialism.

And the essence of Pabloite revisionism here is that it covers up for Stalinism against Trotskyism and against the working class. The 'International' editorial goes on:

'We will not deal with the question of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in this editorial. Because of the interest in this matter we have commissioned material which will give a full picture of what happened—the truth is a lot more complicated than the IS leaders seem to think.' (My emphasis.)

This can only mean the IMG think that in the circumstances of the end of the Second World War, Ho Chi Minh's murder of Tu Tu Tao and the Vietnamese Trotskyists had some justification.

It prepares the way for saying that the Trotskyists obstructed those who were really carrying forward the socialist cause in Vietnam—Ho Chi Minh and the Stalinists.

lieve on the contrary that Stalinism was and remains counter-revolutionary, and can be defeated only by Trotskyism.

If anyone thinks that this conclusion is exaggerated, let him read the speech of Bob Purdie on the death of Ho Chi Minh, published in same of 'International'.

'The death of comrade Ho Chi Minh is a bitter blow ...'

Worse still

Already the tone is set: we are banned in advance from any objective appraisal of the relation between the Vietnamese revolution and its Stalinist leadership, by this 'comrade ...'

Worse comes immediately: 'We had in our thoughts of the future imagined him enjoying the reward of his long life of struggle, the only reward he asked, and the only reward appropriate for that life, the reward of seeing the Vietnamese people at last defeated imperialism, and in a peaceful, re-united Vietnam construct the kind of society which will reflect the abundant courage and self-sacrifice which for so many decades has been expended in fighting simply to achieve the right to determine their own future ...'

It is clear that the Trotskyists in this editorial. Because of the interest in this matter we have commissioned material which will give a full picture of what happened—the truth is a lot more complicated than the IS leaders seem to think.' (My emphasis.)

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The logic is inescapable, as we saw in our last article: (Workers Press, October 28) the Fourth International should never have been formed, and the proletariat's needs can be answered by a new development within Stalinism.

We, the Trotskyists of the International Committee of the Fourth International, believe on the contrary that Stalinism was and remains counter-revolutionary, and can be defeated only by Trotskyism.

This sickening, typically British, sentimental claptrap has always the same function and intention: to cover up the real lessons of every experience and every struggle.

Purdie is here attacking Trotskyism with all these weapons.

Because Vietnamese workers, like workers all over the world, fell under the leadership of the Communist Parties of the Stalinist Third International, represented in Indo-China (Vietnam) by Ho Chi Minh, their great revolutionary struggle was subordinated to the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR.

Every forward step of the Vietnamese revolution like every step forward in China, has been possible only to the extent that the workers and peasants broke through the Stalinist framework.

The completion of their struggle ('the kind of society' referred to so cautiously by Purdie) can come only when Stalinism, the main counter-revolutionary force on a world scale, is defeated, and a Trotskyist leadership takes the working class to power in the major advanced capitalist countries, alongside successful revolutions in the colonial countries and a political revolution against the Stalinist

bureaucracy in the countries where that bureaucracy rules. Ho Chi Minh, ever since the rise of Stalin, was always an opponent of such a view.

Stalinism isolated the heroic military struggle of the Vietnamese people from the international class struggle.

In the advanced countries, the Stalinist parties pursued 'peaceful roads' and held back the proletarian revolution, even to the extent of joining the capitalist governments (in France) which suppressed the Vietnamese Revolution.

Ho Chi Minh was one of the supporting pillars of this international Stalinist policy.

He could have fought consistently in the interests of the Vietnamese Revolution only by leading a Marxist (Trotskyist) opposition to this international policy of Stalinism.

He did the exact opposite: the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists was part and parcel of this counter-revolutionary Stalinist policy.

For Marxists, these political questions of the revolutionary role of the international working class predominate over all military considerations.

The Vietnamese Revolution has achieved mighty successes against the US military machine, at the cost of millions of lives.

But these successes are imperilled at every moment by the betrayals of world Stalinism, which has already sold the Vietnamese Revolution once—in the 1954 Geneva agreements.

Purdie is a thoroughgoing apologist for these Stalinist betrayals.

He says of Ho Chi Minh: '... he kept before the eyes of his people the ends for which they were struggling, and despite the attempts of the world's mightiest powers, he resisted the temptation to compromise that ultimate end.'

This is a lie, and Purdie knows it is a lie.

He is cynically using the genuine feelings of those who support the Vietnamese Revolution to wipe out the great political questions.

'The ultimate aim' without which the Vietnam struggle comes to naught is the world socialist revolution.

That is why the Stalinists so ruthlessly attack Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution—and they are now joined by Purdie.

The struggle against imperialism in colonial countries like Vietnam begins as a 'bourgeois-democratic' one: its demands are national self-determination, democratic rights, distribution of the land.

But the only class which can lead the mass of the peasantry consistently to conquer power and achieve these aims is the industrial working class.

Because of this, working-class or socialist aims are posed.

But these can only be achieved when the revolution in the colonial country merges with the world proletarian revolution.

Outside this strategy, there is no way forward.

This is what Permanent Revolution means: an uninterrupted transition from democratic to socialist revolutions; merging the workers' rule in one country with the world socialist revolution.

Purdie and his friends have now gone over to an entirely revisionist and anti-Marxist conception of the relation between the colonial peoples' struggle and the international class struggle.

It is only a matter, according to him, of a fight for national self-determination.

The Vietnamese peoples' struggle is only an 'inspiration' to socialists in countries like Britain.

Purdie reverently refers to the building of 'a powerful

revolutionary movement here', helped by 'identifying' with the Vietnamese revolution.

That is not at all the question. The actual links between the British (or European, or American) revolution and the revolution in Vietnam are not established through sympathetic feelings, 'inspiration', and 'identification'.

They are created by great objective historical forces, and in the first place by imperialism.

The epoch of wars and revolutions initiated by imperialism at the beginning of this century created the modern international class struggle.

The political forces and leaderships which have arisen in the course of that struggle are objective realities.

In the course of this development Stalinism came to predominate, and Trotskyism emerged as the continuation of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

The only basis for politically guiding the revolutionary working class and youth of today is Trotskyism, based on this development of Marxist theory through every great struggle of the working class against imperialism and Stalinism.

Purdie and the revisionists want to liquidate precisely this history and this political continuity.

The revolutionary party is founded on revolutionary theory, and so those who want to liquidate the party and the building of a new leadership find themselves revising every principle of Marxist theory.

It is appropriate that Purdie chooses the most disgusting hypocritical English middle-class language (and he has learned it well, as the Scottish middle class always did), to do the job.

The abandonment of Marxist internationalism is the necessary accompaniment of accommodation to the narrow reformist outlook of the Labourists.

Reformist

When Purdie concludes, 'It is because it is essentially human that our struggle is revolutionary ...', he speaks in the language of every rotten reformist of 'New Statesman' or 'New Left' vintage.

This way of posing the question enables him to view the Vietnamese Revolution as a separate, heroic, 'human' struggle, to be 'identified' with, not analyzed in Marxist terms to strengthen the struggle against Stalinism and imperialism.

And so, when Purdie says that his grief will 'reinforce our determination to take revolutionary action', he is really using revolutionary phrases for anti-revolutionary ends.

The middle-class feeling for 'action', impelled by feelings of 'identification' with the oppressed and with those who fight imperialism, is NOT to be confused with the historical revolutionary role of the working class, which arises from its objective needs and which requires the scientific concentration of the highest theory and worked-over experience.

It is from this, from the implanting of Marxism in a whole generation of young workers, that the leadership of the revolution will be built, and not from the middle-class protesters given a 'Marxist' coloration by Purdie and his friends.

It is only around such a Marxist, proletarian movement that the students and middle-class youth who come into conflict with imperialism can find their place.

The building of such a movement, against Stalinism and against the revisionists whom Purdie represents, is our contribution to the Vietnamese and the world revolution.

Brando, it exposes one of the longest and most vicious exterminations of a race of people. National network except Scottish TV.

11.45 How About You?
12.15 a.m. Music From Malinee Peris.

All independent channels as London ITV except at the following times:
CHANNEL 4: 4.15 Castle Haven, 4.40 Puffin's Birthday Greetings, 6.00 Channel 4 News and Weather, 6.10 Channel Lookaround, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Star Movie: 'Lone Star' starring Clark Gable and Ava Gardner, 11.40 Channel Gazette, 11.45 Commentaires et Previsions Meteorologiques, Weather.

ANGLIA: 4.10 Castle Haven, 4.35 Anglia Newsroom, 4.40 Paulus, 6.00 About Anglia, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'The Man From Del Rio' starring Anthony Quinn and Katy Jurado, 11.45 All Our Yesterdays, 12.15 a.m. The Living Word.

WESTWARD: 4.01 Diane's Magic Theatre, 4.15 Westward News Headlines, 4.15 Castle Haven, 4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show, 6.00 Westward Diary, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 As Channel, 12.15 a.m. Faith For Life, 12.21 a.m. News.

THE ABJECT climb-down forced on the British Communist Party after their refusal to grant credentials to reporters from Workers Press to cover their Congress last weekend is a further indication of the crisis racking that organization from top to bottom.

The final handing-over of credentials at St Pancras Town Hall on Saturday morning belied all the excuses put out by the Stalinists over the previous three days to explain their refusal.

Having found themselves caught out in a particularly blatant piece of political discrimination, faced with a storm of protest from workers all over the country, from intellectuals and from many of their own members, the leadership were forced to give way.

They proved unable to bar the Workers Press from their Congress. And our paper thus became the first Trotskyist newspaper to be officially accredited to a Stalinist Congress.

The issues posed by the CP's refusal to issue credentials could not be ignored by any principled socialist.

The entire Tory press were invited to cover the Congress, as were a number of weeklies—including 'Tribune', 'Socialist Worker' and 'The New Statesman'.

But the Communist Party bureaucrats were determined that, if they had any say in the matter, Trotskyist reporters would not cross the threshold of the Congress.

12 DAYS BEFORE

Our application for credentials was submitted a clear 12 days in advance of the Congress, so that the CP's press office was given ample notice.

But their first intention was clearly to ignore it. It took a further letter and two telephone calls a week later to track down the individual responsible for issuing credentials: CP chairman Dr. F. Chater.

After some initial hesitation, Chater asked whether we had received his letter (no such letter has arrived at our office).

He then informed us that 'reasons of space' would not allow the CP to issue Workers Press with credentials.

Only daily papers could be fitted in, he said.

The Workers Press was not a daily, since it was not published on Mondays and was not in any case a 'major' national paper.

Asked point blank whether our reporter and photographer would be allowed into the Congress, he said 'No'.

Every word of this 'explanation' is a pack of nonsense, as is shown by subsequent statements from Chater and other leading Stalinists.

Naturally, the Workers Press immediately called in the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) and an official of that union contacted Chater that same day.

NO SPACE

Chater told him that there was not enough space in St Pancras Town Hall to accommodate all callers.

The CP had had to ration it. 'We sent to national dailies and weeklies like the 'Statesman' and some of the news agencies'.

He had previously implied that only 'major' papers published from Monday to Saturday would be admitted.

There was no objection in principle to Workers Press reporters, but he could not hold out any hope of admission, even were there seats available.

Already, Chater had made it abundantly clear that discrimination was being practised against the Workers Press.

For example, an application for credentials from the anti-Soviet 'state capitalist' paper 'Socialist Worker'—a paper not originally invited by the CP to attend—had been granted without question.

'Liberal' weeklies like the 'Statesman', 'Tribune' and others were also on the act from the word go.

No question about admitting them, despite their support for the anti-working-class policies of the Wilson government.

That evening, we rang William Wainwright, assistant editor of the 'Morning Star' and a long-standing member of the NUJ, a union which supports the principle of equality of treatment and facilities for journalists.

REAL CHARACTER

Wainwright, whose virulent anti-Trotskyism is notorious even among the leaders of the British Communist Party (he is the author of 'Clear Out Hitler's Agents' a pamphlet published in 1942 which calls on workers to 'treat a Trotskyist as you would an open Nazi') could not refrain from making comments which thoroughly exposed the real character of the ban.

After ridiculing our claim that there was plenty of space at St Pancras Town Hall to accommodate two more people, Wainwright launched off on another tack entirely.

'Any organization,' he said, 'has to allocate seating, accommodation as it thinks fit. If the NUJ were to say anything else, it would be absolutely wrong.'

Wainwright here makes very clear the real position of Stalinism, which is counter-revolutionary to the core.

The Communist Party has no fear of opening its Congress—allegedly its highest decision-making body—to the eyes and ears of the entire Tory press, the liberals and the anti-communists of all persuasions.

That is, of course, why its congress is open to the press in the first place.

But what the Communist Party cannot endure is the scrutiny of revolutionaries. It cannot bear the searchlight of Marxism to be turned on its crisis.

BIGGER PROBLEM

To attempt to prevent this is today far more of a problem for Stalinism than in the days when William Wainwright could write: 'Trotsky was a Russian who gathered around him an unscrupulous gang of traitors to organize spying, sabotage, wreck and assassination in the Soviet Union. . . . They wormed their way into important army positions, working-class organisations, even government posts. . . . They were promised positions in a Nazi puppet government in return for services rendered. . . . Trotsky's men are Hitler's men. They must be cleared out of every working-class organization in the country.' ('Clear Out Hitler's Agents' published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, August 1942.)

This is how Wainwright saw the leaders of Lenin's Bolshevik Party in 1942.

Together with the rest of the Communist Party leadership, he danced on the graves of the Bolsheviks murdered by Stalin. No wonder this man, sought to exclude revolutionary reporters from his Party's Congress.

'LUDICROUS'

But for all his anti-Trotskyist fervour Wainwright was clearly shaken.

Friday's 'Morning Star', carried an article headed 'Frightened?' a little glibly 'ludicrous' in which Chater was quoted as saying 'it was ludicrous to accuse the Party of refusing press credentials to the Workers Press newspaper because it was "frightened" of what would be written about the Congress'.

The article also carried the revealing admission: 'Our congress is a public one, which the Press Association will cover and they [Workers Press] can get their reports from them like many other publications.'

Chater was even more explicit in the 'Sun' on Friday.

A number of papers had carried stories on the exclusion the previous evening, but the 'Sun' carried the first public statement by the Communist Party on the matter.

Chater told the 'Sun': 'We have invited people from capitalist newspapers. Why should we turn these people away on political grounds? They are the only ones we have refused, but you have to draw the line somewhere.'

That statement, though Chater may not have been aware of it, put our entire case in a nutshell.

It is precisely for the same reasons that the Communist Party welcomes the capitalist

B.B.C.-1

9.15 a.m.-12.25 p.m. Schools.
1.00 Bob Yn Dri. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News. Weather. 2.05-2.35 Schools. 3.45 Malcolm Muggeridge asks The Question Why. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Wacky Races and Space Kidettes. 5.15 I Want To Be—a Showjumper! 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 National News and Weather. 6.00 London—Nationwide. 6.45 Z Cars. 7.05 Tomorrow's World. 7.30 Harry Worth. 8.00 Cilla. 8.50 The Main News and Weather. 9.10 Tokyo—The 51st Volcano: Tuesday's Documentary. 10.00 He and She. 10.25 Points of View. 11.10 International Tennis. 12.05 a.m. Weatherman.

All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times:
Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45 Midland Today. Look East. Weather. Nationwide. 10.00-10.25 This Way Use. 12.07 a.m. News Summary. Weather.

TODAY'S TV

North of England: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Look North. Nationwide. 12.07 a.m. Northern News. Weather. Scotland: 3.45-4.20 p.m. Sunday Set. 6.00-6.45 Reporting Scotland. 10.00-10.25 Quizburgh. 12.07 a.m. Epilogue. Scottish News Headlines. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Scene Around Six. 10.00-10.30 Speak Your Mind. 12.07 a.m. Northern Ireland News Headlines. Weather. Wales: 5.15-5.44 p.m. Teletewe. 6.00-6.45 Wales Today. Weather. Nationwide. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 8.00-8.25 One Of The Family. 8.25-8.50 Cadw Cwmni. 10.00-10.20 Z Cars. 10.20-10.30 New . . . O'r Newydd. South and West: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Points West. South Today. Spotlight South. West. Weather. Nationwide. 10.00-10.25 One Man's Life. 12.07 a.m. South and West News Headlines. Weather.

B.B.C.-2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.00 p.m. Britain's Role In The Seventies.

ALL OVER Europe significant changes are taking place in the production and distribution of food as big monopolies and large-scale capitalist farmers move in to take control.

The housewife, who consistently has to pay out more in the shops and supermarkets to feed the family, might be excused for thinking that the problem of European agriculture is one of scarcity.

This is far from being the case.

Surplus food products are piling up and in some cases peasants and farmers are being paid by their governments to limit production.

In fact there is a growing problem of agricultural over-production.

At the same time many underpaid families, pensioners and others do not get enough to eat even in 'prosperous' Europe, while in the rest of the world millions are slowly dying from malnutrition.

What, then, is really going on?

To start at the point nearest the consumer, the main trend is towards the concentration of a large proportion of retail trade in the hands of a few big chains and the rise of super-market trading.

Many small shopkeepers are thus going out of business or are being hard pressed to compete.

Within retail trade there is a big economy in the use of labour power and often extreme exploitation of the shop assistants.

The products which are on sale in the stores are increasingly controlled by a handful of big firms which operate on an international scale.

One after another, in all spheres of the food industry, old-established independent firms are falling under the control of these giants.

EXTENSIVE PENETRATION

General Foods, General Mills, Nabisco and other American combines have already extensively penetrated the European market. Many old, traditional brands conserve their names, but are produced by divisions of the international combines, either American or European, such as Unilever and Nestle.

Bitter struggles are now going on between these giants to take over the remaining independents, many of which are only too willing to sell out because they lack capital to expand and to adapt production to changing tastes.

In the food business, enormous expenditure is devoted to advertising, promoting new products, such as 'convenience foods', and pushing one brand against another virtually identical one produced by a competitor.

The concentration of capital at the processing and manufacturing level has important effects upon producers.

To a growing extent they have to work to the processors' specifications and accept a contract price laid down in advance.

The peasants and farmers in such cases merely become agents for the big combines and retain only an illusory independence. They cannot market their produce independently and are thus in the hands of the big purchasers.

The changes going on in distribution and in processing and manufacturing require, therefore, big changes in agriculture itself.

For the past century or more European governments have, in various ways, extended protection and assistance to peasants and farmers

MONOPOLY & EUROPEAN CAPITALISM IN AGRICULTURE



Peasants and small shopkeepers in France react violently against the advance of monopoly capitalism.

BY TOM KEMP

for social and political reasons. A large peasantry was seen as a counterweight to the urban proletariat and a sure reserve of support for conservative policies.

ARTIFICIAL INFLATION

The agrarian sector was thus kept artificially inflated and the typical revisionist argument that the laws of capitalist concentration did not apply to agriculture was given some sustenance.

Now, with delayed action, the laws of capitalism are beginning to assert themselves upon European agriculture. At the same time, the European governments are abandoning support for the peasantry and coming out more openly as agents of the big monopolies.

It is now admitted, therefore, that the agrarian sector must contract.

Too much is being produced, surpluses are piling up and, as standards of cultivation rise and mechanization and chemi-

cal aids bring European agriculture closer to American standards, the problem becomes more acute.

The question now is how to turn thousands of peasants and small farmers off the land or to make them available as wage workers on the large farms.

To carry forward such a process has now become a necessity for the capitalists of the main European countries.

It has reached its initial stages in France and has already had important social repercussions.

Germany, Italy, other countries which conserve a large rural population cannot escape.

The general offensive of monopoly capitalism against the European peasantry is now being prepared.

It is a strategy for the next two decades which will transform the countryside and bring Continental Europe closer to the English or American model.

A relatively small number of large capitalist farms employing machinery and hired labour will take the place of the

present peasant patchwork if this strategy is successful.

Of course, these intentions are not proclaimed from the house-tops, nor is it certain that the politicians responsible for agrarian policy are conscious of where the steps they are taking are really leading.

APPEAR TO HELP

Some of the policies, indeed, are put forward in such a way that they seem to be helping the peasantry, while what they are really doing is to assist the big farmers at the expense of the small peasants and tenants.

An example which illustrates this, as well as the problem of over-production as a whole, comes from France, where, in accordance with Common Market policy, peasants are being paid to kill off their milk cows.

At a £100 a piece for ten animals this puts the peasant in possession of a respectable sum of money.

But, as Michel Bosquet puts

it in 'Le Nouvel Observateur', when he leads his ten cows to the slaughter-house he signs his own death warrant.

One of his main means of livelihood has now been disposed of.

But the big farmer who keeps more than ten cows is paid a similar sum for each animal on condition that he keeps them, but does not sell their milk.

This is intended to encourage the production of meat, and especially veal, and helps the big farmer to make the necessary conversions.

In other words, such measures favour the big farmers and spell ruin for many peasants.

The large surpluses now piling up are a menace to the future of the peasantry, because the cut back in production is bound to hit the small units.

In the same way, the de-

velopment of 'factory-farming' favours those able to invest large sums of money in buildings and equipment and spells doom for the small man.

EVERYBODY IS HIT

Therefore growing monopoly control of processing and distribution hits both the consumer and the small producer.

For the former, despite food surpluses and phoney price cutting, it means a steady increase in prices and often a deterioration in quality and choice.

For the small producer it means a bleak future, a struggle to keep the family property together and ultimate defeat.

In general terms it proves that agriculture is no exception to the general laws of capitalist

economy which now assert themselves with greater force because of the historical delay resulting from past government action to preserve the peasantry from the full rigours of the market.

It underlines the anarchy of the capitalist market which the rise of big monopolies only intensifies.

The scandals of the 1930s, about which there was so much fuss, when corn was burnt in locomotives and oranges dumped in the sea, is being repeated today on an even larger scale.

Scientists are searching for industrially profitable ways of turning 'surplus' food into industrial products.

Powdered milk, for example, is being developed as part of a new surface for motorways.

Other foods are being denatured or destroyed in Europe as well as in the USA to keep up the profits of the big combines.

Already for some years in France, and to some extent in other countries, the peasantry and the small shopkeepers

have reacted, recently, in the most violent and desperate ways, against the fate which they sense is in store for them.

Mostly they hope to conserve what they have and arrest the progress of monopoly advance by putting pressure on bourgeois governments.

Such methods can be of no avail.

Not only an irresistible process, but the whole fate of European capitalism is at work.

The elimination of a large part of the peasantry—two out of three according to some estimates for France—is now a necessity imposed by the competitive pressures of the world market.

INEVITABLE SUBJECTION

The reduction in the number of small shopkeepers and their further subjection to the needs of the big producers and wholesalers is equally inevitable.

As part of the middle class, specifically of the petty-bourgeoisie, the reaction of these sections may well be to turn to the extreme right, to fascism.

Events in France during the May-June days, when numbers of peasants, seeing the working class taking the initiative, gave their support to the movement, indicate that they can also be a reserve of support for the socialist revolution, given the correct policy and leadership.

The readiness of the peasantry to fight is an indication of lack of confidence in capitalist solutions.

In an often confused way, they begin to understand that a political change is required.

European Marxists therefore need to play close attention to the changes which are taking place, or which are in prospect, in the countryside as a result of capitalism's crisis.

It is necessary to return to and study the writings of Engels and Lenin on the subject and to learn from the mistakes and betrayals of the past.

TV COLUMN BOURGEOIS HISTORY ON THE BOX

THE capitalist class takes history seriously. Apart from the enormous amounts of money spent in maintaining university departments and serving academics, it never misses a chance to push its view of the past on television.

In recent years we have had the American series of programmes on World War Two and more recently still the BBC's attempt at World War One.

There have been programmes on the Russian Revolution, the inter-war years (called appropriately enough 'The Lost Peace'), on the rise of Hitler and fascism, on the Boer War, on the Royal Air Force and many other subjects and periods besides.

Hugely expensive in time, talent, technical and financial resources, such programmes often dig up a lot of revealing film.

Much ingenuity and laboratory skill is lavished on making the old film presentable and great effort is put into laying suitable sound effects and music.

But behind it all often lurks the key figure of the historical advisor.

With the producers he will play a big part in establishing the line of the programme and his views will always tend to dominate in the commentary put to the film.

He is the 'expert', the 'authority'; he will act as the watchdog of the system in case the programme-maker looks like straying from the well-trodden path.

In the series on the First World War 'The Great War' the nearest we ever came to understanding that great imperialist slaughter was in the odd glimpses of the mass murder and suffering borne by the working-class soldiers of all nations and in the suggestion that the General Staffs on both sides were incompetent, ignorant and insensitive to the meaning of their actions.

Why this slaughter had to happen was never explained; it was all seen as some terrible inhuman mistake.

Naturally the blame was never laid at the door of the capitalist system itself.

At the moment work is getting under way for another major historical series in the BBC. This time it will be about the rise and fall of the British Empire.

The programmes will not be ready for showing until late 1970 or early 1971, but a large staff with all facilities is already hard at it.

The BBC is producing this series in association with the American Time-Life empire and the budget involved for 12 shows is rumoured to be in the region of £250,000.

So another major possibility to spread some real understanding of that period in British capitalism's past, when it did its plundering and pillaging quite openly and frankly, looks like being used to create quite the reverse effect.

Unless the producers concerned take a staunch stand against the view which sees all one-time colonial peoples as basically ignorant and incapable of self-government, we shall once again be treated to more flagrant and skilfully presented lies under the guise of historical objectivity.

A great opportunity which we can be sure the capitalist class will not wish to let slip.

How much of the real truth emerges in the programmes will depend firstly on the producers concerned and finally on the attitude of the bureaucratic censors who attempt to decide what we should know.

LAST WEEK (November 11) saw another exercise by one of the producers of the BBC's Great War series, Tony Essex (now with Yorkshire Television).

This time, as executive producer (in association with writer-producer Michael Deakin), he gave us 'The Struggle For China. The Story of the Chinese Revolution 1900-1949'.

It bore the familiar stamp: skilfully researched film, expensively produced and a most distinguished actor to read the commentary.

Where we heard the regal tones of Sir Michael Redgrave and Sir Ralph Richardson over the film of 1914-1918, we now had the warm intimacy of James Mason for China.

Where no real sense was made of the causes and meaning of the First World War, now no proper understanding could be reached about these 50 years in the history of the Chinese people.

But much did emerge of great value. Nothing new; for a Marxist nothing surprising.

But it proved impossible to tackle this great theme in a liberal way without being forced to acknowledge certain major facts.

The continuing presence of Russian, French, Italian, German, Japanese and British imperialists inside China up to the day they were literally forced out came out clearly.

The 'nauseating thoroughness' with which uprisings like the Boxer rebellion were suppressed by these same imperialist forces was glimpsed.

There was no adequate account of the full role of these powers, however; only Japan was seen as the bestial foreign invader, not Britain.

Yet the record of British capitalism, its army and other agents is equally bloodstained.

Similarly the programme made very clear that the Kuomintang of Sun Yat Sen and later of Chiang Kai-shek was always the party of the nationalist bourgeoisie, never of the revolution.

On the other hand the commentary could merely express 'astonishment' that as late as 1927 Moscow ordered a continuance of the united front between the communists and the Kuomintang—even after Chiang, in league with the imperialists, had massacred Chinese communists, workers and peasants in the North, in Shanghai and Changsa.

No mention was made, of course, of the traitorous role played by Stalin and his agents like Lominadze and Neumann, in instigating the holocausts in Canton and elsewhere; no



Thousands of communists met their death in China in 1926 as a result of Stalin's unprincipled alliance with Chiang Kai-shek. Stalin still recognised Chiang as the leader of China in 1946, his portrait adjoining Chiang's on the front of Mukden Hotel, Manchuria.

mention, as Trotsky put it, that it was precisely the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927, conditioned by the leadership of the Comintern, which prepared the conditions for the Japanese invasion.

No mention either of the position of Trotsky and the Left Opposition on the Chinese Revolution.

No—it was merely 'astonishing', a sort of mystery. But Chiang's fear and hatred of communism was recognized as it was by American capital during the Second World War and after.

This was another crucial aspect of the history which was glossed over.

It was suggested that after being of necessity in alliance with the Chinese Red Army in the fight against Japan, America somehow realized that the future did not lie with Chiang.

That recognition was forced on them; it was only reluctantly accepted and then only temporarily.

In the spring of 1946, after the Red Army had carried the worst of the war in the most appalling conditions, America had Chiang and the Nationalist army equipped and ready for the final showdown with communism.

But despite all its heroism and endurance, bravery and courage, the Chinese leadership under Mao Tse-tung has never broken from Stalinism. The best the programme could make of this in its last sentence of commentary.

By Frank Cartwright

Referring to the proclamation of the People's Republic it said:

'The 30-year struggle for China was over and the true Chinese Revolution was about to begin.'

A revealing, liberal and intelligent programme. But in the end it served its shareholders well.

ANOTHER set of shareholders were put out of their agony last week.

After its total and public re-orientation towards profit rather than programmes and the resignation of most of its best production staff, London Weekend Television announced its first-year trading figures (up to July 27).

There was a pre-tax profit of £259,000.

Trading profits altogether were £4.3 million.

Of this £3.57 million was absorbed by the Exchequer levy on advertising revenue and another £500,000 by costs involved in the move to the new Thameside studios.

Turnover was £12.4 million—about £400,000 above the figure expected.

The chairman of LWT, Tory Aidan Crawley, said profits were below original hopes. He said costs were rising and pleaded for a reduction in the advertising levy.

Workers at LWT can therefore look forward to big cut-backs and eventual redundancies; viewers can relax in the certainty that the choice has been made—profit every time.

A FINAL NOTE. A '24 Hours' team performed a small service for the working class last week. On the November 12 programme they showed film of the strike at BSR East Kilbride.

The opening shot was a zoom in to a window in the management offices. Behind the curtain was a management man filming all the pickets outside.

He then coolly admitted that the film was for the Special Branch, to enable the law to identify any 'outside agitators'.

The item also showed how management had hired scab labour to prevent giving union recognition.

By giving even this coverage it reminded us of how little of the truth we usually see on television.

TELEVISION TONIGHT



Tonight on all ITV channels the documentary 'Now That The Buffalo's Gone' traces the life and struggle of the American Indians. Now out of all the great tribes only 600,000 Indians remain, confined to the poorest and least-developed areas in America. They are poorest of America's poor. Stripped of all their land and reduced to unbearable poverty they have the highest suicides among the young. The film is directed and produced by Ross Devenish and narrated by Marlon Brando, who has taken a particular interest in the fate of the American Indian.

Czechoslovak debate Effects of Stalinist history dominate discussion

BY ROBERT BLACK

'THE MISTAKES of 30 years ago occurred because, in our desire to help the Soviet Union, we suspended our critical faculties.' This harmed socialism, 'Morning Star' editor Geoge Matthews told the Communist Party Congress replying to Sunday's Czechoslovakia debate.

Though far from being their intention, Matthews' words confirm what we have always insisted was at the heart of the crisis within the British Communist Party — its slavish support for the policies of Stalinism.

Matthews admitted that his Party had adopted a position of 'my Stalin or my Khrushchev or my Brezhnev right or wrong', which came to be falsely equated with unconditional defence of the Soviet Union.

Peter Kerrigan, once a die-hard Stalin supporter, revealed that the 1956 revelations 'came as a heavy blow', though he never wavered in his support for the Soviet Union.

Grave

Here, at least, is an admission of grave political errors, something which we have always insisted had to be undertaken before the British Communist Party came to grips with its inability to win mass working-class support.

But having said 'A', Matthews, Kerrigan and the rest balk at 'B', let alone the rest of the alphabet.

This became very clear when the leadership prevented discussion on resolutions which specifically asked for an historical analysis of the roots of the Czechoslovak invasion.

The voting, deputy 'Star' editor William Wainwright insisted on a vote for or against the executive's resolution.

They gave me my marching orders, he said, and they're the best marching orders I've ever had.

By accepting that something had to be done about unofficial strikes it 'took in the capitalist class' washing.

Yet Halpin chaired a meeting of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions in Croydon on February 27 this year at which a member of the Socialist Labour League was physically assaulted by Communist Party stewards while making precisely this point.

In telling his Party's Congress that in his call for more 'left unity' he did not 'include the lunatic fringe who occasionally have to be thrown out', Halpin specifically and slanderously defended this attack.

He combined this, of course, with abject support for the parliamentary 'peaceful' 'British Road to Socialism'.

Demonstration

Margaret Milligan (East Kilbride), one of the BSR strikers, told the congress that 47 of the factory's workers still faced criminal charges following last week's brutal police attack on the picket line.

A demonstration would have to be organized outside the court on the day these charges were to be heard.

The government's incomes policy had been rejected by the trade unions but was coming in by the back door in the form of productivity deals, said Pat Warwick (Acton). The Party should state clearly its opposition to such deals.

The Party is incapable of carrying out any of the demands made on it by its members.

Small wonder that its membership has dropped 6 per cent below the figure of 30,607 announced at its last Congress, that it has lost between 20 and 30 factory branches since 1968 (allegedly as a result of 'redundancies') and that the circulation of the 'Morning Star' has dropped to an admitted 52,097 from its 1968 figure of 55,544.



William Wainwright

and which have resulted from it', while Brixton (London) went even deeper, demanding 'a thorough analysis of the developments, right back to the Stalin era within the socialist countries con-

cerned, prior to the intervention of August 21, 1968'. These are significant trends inside the Party.

They reflect a desire to go to the roots of the present crisis and to break free of the Stalinist straitjacket imposed on the debate by Dutt and French (Surrey CP) on the side of the interventionists and the ultra-revolutionist and patriotic faction headed by Gollan and ably assisted by Monty Johnstone.

The Dutt-French faction registered 118 votes against 295 for the EC position, an opposition which would have in all probability been larger still had the Congress not been largely in the hands of the Gollan faction.

The split was out in the open. Factions sat and voted in blocks, and even conducted faction meetings, much to the annoyance of the platform.

Never before has there been such a cleavage in the ranks and the leadership of the British Communist Party.

The time has definitely come for George Matthews, Peter Kerrigan and other CP leaders to explain just how this 'suspension of critical faculties' came about.

Initiative

An enormous error, one affecting the lives of thousands of communists and millions of workers, has been publicly admitted. Good. But such an admission is only the beginning.

All Communist Party members who now fight for an historical, Marxist analysis of the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe have the political initiative in this crisis, despite

their exclusion from the Congress discussion by the Party bureaucracy. There are enormous historical class forces working in favour of all those who fight for Marxist principles and the historical analysis of the present crisis of Stalinism.

Gollan's road leads directly to the right, to social-democracy and the severance of all ties with the Soviet Union, while Dutt clings openly to Stalin's crimes and endorses all the betrayals of his successors.

Explains But at the Congress another trend began to emerge, which rejected both these counter-revolutionary alternatives. Armed with the theory of Trotskyism, they can join with us in a united fight to build a genuine communist leadership in Britain.

That is why we repeat the challenge that we issued in Saturday's Workers Press: Explain your past—it is the key to your present crisis.

How 'left unity' works

ENDORSED Gollan's call for a struggle against 'ultra-leftism', Brian Pollitt (Cambridge university) told the Congress that his Party branch had started out with a membership of four.

They had identified the anarchist element as the main enemy, Pollitt explained, and 'extended the hand of friendship' to the 20-strong 'International Socialist' branch — which believes that the Soviet Union is 'state capitalist'.

At a local level, IS did not attack the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Great Britain, he claimed. The Party branch had combined 'a working alliance' on immediate issues with 'informal ideological discussions with individual IS members'.

When it became clear that this was simply a delaying tactic on the part of the Congress stewards, we demanded to see Chatter himself.

Instead, we were referred to Mrs Betty Reid, who immediately flew into a rage and said 'They're not coming in here. Get out. You'll have to wait outside'.

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CP general secretary John Gollan on the Congress platform with Jack Woddis, head of the International Department, who moved the resolution on Czechoslovakia.

Split vote as tube guards accept offer

By our Industrial correspondent

THE LONDON tube guards' action committee decided on Saturday by a majority of one to accept the 'improved offer' on mileage rates put forward by the London Transport Board.

The Board's offer—which concedes about 70 per cent of the guards' claim—follows the last-minute cancellation of Wednesday's planned strike action.

Under the terms of the present offer, only 38 per cent of the men—instead of 60 per cent as originally proposed—will be on the lowest mileage rate of 1s. per day.

Other mileage grades have been increased slightly in proportion. In addition, the guards' committee has given London

Transport until January 1, 1970 to carry through the resignation of guards as assistant motormen.

The narrowness of the vote on the committee indicates the feeling of the minority that the full strength of the guards should have been used to fight to a finish for the full claim.

All London Transport workers must draw the lessons of this retreat by the committee.

London Transport, now controlled by the Tory Greater London Council, is determined to run the underground at a profit.

To do so, it will not only hit out at the passengers, but will attempt to wring the maximum productivity out of the tube workers for the minimum money.

MAIN FIGHT

A section of the leadership is now trying to gloss over Saturday's decision with militant talk about taking action against hooligan attacks on train crews.

While this is certainly a vital issue, it must not be

allowed to divert attention from the main fight against the LTB's plans.

The committee's decision is a serious blow to the unity and determination of the guards in their fight for parity with the motormen.

The lesson must be driven home that only through the building of a political leadership on the tubes, which is not frightened of the union leaderships, can the big struggles that are ahead be won.

BIRMINGHAM

Leadership vital in rent strike

From our own correspondent

THERE are grave dangers in the course being piloted by the leadership of the 12-week-old Birmingham rent strike.

Mr John Brooks, chairman of the Balsall Heath and Highgate Tenants' Association,

announced on Wednesday that the strikers would take their demand for better housing to the top—the Prime Minister.

A demonstration of at least 100 tenants and supporters is planned outside 10 Downing Street for Saturday November 22.

Wilson's answer to those Ulster workers who demand better housing and an end to unemployment was to send in British troops.

Besides protesting at the slum conditions they are forced to live under, the rent strikers allege police brutality at a recent city council meeting, when lobbying tenants were forcibly ejected.

The strikers should learn the lesson of this: when capitalism is in crisis, the state forces are turned against anyone fighting for decent living standards.

As stressed before in Workers Press, rent strikes now are political, and can only be won, not by petitioning Harold Wilson and his cabinet, but by building a socialist leadership as an alternative to the Labour betrayals.

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VIETNAM

FROM PAGE ONE

The importance of the mass actions developing in the major capitalist countries is different from what may be thought by either the pacifist-minded organizers of the Washington march or the so-called 'extremist' groups of middle-class radicals who looked for a 'confrontation'.

Through their long and heroic resistance, the Vietnamese workers and peasants, despite the betrayals of Stalinism and the genocidal actions of US imperialism, have forced back the capitalist enemy to the point where, now, the struggle of the workers in the advanced countries will independently strike blows against the same enemy.

In these class battles, alongside those in the USSR and eastern Europe for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the independent leadership of the Trotskyist movement is being built.

The international struggle of the working class behind that leadership is the only guarantor of the future of the Vietnamese revolution.

Teachers

FROM PAGE ONE

Applause greeted linking the teachers' struggle with trade unionism in general. Clearly the militancy and strength of workers in local factories has greatly altered the outlook in the staffroom. But teachers must fight for more than just a trade union approach.

U.S. to build 'space shuttle'?

THE UNITED STATES is now taking seriously the unrest amongst its leading space scientists.

With the resignation of Dr George Mueller, director of America's manned spaceflight programme for the past six years, opposition to US 'space spectacles' has reached a peak.

At the same time it has been announced that research has been undertaken jointly by Boeing and Lockheed into the development of a space shuttle. This would comprise a slim delta-wing aircraft carrying an

orbiting vehicle in its hold. The parent craft would be driven up to launching height by rocket boosters and would return to earth as an ordinary aircraft once the vehicle had been released.

LOW ORBIT

The vehicle itself would carry out work during low orbits round the earth and then return for further trips. Boeing will be working on the parent craft and its boosters while Lockheed will deal with the design of the smaller vehicle.

With the US space programme now being squeezed financially and the Apollo programme firmly fixed for the next three years, the aim is to produce a design which will provide a cheap space shuttle and close the four-year gap between the US and USSR.

Dustmen return

DUSTMEN from Hackney's Millfields Road depot returned to work yesterday after a two day strike in support of four sacked colleagues.

The manager of a local leather firm alleged the men asked for 'back perks' for the weeks they had been on strike.

They deny this and are appealing against the sackings.

French atom workers resist cuts

THE FRENCH government has announced a major re-organization of its nuclear energy programme after a atomic power workers facing redundancies went on strike at three plants and occupied a fourth last week.

From next year it is planned to concentrate on enriched-uranium power stations—a breakaway from the previous policy for more costly graphite gas reactors using natural uranium.

Some of these reactors, linked to the national electricity grid, have proved to be uneconomical and unreliable.

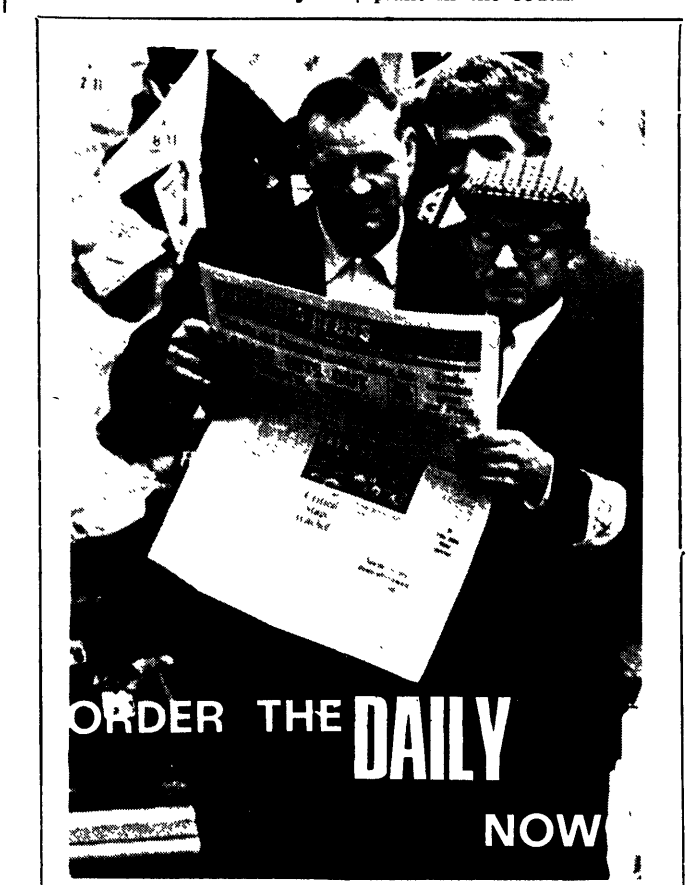
Research into the natural uranium system will be continued.

The government statement said that it would make an increased effort to rebuild and re-organize the atomic energy industry to make French industry more competitive.

2,600 lay-offs

This must entail an intensification of the attacks on the French working class and the 31,000 nuclear workers in particular, who are already facing 2,600 redundancies next year following an austerity budget cut in credits for research.

The trade unions called a 24-hour strike yesterday, but action had already taken place at the Pierrelatte Centre in Southern France, which makes enriched uranium for France's H-bombs, the Valduc Centre, near Dijon, and the Cadarache plant in the south.



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Problems still not answered

FROM PAGE ONE

he said. These were class questions. The Party had to make sure that people did not become armchair members.

Opening the debate on 'Defence of the Trade Unions' executive member Michael McGeahy did little more than call for more 'united action of left forces, of which the Communists are now recognized as an integral part'.

The bankruptcy of the Party's industrial policies and of its training of its industrial cadres was starkly revealed in the debate.

Miners

The miners had taken their stand with the rest of the militant workers in the country, said Cliff True (South Wales).

The threat of pit closures and their loyalty to the Labour government had for a long time kept them 'top of the list of good boys'.

Whenever they had wanted to be militant against Coal Board policy they had been told it might mean the end of their pits.

To think, as he had done, that the miners had failed if they could not win their area conference for action behind the demand for shortening surfacemen's hours had been 'the biggest defeatist attitude any Communist could have had'. Miners had struck independently.

They gave me my marching orders, he said, and they're the best marching orders I've ever had.

Weak

The government's anti-union legislation had been withdrawn on a weak position by the Trades Union Congress, admitted Kevin Halpin (London).

By accepting that something had to be done about unofficial strikes it 'took in the capitalist class' washing.

Yet Halpin chaired a meeting of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions in Croydon on February 27 this year at which a member of the Socialist Labour League was physically assaulted by Communist Party stewards while making precisely this point.

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FROM PAGE TWO

How we got in

press at its Congress that it is so virulently hostile to the revolutionary press being present. The reason for this position is the counter-revolutionary Stalinist politics of the Communist Party, which has drawn a line of blood between itself and Trotskyism.

CONTINUANCE

Stalinism drew that line more than 30 years ago, when it betrayed the German workers into the hands of the Nazis, and when it began the physical annihilation of the majority of the Communist leadership.

Chatter and Wainwright in banning the Workers Press, were only continuing Stalin's work. But Stalinism is not in the position it was in during the 1930s.

Trotskyism is today a force in the working class, with a daily press able to campaign and hit

HANDED OVER

After ten minutes, the chief steward of the Congress emerged and called our reporters back into

at its enemies as never before. The Stalinists, discredited in wide layers of the class, in deep crisis inside their own Party, cannot stand up to this type of campaign.

On the morning of the Congress our reporters entered the hall to demand credentials and were first referred to the credentials committee.

When it became clear that this was simply a delaying tactic on the part of the Congress stewards, we demanded to see Chatter himself.

Instead, we were referred to Mrs Betty Reid, who immediately flew into a rage and said 'They're not coming in here. Get out. You'll have to wait outside'.

One of his assistants almost immediately produced press credentials made out to Workers Press.

Without a word of explanation or apology, these credentials were handed over. The climb-down was complete.

At the last moment, the Communist Party had capitulated rather than fight to the end to keep Workers Press out of its Congress.

Undoubtedly, the question of Workers Press split the leadership of the CP.

Some, like veteran anti-Trotskyist Mrs Betty Reid, would have preferred to keep out the Trotskyists 'on principle', regardless of the widespread support for our admission inside and outside the Congress.

It is one further sign of the splits and divisions which are tearing British Stalinism apart, and many of which came out even more clearly at the Congress itself.

All Trades Unions Alliance meetings

LUTON
'Report back from the Motor Workers' Conference'
Thursday, November 20
8 p.m.
The Cock Park Square

HULL
'The Workers Press'
Thursday November 20
7.30 p.m.
ASW House
53 Beverley Road